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General Editor :
B. J. Sandesara,
M A., Ph D.

No. 146

MIRAT-I-AHMADI

A PERSIAN HISTORY OF GUJARAT

English Translation

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A PERSIAN HISTORY OF GUJARAT

(English Translation)

Translated from the Persian Original of Ali Muhammad Khan

By
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M.A.
Head of the Department of Persian,
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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,
BARODA
1965

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FOREWORD

As Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the famous historian, has stated in his foreword to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Volume II, Persian Text (G.O.S., No. 34, 1927), "of all provinces of India, Gujarat is the richest in the number and variety of its historical records." Undoubtedly, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is the most important among numerous historical chronicles in Persian composed in and about Gujarat. The Persian Text of this Chronicle, edited by Syed Nawab Ali, was published in two volumes in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series as Nos. 33-34 in 1927 and 1928, respectively, and text of the Khatima or supplement (which is, in fact, Gazetteer of the 18th century Gujarat) edited by the same scholar was published in 1930 as No. 50 of the Series. An English translation of the supplement, prepared by Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon, was out in 1928 as No. 43 of the Series. But the historical part remained untranslated in English so far, though a Gujarati translation of the whole work (some portion done by Nizamkhan Noorkhan Pathan and the rest by Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri) had been published at Ahmedabad many years back. It is good that Shri M. F. Lokhandwala, an able scholar and experienced teacher of Persian, has rendered into English first two volumes of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, and I am glad to put the same before the world of scholars. It is a matter of satisfaction that the whole of the Persian Text and its complete translation are published now in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

I take this opportunity to thank the University Grants Commission and the Government of Gujarat for giving full financial aid towards the publication of this volume.

Oriental Institute,
Baroda
June 3, 1965

B. J. Sandesara
Director



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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the famous historian of Aurangzeb, has remarked in his Foreword to the Persian text of "Mirat-i-Ahmadi" edited by Sir C. N. Seddon and Prof. Syed Nawab Ali (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. XXXIV, Part II) as under:

"Dr. James Bird translated about one-third of the first volume of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, down to the death of 'Akbar, in his History of Goozerat (old Oriental Translation Fund, 1834). Prof. Navab Ali and Mr. C. N. Seddon, I.C.S., have recently given us a free rendering of the Khatima (supplement). But the most important portion of the work, viz., the history of Gujarat in the 17th and 18th centuries, has remained unutilised except for the brief English summary given in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I (from the Ms translation made by Col. Watson before his death in 1889) and also in William Irvine's Later Mughals, Vol. II." Hence the book now appears in the form of complete translation of the first two volumes of the Persian text of Mirat-i-Ahmadi. It was my esteemed teacher, Dr. J. M. Mehta, former Vice-Chancellor of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda who seriously thought to get the book translated into English. It was under his instruction that the book was translated into English by me.

There is no need for me to give an account of the author's life and the historical importance of his book which the reader will find in the Foreword to the Persian text, G.O.S., Vol. XXXIV, Part II as well as in the body of the book wherein the author has made references to himself, his father and other members of his family.

I am much thankful to Dr. B. J. Sandesara, an erudite scholar in literature and ancient history of Gujarat, Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for having included this book in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

M. F. Lokhandwala

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INTRODUCTION

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

The book begins with the praise of God, the Master of the Kingdom in whose power and authority are appointment and dismissal of rulers of kingdoms of seven climes, monarchs of throne and diadem, beau kings, majestic and dignified emperors, margraves and worldly-minded persons of the world. He bestows it on whomsoever. He wishes and takes it back from whomsoever He desires. He is the Master of authority for Whom seven-fold sheets of paper of the seven skies are not sufficient to describe the multifarious productions of His sovereignty's factory.

Couplet

To Him belongs greatness and egoism

For His Kingdom is ancient and His being independent.

Frontispiece of the Diwan (office) of daily income and superscription of an account-book of nightly expense are embellished with gratitude to the Wise, Absolute Administrator who with his mature wisdom and perfect art made solar and lunar months in accordance with His plan. First sight of the crescent is beginning of a month, "Near Allah are twelve months"; the moon's movement through twenty-eight constellations is meant for education in years and months and equitable distribution of the year. Last date of the month implies return of the moon to begin another rotation. He donned the noblest creature (man) with a robe of "We created man in the best of moulds". Man dared to accept office of a sarnobat and an amin, "We represented our deposit to the skies, the earth and mountains; they refused to bear its burden and got afraid of it but man bore it" and thus took upon himself the responsibility of accepting post of a shikdar (revenue collector) in addition to that of a tahsildar (treasurer) from the day he entered into a pact (day of creation), "Am I not your Lord? they said, 'yes'" till the appointed time of denominated death. He thus became an actor invested with choice implying a responsibility for administering material affairs of a mahal both for the present and the future. He made a true agreement for assessment of five senses with discernment of "A section of persons in garden and a section in blazing fire." He may not roam about in the valley of amazement of "Being for neither one group nor for another," like the five planets. Without making the mind distracted like the Greater Bear, "Verily (the ends) you strive for are diverse," he should, like the Pleiades, make collective efforts to watch beating of breaths in units, tens and hundreds and spend a part of the week and hours of night and day in prayers by abstaining from vices. He

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should be diligent and vigilant enough to see that not a mule of commands and prohibitions is spent uselessly and without a sanad of the Diwan of approbation. It should not be spent in committal of a sin. Negligence and indifference are not allowed in this respect. He should please and oblige all persons by his good conduct because the last day of responsibility gets its receipt, on the Day of Judgment, of recovery, "Fulfil the promise"

Verse

*Do not neglect a moment in guarding against self
Perhaps the same breath be your last breath*

The Distributor of sustenance has distributed sustenance to fеоfеes and pensioners "There is no moving creature on earth but its sustenance depends on God," from the office of sadavat (judgeship. A sadv was in charge of distributing stipends etc to the needy, scholars etc) and administration, "We distribute sustenance among them in life of the world," during their life time in proportion to welfare of affairs from the store house "from things we have in the store house". We grant a piece of land, "Verily, the earth belongs to God, He gives it to whomsoever of His servants He wishes" out of the habitable world of the best paragana of the spacious and pleasant place of "spacious is the world of God which lies within jurisdiction of the Subah Sarkar of the world out of the cultivable land, "The world is a field for the next world" so that he who sows, will reap. A strict order bearing His seal" And Allah is without needs while you are poor" is issued to the effect that extravagance is forbidden, "Do not squander" for it is forbidden by the Almighty but with permission, "Eat and drink but do not be extravagant" This order is issued to all in general children, grandchildren from generation to generation, annually, without alteration and restrictions, confiscation, renewal of sanad etc so that, they should spend on necessities of life and devote themselves diligently to compulsory stipulated prayers

A couplet

*Eating is meant for living and remembering God
Do you believe that living is for eating ?*

The giver of sustenance issued a permit of sustenance from His highest court "And God gives sustenance to whomsoever He wishes without limit" Service begins with enlistment as a subaltern and writing of name, "God knows what every woman bears and what decreases and increases wombs" with a mark of enrolment when life comes into being. Soul is then associated with body in wombs partaking of four elements. When he is honoured as a zamindar in a fixed village of birth he is made of sweet palate with a cash of two houses, we showed him the way to the bright world" He was immuned from account



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for two whole years. He then begins to walk with exertion for growth of his faculties by grant of personal fief, followers with a risala of the Mir Bakhshi, "we give sustenance to you and to them" and a jagir, conditional and unconditional, as salary till the day, "when death came to them, it will not wait for an hour before and after. He will reap a season or two with full crop or otherwise with increase or decrease in dāms," verily God gives sustenance to whom He wishes, He enlarges it and restricts it for whomsoever He pleases." This continues till the age of majority, the border of discretion when he is given the title of Tarkhān (gentleman at large). He is exempted from everything connected with service. He is made absolutely free. Now comes time for responsibility of religious injunctions, "God does not trouble any one beyond his capacity." It is the season for payment of dues directly in shape of daily prayers, annual tax on fixed income at the beginning of the year, at the time of the second season for record of virtues and vices. "Then shall any one who has done an atom's weight of good, see it; and anyone who has done an atom's weight of evil, shall see it". It is under a strict order wherein no regard and partiality are to be shown by the two "honourable and kind writers", who will not be wrong in record of dates. They are appointed to write down minutely in a roll of "it leaves out nothing small or great but takes account of it," recoveries of assessment and revenue on acquired matters earned income "Whatever their hands will acquire." This record will be sent as an event through swift post morning and evening, with fast running couriers "night and day" for presentation to the highest record office. Whatever is paragon of virtue of the government revenue office, "To Allah mount up words of purity", they will record as taxes recovered ten-fold, "He who did a good deed, will receive a ten-fold reward of it". Having obtained a permit of sanction, he will be granted a certificate that everything else is alright and that he should be allowed to cross the bridge with a seal of Prophet-hood, Wazir of the kingdom of being and space, foremost among the dignified ministers, chief among princes of noble family, guide of the religious path, organizer of faith, knower of hidden secrets, manifestation of glorious vestiges, chief among men of guidance, obliterator of unbelief and ignorance, guardian of the bright creed, leader of the group of prophets, chief of saints and pious men, seat of glories of Divine Lights, place of alighting of Qurānic verses, climber of the ladder, "Holy is He who lifted up", near one of God," He was near at a distance of two bow-shots or nearer than that," master of sword and flag, appointed to give an order, "say, sufficient is God for me", ennobled with the shining crown of "were it not for you I would not have created the skies", ornamented with robe of guidance for residents of the earth, confidant of privacy of canopies of honour and glory, best among those who get audience in the Court of God, the Great, substance of the universe, glory of existing beings, canceller of ancient religions, guide of the future generation, successor of the strong



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pillar of sovereignty, strength of prophethood, superscription of the volume of chiefship, the chosen messenger, leader of worldly beings, altar of hope of sinners, absolute value of God on earth and space, sent as messenger to all human beings and genu, descendant of Khalil (Prophet Abraham) choice of His Lordship, the Glorified Lord, generous, manifested one of the cry of "upon the great people", determined organizer of the true faith, victory in war, "Victory is nigh when there is help from God", the first and last commander-in-chief, helped by God, giver of good news, "And soon, will thy Lord give thee-that where with thou shalt be well pleased", ordered to deliver mandatory message, "Oh messenger! convey what has been revealed to you, "intercessor of sinners, slayer of polytheists, beloved of the Lord of both the worlds, master of the honest soul, addressed as "Last of the Prophets," qualified with "revealed to his servant what was to be revealed", chief of human beings, Muhammed Mustafa, may benedictions of God be on him, his descendants and chosen companions. It was presented with the signature of eminent amirs, noble Khalifas, and respectable peshkars with a sanad of "Twelve Khalifas after me" It should be regarded as settled and sanctioned as written. The papers were seen, filed, recorded, passed and entered. Immunity of salvation was written, inspected, information noted etc, its facts were known and noted. Everything was according to facts and record. It bears marks of royal scribes and personal secretary to His Majesty of the Court of Justice, "He sees the favourites" of the court of "Ulama of my followers are like prophets of Beni Israil". The document was in accordance with the rules of statute-book. Its entry was made in the Chowki's record and it was found to be as proposed. He was included in the list of life-servants. The document was written on the date of the Day of Manifestation of fifty thousand years. A certificate was issued, the Diwan office received its copy. It was sent for reference to the Bakhshi. He received a copy of the document with seal of the learned, just and equitable Chief Qazi. The man, therefore, was ennobled with the rank of eight thousand zat, eight paradises, inam of Subedars of the subah of Jannatabad, "Rivers are flowing beneath them", as proposed by the Amins. He received a permission to go from the plain of judgment to enter into the environs of safety and security. He was escorted to the place by kindness and beneficence of "the Most Merciful among the merciful" through the valleys of hell. He hears good news of "Peace be on you, be pleased to enter permanently in Paradise and rejoice in the Subah granted to you. He reclines upon "the settled thrones". The attorney-general of Paradise, Rizwan presents himself with his staff of servants "like hidden pearls", pays homage and congratulates, "benedictions in it, peace". They slipped in, "In it, there are many fruits". He accepts houses of "chaste women in pavilions". He submits a petition about truth of "Praise be to Allah who truly fulfilled promise, Who gave us earth in inheritance to show us paradise. What a good reward is for the virtuous". God forbid if the accountant detects, in our record, arrears of revenue,



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extravagante, embezzlement etc. "God does not love the extravagant" and nothing was recorded in penitence and repentance, we shall be imprisoned in the fort of seven stages "What an evil place of return is hell which has seven doors Every door of it is divided into chains Each chain, is seventy cubits long" He will be entrusted to harsh and severe tax gathers of hell Hence it is necessary and proper that one should not give up hope, "Do not be despaired of God's mercy" He should lead a life of hope and fear. He should make use of caution and care, wisdom and knowledge As far as possible, he should chastise and punish his ordering self for "the ordering self guides to evil" It rises in revolt and rebellion with the help of desire and passion and instigation of satan He should not allow it to choose unpleasant path of robbers on the high way of guidance He should try to follow the sincere path of obedience to the bright religion

verse

He who chose the path contrary to that of the Prophet

Will never reach destination

He should always act according to the balance of his money-till of income He should observe a rule of action of walking over a passage of "The world is a bridge of the next world," crossover it and do not inhabit it He should take a stock of his present income and bear in mind the surplus and deficit of the treasury of charitable deeds, "verily, good deeds wipe out bad deeds" He should take account of his good deeds at the end of a month and take monthly salary accordingly He should consider himself as dismissed and wait for a summons to be called into the Royal Presence He should adopt dealings of a dismissed man while in service as his mode of living, "Die before you die" so that he may not feel helpless in giving account of his deeds on "the day when wealth and children will not benefit him" One should bear in mind the substance of the verse of sufficient guidance, "Obey God, obey the Prophet and obey those who are possessed of command from among you" Obedience and submission are compulsory, for the mandate of sovereignty, monarchy, government and rulership is issued from the office of composition of the preserved tablet It is sealed with, "I will make him a successor on earth" and authenticated from the Court of "the Master of Kingdom He gives kingdom to whomsoever He wishes" It is executed by the Prophet in the illustrious name and brilliant titles of Lord of the world, altar of the world and its peoples, king with the dignity of Jamshid, emperor with sky-like Court, His Majesty, shadow of Holy God, heir to the throne and signet of Gurgani of exalted lineage, high pedigree, crown-snatcher, tribute-exacter, khalifa of the age, son of the Sultan, worthy of the royal throne, decorator of the seat of power, exalter of the throne of world - government, vanquishing Crown - wearer, lord of canopy and signet, defender of the faith.

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ABUN NASAR MUJĀHID-UD-DIN AHMED SHAH BAHADUR, BĀD SHAH-I-GHĀZI

May God make his state eternal Date of his ascension also shows this Awefulness of Akber, impetuosity of Jahangir, magnificence of Shahjahan, majesty of Aurangzeb, dignity of Shah Ālam, honour of Jahān Shāh, nature of Muhammed and character of Ahmed are clear and apparent on his forehead and bright and evident like the world illuminating sun He bestowed fresh adornment and embellishment and endless delight upon the world with universal kindness ordained for him by God

A Couplet

*Oh ! there is fresh pleasure to the world during your regime,
Earth and time enjoy comfort and peace because of thee*

This king of sky-like dignity, enemy-binding, lion-hunting, friend-cherishing, foe-melting deems it necessary and incumbent to give good news of eternal joy of kindness and favour and fame of justice and equity in all parts of the empire of paradise like Hindustan Subjects and common-folk have adopted mode of submission and path of obedience and rendered thanks for this great gift and immense favour for enjoying comfort and ease under his regime They always keep themselves busy, morn and even, in prayers for eternal continuity of the empire. They do offer resistance and rise in rebellion under his mandate which has a force of the decrees of fate

A Couplet

*Before your praise is penned
Prayers for you are incumbent on people of East and West*

After that, may this fact be clear and evident before the mirror of minds of eloquent Nazims and the reflector of hearts of those connected with office of the Diwan and effigy of this claim as apparent and clear that on account of passage of days and periods and dashing of years and months after the death of late Muhammed Aurangzeb Alamgir Badshah, that disorder took place in the administrative work of the empire and disturbances and revolts which were asleep on the bed of unawareness woke up from the slumber of negligence and rebellions and hardships began to run fearlessly in all markets of the state and comforts, tranquillity and security veiled themselves willy nilly in the corner of subterraneous cavern of non-existence as the will of the Real kingdom adorer was concerned with it that the splendour of the market of the city turned to immense confusion from day to day and a great disturbance found its way to organization and order of financial and revenue matters and a desire in the heart and passion in the head of mischief-mongers appeared and every Nazim of authority in the Subahs opened the doors of absence of submission and currency of royal orders on the foreheads of their lives



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A single line

World keeper keeps the world in disorder

Godrez and Afrasiyab are mere excuses

Small and great matters of the Diwani fell in a tangle of negligence, indifference and remissness. Regulations and links of the above matters became non-existent and were forgotten. Treasures and stocks remained empty like hands of poor men specially in the Subah of Ahmedabad, Gujarat that in the year 1137 one thousand, one hundred and thirty seven Hijri (1734) may thousands and thousands of benedictions be upon its master Shuj'at Khan Bahadur, Deputy of the amir Mubarez-ul Mulk Bahadur, was slain in the Subah by Hamid Khan. The aforesaid Khan hastened to appropriate the crown lands and arrears of revenue and services and Jagirs. He gradually took away records of the government office which were accumulated for many years past. Diwan of the Subah remained with nothing to do, neglectful in his duty. Hence other Nazims did not allow the Subah of their charge to go under the authority of Diwans. His Majesty made no inquiry about it. Diwani of Gujarat, the best province in the empire had no Diwan except in name, with no vestige of authority. For absence of reference of matters to the Diwani, clerks had no work. They dispersed hither and thither in search of means of subsistence and they got scattered like stars of the Greater Bear. Annual income of the paragana was lost. In short, all useful volumes of income were appropriated by Hamid Khan. He guarded and preserved the remaining. According to the purport of "those are the days of domination between the people", for a certain motive which will be written as close of the reign of His majesty whose resting place is paradise. God the Great willing. Diwani of the Subah got confined to writing of pages. There was no work in an office which was the cause of employment. Really speaking, records, too, which like the Diwani were merely in name about which information may be gathered. In the first year of reign of Ahmad Shah Bahadur Badshah, that is, one thousand, one hundred and sixty one Hijri (1748) I could obtain, after diligent search and unceasing efforts, information about great and small matters of the Subah only from cities, paraganas, arkars, villages in respect of area, revenue in dams, present sources of revenue, peshkash etc. in consultation with Mithalal a kayasth the hereditary subah navis. He felt it a disgrace out of self respect to keep hands off the work and seek refuge under some one else. He lived with other workers in the Diwani inspite of poverty. He was, really speaking, an able and capable worker. He had efficiency for the work. He aided and assisted him in this work. As misfortune would have it, he died after a year and a half. He compiled together in form of a book all the documents in one volume. He so devoted his energy in arrangement and composition of it that he completed its writing and compiled it and named it Mirat-i-



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Ahmadi of the Subah of Ahmedabad, Gujarat He entertained a desire that as there is no continuous record of the Subah in the record-office due to above mentioned events, he should preserve a copy in the Daftar-Khana of the Subah with his own seal and send another copy of it to the royal court through the favourite of His Majesty Jawid Khan Nawab Bahadur deceased, who in those days ran the entire administrative machinery of the empire He was favourably disposed towards him and through him, he would get an audience with His Majesty Unfortunately for him, the Nawab died With his death, his cherished wish tumbled down Due to this misfortune, preparation of the book also was delayed Without exaggeration the book had many other advantages, besides Subah's affairs which were according to the wish of the author It would have been approved of by His Majesty as well as the eminent Diwans This would have brought immense approbation and praise One of its advantages would have been the origin of the Fasli date, derivation and difference with the Hijri date of which till now none has found its trace Its enigmatic nature has not been untangled by investigating imagination and subtle thought I sought information about its beginning from writers and scribes of this region while writing this book I also inquired about it from accountants (officers) of the Daftar Khana of the Royal Diwan I did not come to know about it None could unravel its tangle No trace and mark were discovered in books on history of ancient kings It was known and understood after unceasing labours of nights and days in accordance with the saying "He who sought a thing, found it" Having found out extensive details of its origin of currency and difference by deficient reason, I found out its method and principles and incorporated them in the book I hope, if God wills and I live as well as I enjoy external and internal peace and tranquillity which are disturbed due to misrule in the Subah, and revolt and rebellion subside, I will write out the origin and principles of it in a separate pamphlet and leave it as a memento in the world But where is an opportunity for work and time of rest in this wicked world and revolutions of this crookedly moving sky that one can devote himself to this kind of work? Where is an appreciator who can appreciate it? Where is a purchaser who can purchase this genuine commodity? Merit is a misfortune for persons of merit It has been said that every perfection has decline (every rise has its fall) following it Now is the time for decline of perfection

Poem

*World is straitened for men of scholarship
That scholarship has become rare in the world like merit
There did not remain a single scholar in the world
Except a scholar, everything else is reckoned*

But according to the true meaning of the verses composed by His Holiness Ah may benedictions and praise of God be on him

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Verses

*We are pleased with the lot assigned to us by God
To us is granted knowledge and to the enemy wealth
Verily wealth will perish shortly
And verily knowledge will remain permanent*

A Verse

*Acquire perfection, Oh! you will become respectable in the world
Oh dear friend! none is worth anything without perfection*

One has to be contented, pleased and thankful Let us see what comes out of the curtain of invisibility Accounts of frontier guards and rules of various parts of this region and of Nazims and Diwanis from the conquest of Emperor Akber may God illumine his grave, have been written on the basis of official events Some of my friends who knew about composition of this book requested me that as a book is not yet completed as desired and a garment of existence is not put over its body and besides, a voluminous copy of the book is yet to be prepared, it is necessary for every one to be acquainted with financial and revenue matters of the state as well as rules and regulations of the imperial court A separate book should be written on the style of books on histories about accounts of pre-Islamic frontier-stewards of this region, Nazims of Sultans of Dihli, rulers of Gujerat Nazims after conquest of His Majesty Akber till now as there is no information available about financial and revenue matters of their administration Their account in histories is like a river before a vast sea and a jewel in the lustrous jewel house People will be benefited there They will look upon lives of the ancients with an eye of warning Its acquisition will become easy for every one It will be a lasting and permanent memento in the world Although these pages have no worth and capability of being reckoned among books Yet to meet their wish, I accepted their suggestion Ten years have elapsed since I started composition of this book when events were not recorded due to dejection

This preliminary discourse was composed in a different manner in that book During these auspicious times, that is, in the year one thousand, one hundred and seventy Hijri (1756) corresponding to beginning of the fourth year of His Majesty's ascension with worthy authority, fury of fate, exaltation of Saturn, rank of the sky, cupola of heaven, master of necks, Qibla of the world, and people, al khafiq in son of al khaq in of al Sultan son of the Sultan, father of justice, Azizuddin Muhammed Alamgir Badshah i Ghazi may God make his state and fortune permanent, I started its arrangement and collection in midst of dejection due to a war which will later on be mentioned in that respective year A preface, informative of real conditions and insertions in the said copy, was made an introduction of this book Grace and help are from God

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Fragment

*Object is an impression which may remain as our memento
For we do not see permanence in life
Perhaps a man of heart one day with kindness
May say prayers on behalf of this poor man*

May it not remain hidden and concealed that I have given a short account of pre-Islamic ancient Rajas, Islamic rulers after spread of Islam in this land, Nazims of Sultans of Dihli who ruled after the Rajas till the kingdom of Gujarati Sultans with names period of termination of rule as complete knowledge and information of events of that period were not reliable, only those events which were certain and narrated in succession have been described. Events of every Gujarati Sultan have been borrowed from Mirat i Sikandari which is a history of the Gujarati Sultans from beginning to end of their dynasty in the year one thousand and twenty Hijri (1611-12) thousands and thousands benedictions upon its originator. Events from the beginning of Akber's conquest till ten years of Aurangzeb's reign have been borrowed from Akbernama, Jahangirnama and Badshahnama with which is incorporated ten years of Nazims' Government. As no book on Aurangzeb's reign was till then published or seen by me, ten years' account is based on continual reports of aged persons. I came to this region at the age of eight or nine years from Burhanpur when by a happy accident, it was the beginning of the reign of Shah Alam, that is the year 1120 one thousand, one hundred and twenty, Hijri (1708-9). Most of the events and incidents were remembered by him from the prime of youth, divulgence of the morning of discretion and blossoming of the flowers of understanding. Whatever information he received from reliable persons in regard to Subedari of the Nazims is concisely recorded. Main object in writing this book is to give an account of past events ruin and desolation of this region. Suggestion about it was made in the beginning of the book, Mirat i Ahmed. The book will unnecessarily become lengthy in case all events are described. It will also tire out the readers. If he bore in mind the object for which he composed the book and devoted his energy to recording of events, some of which are stated with exact years and months, while others not in spite of great care, he should be excused, (The author should be excused for not mentioning years and months of certain events). He was an eye witness of certain events. He recorded them without bias and partisan spirit against any one. Before beginning the book, some account is given about natural situation, extension, grace, beauty, sources of revenue of ancient times in an introduction and two sections. (I have described clearly and exactly in an introduction and two sections the geographical situation, flora and fauna, extension of the kingdom, sources of revenue) I hope, the readers will not mind the author's errors and faults which are a result of human weakness but try to improve and correct them.



NATURAL CONDITION OF GUJERAT

It is not hidden from knowing, intelligent men and far-seeing fore-sighted persons that the kingdom of Gujerat is one of the greatest provinces of Hindustan whose ruling planet is Jupiter in the second clime. Its climate is approximately moderate but it is different at some places on the seashore. Its inhabitants, male and female, specially those of Vadnagar, Umareth and the region of Saurath are handsome and delicate who rob persons of life with a sight and bestow life upon them by talk. How nicely it has been said

A Couplet.

*What can one say about these rose-faced Gujeratis
That comely beauty is God-given to these moon-faced ones.*

Its soil is mostly sandy. All kinds of food-grains grow in abundance. Millet is the main product. It is the staple food of Kutchi horses. Many persons live on it. Paddy was not produced in sufficiency in ancient times but it is produced in abundance. Crop is reaped in both autumn and spring in some mahāls. It is limited in case of some to either autumn or spring. Fields are watered by sinking wells or by rains. They plant thorny shrubs round about fields and villages. They form a fortification in course of time. There are innumerable fruit-bearing and simple trees such as those of mangoes and khirni etc. from Pattan to Baroda which is nearly one hundred kurohs in distance. It is not so in Saurath. Water-melon and common pear are of the best quality. Melons and water-melons ect. are sown on river beds. They grow in abundance for two months in every season of summer and winter. It will be a lengthy account if we enumerate the varieties of sweet-smelling flowers, fruits and vegetables. Walls of houses are built of baked bricks. The roof is covered with teak-wood and clay tiles. Stone is used in Saurath in place of bricks. Kutchi horses are desert-traversing, wind-measuring who in point of swiftness, smartness, body and height, and apparent beauty claim complete equality-equality in riding and similarity. Gujerati oxen are ambling-paced, extremely white in colour and pleasant in appearance what has been truly said "Its colour is delightful to the seers." Game-catching panthers unique and perfect, are found on this soil. Mountain-bodied elephants were hunted in vicinity of Rajpipla and Dohad. But they disappeared now for closing mountain valleys. Famous Shirohi swords and arrows in arms not prepared so well in any region and clime, are manufactured here, made or unmade arrows are taken to Iran and other parts of Hindustan as presents. Yaman-like signet-stones, rosary-beads, cups, knife-handles, daggers etc. vessels made out of agate stone of different colours, bracelets and other articles of ivory manufactured in Khambhayat are taken by merchants to other ports on which they make huge profits. Textiles woven and dyed in Hind are exported to Iran, Arabia, Abyssinia, Turkey and



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Europe Another product is salt They prepare beds at many places on the sea-shores where water is closed up in ditches dug nearby They are filled in winter till water gets frozen It is manufactured in form of sand grains at Khambhayat Sea being very near, it is saltish in taste It is a verification of "This brackish salt" It is a cause of staleness Hindi salt is also called black salt It is known as sanchal in Hindi language They prepare it at the port by mixing it with grass called murand It is cooked in a mould like a grinding-stone It is taken in land and beyond seas Salt which is manufactured at the salt region of Jhijwarah in the paragana of Viramgam which is away from the sea is from well water in the same manner It is like a sugar pill, white in colour and saltish in taste It is taken to Malwa A large amount of money is recovered as revenue Again there is paper manufacture Although Daulatabadi and Kashmiri paper is of good glaze and texture yet it cannot be compared in whiteness to paper of Ahmedabad There are different varieties of it This region is sandy So sand grains get into its leaven and come out of it at the time of rubbing with shell leaving invisible holes in it It is its defect On account of its white colour, it is taken annually to different parts of India, Arabia, and Turkey like gold Teak wood is used for roofs, pillars etc of buildings, ship building Sisam is very much like and similar to ebony wood It is utilized for making raths etc Pathali stone mine is in the mountaneous region of Idar Lime is baked out of it for purposes of whitewashing of walls, ceilings of houses, garden walls and shrines Engraving is done out of it It shines like a reflecting mirror Stone lime of Gujerat was utilized, under an order of the Emperor Shah Jahan, for construction of government buildings of the fort citadel of Shahjahanabad Most of the shrines of saints places of worship of Hindus, famous places will be described as far as they are known in the supplement to this book Gujerat has many rivers, innumerable reservoirs and step wells At many places, there are wells of brackish water A separate book will be needed for giving a detailed account of its beauties I heard reports of Gujerat from local men and foreign travellers of various parts of the world about its excellence They preferred this region to many other parts of the world Bandobast of the Subah, provided there are no other hindrances, is made by five thousand bntemen, besides the faujdars of various places and military commanders of the Subah, when the Nazim moves about in every season

Section One

The total amount of revenue of the Subah in times of Gujerati Sultans which happened to be known and separation of khalsa and jagirs of the reign of Sultan Muzaffer, the last Sultan of Gujerat and ministership of Itimad Khan of 979 nine hundred and seventy-nine Hijri corresponding to Samvat one thousand, six hundred and twenty seven Vikramaditya with an army of two lacs and three thousand horsemen was five hundred, seventy four crores and fifty lacs of tankans of Gujerat One rupee was equivalent to one hundred tankans as a



rup-e in these days is equal to forty dams Tanka was current in those days According to present calculation, the revenue comes to five crores and forty seven lacs of rupees A sum of twenty-five lacs of Hun and one crore Ibrahimī which nearly comes to five crores, sixty-two lacs and fifty thousand rupees came annually from kings of the Delhan, Firangi ports, Arabia as mentioned below When Sultan Bahadur conquered the fort of Chitor in the year 950 nine hundred and fifty-five Hijri (1548) but fled from His Majesty Nasruddin Humayun Padshah and took refuge at Diu, the strongest fort in sea He met a treacherous death at the hands of Firangis The port fell into the hands of Firangis It is in the r possession till now What was in the reign of the above Sultan, is true in respect of the whole saltanat of Gujerat All peshkashes stopped When power and authority of the Sultans of Gujerat was daily on the increase they had conquered many sarkars and ports of various parts and brought them under their sway and included them in Gujerat

TWENTY-FIVE SARKARS

Sarkar of Jodhpur, Sarkar of Jalor, Sarkar of Nagor, Sarkar of Vasai, Sarkar of Mumbai, Sarkar of Daman, Sarkar of Ramnagar, Sarkar of Dungenpur, Sarkar of Banswara, Sarkar of Sirohi, Sarkar of Kutch, Sarkar of Sonth, Sarkar of Danda Rajpuri, Sarkar of Ahmedabad, Sarkar of Baroda, Sarkar of Broach, Sarkar of Nadot, Sarkar of Surat, Sarkar of Champaner, Sarkar of Pattan, Sarkar of Saurath, Sarkar of Nawanagar, Sarkar of Godhra, Sarkar of Malabar, Sarkar of Nazarbar Sultan Muzaffer had thirty thousand sawar, thirty two mahals and the revenue was ninety lacs of rupees equivalent to ninety crores of Gujerati tankas The Sultan had a special cavalry of ten thousand and revenue of thirty crores tankas, Jagir of Ulugh Khan Habashi, four thousand sawar and fifteen crores of tankas Jagir of Jhu Jar Khan two thousand and five hundred sawar, six crores of tankas, Malek Shaiq fifteen hundred sawar, four crores of tankas Jagir of Wajihul Mulk and Mumtaz ul Mulk etc two thousand horse, six crores of tankas, Income of thirty-two mahals that were included in the lands under government management Miscellaneous revenue of Ahmedabad city was of fifteen crores and fifty lacs of Gujerati tankas equivalent to fifteen lacs and fifty thousand rupees revenue from agriculture of the town, fifty lacs of tankas, taxes from mandi, ten crores of tankas Court of Justice three crores of tankas total is thirteen crores, fifty lacs of tankas, Kotwali, fifteen thousand, Dharicha, fifty thousand, cattle-market thirty five thousand Stalls of lakh (sealing wax) fifty thousand, stalls of wire drawers, ten thousand, Stalls of opium, fifty thousand silk, eighteen thousand, Portage fifty thousand, correspondence, fifteen hundred, Department of muhtasib, five thousand, Rent of shops, fifteen thousand, revenue from gates of suburbs, three thousand and five hundred, city gates, thirteen thousand, Suburbs, fourteen thousand, revenue of mutthy and chungī (customs) five thousand The total amount of revenue



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was two crores of tankas equal to two lacs of rupees Revenue of paraganas which was specially for the king Paragana of Petlad entirely, seventy six villages, twenty crores of tankas equal to twenty lacs of rupees Paragana of Khambhayat, six hundred villages, four lacs and fifty thousand out of this agricultural income from the Kasbas of Dhawan and Mahmudpur was fifty thousand rupees City of Mandwa harbour and admiral etc four lacs of rupees paragana of Mundah jagir of Jhujar Khan, eighty four villages, five lacs of rupees paragana of Mahmudabad, eighty five villages, seven lacs of rupees, Paragana of Nadiad, thirty six villages, four lacs of rupees, Total of income comes to forty lacs and fifty thousand rupees Revenue of ports twenty three mahals The mahal of Port of Khambhayat is separately written After deduction of it, there remain twenty two ports Income thirty four lacs of rupees Out of that, ports in Gujarat are Port of Broach, Port of Surat, Port of Ghogha, Gandhar, Rander, five mahals, twenty lacs of rupees, Ports in Saurath, Port of Ona, two mahals, Port of Divi, Port of Porbander, two mahals, Port of Mahuwa, one mahal, Port of Pattan Div one mahal, Port of Manglor, two mahals Port of Talaja, four mahals, Port of Nagsar mahal Port of Kodinar mahal, Port of Dunger mahal, Port of Sakhapur mahal, Port of Chikhli mahal, total seventeen ports Income fourteen lacs of rupees Jagirs of amirs Ikhtiar ul Mulk had always ten thousand horsemen in service, Paragana of Ahmednagar, forty four mahals, revenue four lacs of rupees Paragana of Prantij, eighty villages five lacs of rupees paragana of Jhalawar, nineteen villages, two lacs of rupees, Paragana of Harsur, eighty four villages, three lacs of rupees, paragana of Modasa one hundred and sixty two villages, eight lacs of rupees, Paragana of Meghrej, two hundred and forty five villages one hundred villages in inam of Raja of Idar, fifty villages of Raja of Dungerpur Deducting these villages, the remaining villages are one hundred and forty-five villages, two lacs of rupees Paragana of Piplod, thirty six villages, three lacs of rupees Paragana of Kathlal and Ma'murabad, forty-four villages, four lacs of rupees, Paragana of Virpur, one hundred and sixty five villages, four lacs of rupees Paragana of Bhul, one hundred and thirty eight villages, ten lacs of rupees In all, there are eleven mahals They are assigned in salary of thirty crores of tankas Jagudars prospered them and raised income to sixty crores of tankas equal to sixty lacs of rupees Jagir of Syed Miran, son of Syed Hamid, sons of Syed Mubarak Khan who kept four thousand horsemen in service consisted of the Paragana of Dholka mahal with three hundred and fifteen villages with a total revenue of sixteen crores of tankas Jagir of Sher Khan Fauladi with seven thousand sawars and Hasan Jamal with five thousand sawar, Dhokar Khan Sarwan with five thousand sawar tankhwah of the Prince five thousand Rajput sawars with three thousand sawar, in service were ready Agricultural revenue of Patna city, kasbah of mandi octroi duties and Kotwah one lac and sixty thousand rupees, Environs of Pattan with four hundred and nineteen villages with an income of three lacs and fifty thousand rupees Para-



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gana of Vadnagar with thirteen suburbs, eighty-five lacs of rupees Paragana of Visnagar one Kasba, forty-five thousand rupees, Paragana of Vijapur with ninety-eight villages, six lacs and eighty thousand rupees, Paragana of Khajga'u with one hundred and ten villages, five lacs and eighty thousand rupees, Paragana of Palanpur with one hundred and eighty villages, five lacs and twenty-five thousand rupees, Paragana of Deesa with twenty three villages, two lacs and eighty-five thousand rupees, Paragana of Jhalawar with four hundred villages, twenty-six lacs of rupees, Paragana of Kadi with two hundred and ninety-nine villages, twenty-eight lacs of rupees In all there were ten mahals Tanka of Pattan Paragana was less current than in Gujerat In Jhalawar and Kadi, it was equivalent to that of Ahmedabad It was for this reason that one hundred and sixteen crores of tankas were equal to one crore and sixteen lacs of rupees Jagir of Rustam Khan and Changiz Khan, sons of Imradul Mulk, who served with twenty-five thousand horsemen with five thanas in their charge, each thana had five thousand horsemen, consisted of sixty nine mahals which yield an income of two crores and twenty-five thousand Mahmudis Changizis equivalent to one hundred and sixty-two crores and fifty thousand tankas of Ahmedabad and these tankas were equal to one crore, sixty-two lacs and five hundred rupees Port of Surat minus the port with mandi and revenue of agricultural land of the Kasba with thirty one mahals and nine hundred and ninety-six villages yielded fifty lacs of Changizis Sarkar of Baroda city with mandi and agricultural revenue of the Kasba yielded five lacs of Changizis Paragana of Haveli of Baroda with two hundred and eighty villages yielded thirty-eight lacs of Changizis Paragana of Dabhoi with forty-four villages yielded eight lacs of Changizis Paragana of Sinor with forty-six villages yielded five lacs of Changizis Paragana of Bahadurpur with twenty-seven villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Songadh with eighty two villages yielded two lacs of Changizis In all, there were six mahals with four hundred and eight villages with an annual revenue of sixty lacs of Changizis Sarkar of Nadot consisted of total mahal with a total revenue of twenty-five lacs of Changizis Sarkar of Broach, paragana Haveli of Broach with city except the port with one hundred and sixty-one villages yielded thirty lacs of Changizis Paragana of Hansot with thirty-six villages yielded four lacs of Changizis Paragana of Dchni Bara with twelve villages yielded one lac and fifty thousand Changizis Paragana of Korhara with twelve villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Olpad with one hundred and thirty villages yielded twelve lacs of Changizis Paragana of Jahar mandi with one village yielded fifty thousand Changizis Paragana of Kallah with thirty-six villages yielded four lacs of Changizis Paragana of Jamusar (Jambusar) with fifty-six villages yielded eight lacs of Mahmudi Changizis Paragana of Ankleshwar with fifty-five villages yielded six lacs of Changizis Paragana of Atlesar with thirty-six villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Tarkesar yielded twelve lacs of Changizis Paragana of Amod and

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Maaburabad with thirty six villages yielded four lacs of Changizis In all, there were twelve mahals with four hundred and eighty nine villages with a revenue yield of seventy five lacs of Changizis Sarkar of the paragana Haveli of Champaner with eighty-seven villages Paragana of Savli mahal with fifty four villages, Paragana of Dahud with one hundred villages Paragana of Halol mahal with thirty four villages Paragana of Timura with three mahals and one hundred and six villages Paragana of Ralod mahal with twenty five villages Paragana of Jhalod mahal with seventeen villages In all there were eight mahals with four hundred and twenty five villages which yielded fifteen lacs of Changizis Nasir ul Mulk had twelve thousand horsemen in service His jagir consisted of the Paragana of Nazarbar which yielded a revenue of twenty five lacs of Changizis Paragana of Sultanpur yielded fifteen lacs of Changizis Paragana of Hisabajamara yielded ten lacs of Changizis In all, there were three mahals with a yield of fifty lacs equal to twenty-five crores of tankas equal to twenty five lacs of rupees Bhargi, zamindar of Baglana had the fort of Malahrao as source of octroi duties He served with three thousand horsemen Jagir of Kamil ul Mulk of Godhra Sarkar with twelve mahals Two mahals out of it were of Harbans zamindar of Sunt and Chitral The koli of the place had remitted revenue in exchange for service The other ten mahals yielded fifty lacs of Changizis equal to twenty lacs of rupees The paragana of Godhra Haveli with one hundred and seventy one villages yielded twenty lacs of Changizis The paragana of Sehra with twenty four villages yielded five lacs of Changizis Paragana of Miral with forty two villages yielded four lacs of Changizis Paragana of Samdah alias Nasirabad with forty two villages yielded eight lacs of Changizis Paragana of Dudah with thirty six villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Ibrahmad with forty two villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Jhalod with eighty four villages yielded eight lacs of rupees Paragana of Murdah with twenty four villages yielded ten lacs of Changizis Paragana of Lohana with twenty four villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Humod with twelve villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Ghaznavi Khan son of Malek Khanji Jalori served with seven thousand horsemen His jagirs yielded him ten crores of tankas equivalent to ten lacs of rupees The said Khan had in his possession His jagir consisted of Jalor a mint, revenue of a mandir paragana with eleven mahals consisting of six hundred villages yielding him three lacs and seventy thousand rupees Talpad of Jodhpur was in the Sarkar of the Sultan One fourth of the Zamindars remained in attendance upon Ghaznavi Khan with three thousand horses It yielded two lacs and seventy five rupees Nagor which for some years was desolate was rebuilt and populated by the Afghans at the request of Malek Khanji He settled half the land of villages and paragana in watandari of the Rajputs They served under Ghaznavi Khan with a force of two thousand It yielded them two lacs and twenty five thousand rupees The Zamindars enjoyed a fourth part of revenue from



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all the villages from half the paragana of Nagor connected with Meerat A force of two thousand horse attended upon Ghaznavi Khan Whenever the Ruler of Ahmedabad marched on a campaign, another force of three thousand horses came to attend upon him The yield from Meerat was two lacs and forty-four thousand, eight hundred and fifty-five rupees Raj Singh, zamindar of Rajpipla served the king of Ahmedabad with three hundred horse and one thousand foot He was exempted from peshkash Jagir of Fateh Khan and Rustam Khan etc Baluchis served with fourteen thousand horse Paragana of Radhanpur and mandi yielded him fifteen lacs of Mahmudis, Paragana of Sami yielded five lacs of Mahmudis, Munjpur yielded eight lacs of Mahmudis Paragana of Kakrej yielded seven lacs of Mahmudis Paragana of Tirwara yielded eight lacs of Mahmudis, Paragana of Morwara yielded four lacs of Mahmudis, paragana of Santalpur, three lacs of Mahmudis, paragana of Tharad, with mandi fifteen lacs of Mahmudis, paragana of Morvi, ten lacs of Mahmudis In all, there were nine mahals with a total revenue yield of seventy-five lacs of Mahmudis equal to thirty lacs of rupees The Rajputs and Zamindars detailed below appropriated revenue of their watans in exchange for service They were exempted from payment of peshkash Punja Rathod, zamindar of Idar with a cavalry of two thousand horse, Rana Sahasmal, zamindar of Dungenpur with a cavalry of one thousand horse, Vaghela Jhala who appropriated the whole giras of Jhalawar with a cavalry of one thousand horse, Jam Sanna etc who had four hundred giras of Saurah in his possession, with a cavalry of four thousand horse, Bahara Khengar, Zamindar of Bhuj who held sway over one thousand, four hundred and forty-nine villages served with a cavalry of five thousand horse Jagirs of Amin Khan, Fateh Khan and Tatar Khan Ghor consisted of nine thousand villages in Junagadh with eighty-seven mahals Out of these, seventeen mahals were ports The remaining seventy mahals, among them paraganas of sixty mahals and kasbas of ten mahals with a total yield of one crore of rupees Besides this, the other source of income was the peshkash paid till the regime of Sultan Bahadur It amounted to one crore of Ibrahimis and twenty-five lacs of Huns All the eighty-four mahals-twenty-three in Gujarat and those in Saurath are separately written subtracted, sixty-one mahals' revenue he got along with the peshkash described below which amounted to one crore Ibrahimis Kasbas of Malek Ayaz and Malek Tughan were included in Saurath Ports of Div, Bhim, Bawpur, Kaj Pattan Four mahals yielded two lacs of Ibrahimis, Ports of Surat with seventeen mahals yielded forty-three lacs of Ibrahimis, Firangi Ports with twenty-three mahals yielded twenty lacs of Ibrahimis Names of Ports connected with Firangis are Ports of Chawal, Dabhol, Balawal, Vasar, Danda, Maldih, Akasi, Sarab, Kalayan, Bhumari, Dandi Rajpuri, Loyā, Mumbai, Ghorikot, Kohlan, Kakha, Madat Kalpani, Malbaha, Mirdive, Dhorah, Tandast, Nawānagar, Arab etc They had twenty-seven mahals with a yield of twenty-five lacs of Ibrahimis Names of ports



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connected with the Port of Muscat are Port of Makranah, Basrah, Loblu, Laheri, Hurmuz, Sādah, Siku, Dahnā, Sarī, Malakīyat, Makīnah, Maltah, Sawal, Sudardā, Punamā, Badrah Khān, Bedar, Mirbhāi, Bandās, Chin, Malakha, Badrasa, Gulistan, Damai, Rakal, Jawah, there were four mahāls of English Ports, Valandaz had two mahāls. In all, there were six mahāls and they yielded two lacs of Ibrahimīs as peshkash. Nizām Shah Bahri, Ādil Shah of Bijapur, Hashim of Berar and Elchpur, Kutub Shah of Golconda, Raja Ali Khan of Burhānpur paid annual peshkash of twenty-five lacs of Huns. The above details will appear to be a matter of marvel to many. They should refer to Mirat-i-Sikandari for verification. They will be informed about the wealth, power, authority, vastness of army, military equipment and treasures of Sultans and Amirs of Gujerat. There was scope for more than this. Preparations of Malek Ayīz, the slave of Mahmud Begada are mentioned in connection with his campaign against the Rānī. It is a proof about it. Another proof is the vestiges of lofty buildings, forts, masjids, tanks, step-wells which really are extant. In spite of the fact that there is a mountain in the neighbourhood, stones were brought for use from distant places. Details of peshkashes written above are borrowed from the account of Mulchand from generation to generation who was attached to the Nizāmshah. As I did not come across any other copy, there is something wrong about the names of some of the ports. It is said that Sikander, son of Bahlol, King of Dihli repeatedly used to say that the pivot of the king of Dihli rests on wheat and jawar while the foundation of the king of Gujerat is on corals and pearls because there are eighty-four ports under the king of Gujerat. God knows the best.

Section Two

Length, breadth, four frontiers of the Subah, sarkars, paraganas, ports, places, lands, settlement of land assessment, total revenue, of former years prepared after conquest of His Imperial Majesty Akber came to two hundred and ninety kurohs in length. On the East, there are one hundred and twenty kurohs from the city to Bansbalah touching the kingdom of Malwa. On the West, there are one hundred and seventy kurohs from the city to Dwarka alias Jagat touching the sea with a width of three hundred kurohs, to the North, from the city to Vadgaon adjacent to the Sarkār of Jalor annexed to the Subah of Ajmer covers one hundred and ten kurohs, to the south, there are one hundred and ninety kurohs from the city to the port of Surat covering one hundred and ten kurohs. From Surat to Katal Khānapur which joins Khandesh and Baglana, it is eighty kurohs. There were twenty-five Sarkars in the kingdom of Gujerat at the time of His Majesty Akber's conquest as mentioned above. Out of those sarkars, nine sarkars of Gujerati Sultans were conquered from other subahs. At the time of Subedari of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan they were attached to the original kingdom in the year nine hundred and eighty-six Hijri. Sarkar of Jodhpur, Sarkar of Jalor,



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Sarkar of Nagor in the Subah of Ajmer, Sarkar of Malihar, Sarkar of Nazarbar included in the Subah of Khandesh, Sarkar of Basai, Sarkar of Mumbai, Sarkar of Daman, from the hillock of Konkan connected with hat-wearers of Firang, Sarkar of Danda Rajpuri belonging to Malek Amber. It was given in dowry to his daughter by Malek Amber when married to Sultan Bahadur Gujarati. During the regime of His Majesty, this Sarkar was assigned to the Prince. Ten external sarkars were included in the empire. Sarkar of Surat was separately administered by the Port-officer. The remaining nine Sarkars were connected with the Diwani of the Subah, Sarkar of Ahmedabad with thirty-three mahals, Sarkar of Pattan with seventeen mahals, Sarkar of Baroda with four mahals, Sarkar of Broach with four mahals, Sarkar of Nadiot with twelve mahals, Sarkar of Champaner with thirteen mahals, Sarkar of Godhra with eleven mahals, Sarkar of Saurath with sixty-three mahals, Sarkar of Islamnagar with seventeen mahals conquered during the regime of Aurangzeb. Jam zamindar now holds sway. All the sarkars of Mumbai consist of one hundred and eighty-four mahals along with alies, paraganas, fifteen ports, ten thousand, four hundred, sixty-five and a half villages and two suburbs. Except these, the revenue does not come to the government because of appropriation by the zamindars. Lands of the paraganas were measured within six months by Raja Todarmal under a royal order during the regime of His Majesty Akber. It came up to nine crores, twenty three lacs, sixty thousand, five hundred and ninety-four Bighas and nine vasos. Out of this, eighty-three lacs, forty-seven thousand, four hundred and ninety-eight Bighas and three vasos are cultivable. The remnant is inhabited and full of jungles etc except sarkar of Saurath, Sarkar of Godhra and Sarkar of Islamnagar entirely. Forty nine mahals in other sarkars were not measured. Area of the rest is apparent. External sarkars were under possession of zamindars who paid peshkash such as sarkar of Dunderpur, Sarkar of Bansbala, Sarkar of Kutch addressed as Sulaimannagar, Sarkar of Sirohi, Sarkar of Sant, Sarkar of Ramnagar who paid their peshkash to Port officers of Surat though in previous years, the above mentioned sarkars were attached to the Diwani of the Subah. Total dams except sarkar of Surat and deduction and addition came to seventy-nine crores, ninety-six lacs, forty five thousand, two hundred and thirteen dams were received till the regime of His Majesty with resting place in paradise. Out of this amount, eight crores, eighty-two lacs, three hundred and forty-two dams went to the Government revenue office meant only for His Majesty. A sum of two crores and twenty lacs of dams was conditional settlement of Nizammat except personal jagir and retinues. Besides, the peshkash of Zamindars to the extent of twenty-four lacs of rupees was the income of the Nazim. The remaining amount was the salary of the amirs, royal mansabadars, provincial military commanders, servants, conditional faujdars of the Subah. Nearly one crore and twenty lacs of dams, fifty thousand bighas of land, one hundred and three villages, one lac and forty thousand rupees in cash.



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were given from His Majesty's khizanah recovered from his own jagirs except inams of officers. It was meant separately for means of subsistence, inam in place of monthly pay, daily stipends so noble syeds, eminent holy men by grant of farmans, court sanads, risala of Diwani, sadarat and khansamani (House-hold department). Two hundred and fifty-two stations of Faujdars, Thanadars-major and minor-two hundred and three small and great forts built of stone and brick except the forts which afterwards were built by the people brought revenue of one crore, twenty-three lacs, and fifty-six thousand rupees in the most complete year and one crore of rupees in a complete year. In past years, it came to sixty lacs of rupees besides peshkash to His Majesty and the Nazims.



CHAPTER I

BEGINNING OF THE RULE OF RAJAS IN GUJARAT FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF PATTAN KNOWN AS ANHILWARAH AND FAMOUS AS NAHARWALA

It is said that in ancient times, Gujarat was under control of the Rajputs and the Kolis. Every one of them was a master of authority in his own place (Every one of them was an independent ruler in his own place. They paid no obedience and submission to one another. (Neither of them was subservient and submissive to one another.) But the army of Raja Bhor Dev¹, Raja of Kanauj who was the best king in Hindustan in that age annually came to this side and departed taking something by way of tribute (or quit rent) until the said rajah slayed a slave named Srimant Singh on account of his baseness and mischief and sent him to the lane of non-existence and the subterraneous cavern of nothingness (nullity) and pillaged his house. His wife, who was pregnant, was seized with fear and fright after the murder of her husband. She began to wander (in distress) and as heavenly decrees would have it, she came to Gujarat. She gave birth to a son in a plain of destitution. One day, a man named Sabal Dev² happened to pass by her. He was moved to pity after acquaintance with her circumstances. He put her in charge (under the care) of one of his servants. The servant took her to Radhanpur and devoted his energies to look after the son. When he attained to the age of discretion, he took to highway-robbery and rakishness in society of mean fellows and association of malicious persons as it has been said.

1 Raja Bhor Dev. The reader is referred to the following historical materials for the Chavda Dynasty

- 1 Ratnamālā by Krishnaji
 - 2 Sukrut Sankirtan by Arisingh
 - 3 Prabandh Chintamani
 - 4 Vichār shreni
 - 5 Navsari copper plate of Pulakeshi Janashray of Taikutya Samvat 490-738-39
- } Merutung

The account as given by Ali Muhammed Khan author of the Mirat-i Ahmadi is quite different from that given in above sources.

Raja Bhumad of the Chalukya dynasty. His daughter was Minaldesi. His real name was Raja Vijayaditya (696-733) otherwise known as Bhuvanashray. He may have been called as Bhumad (Ratnamālā and Prabandh Chintamani). The Navsari copper plate of Pulakeshi Janashray (Samvat 490-738-39) states that the Arabs destroyed Panchasar in 670.

2 Sabaldev. Surpāl uncle of Vanaraj



Verses

*Thy companion should be better than thee
So that he may increase wisdom and faith in thee
Do not associate with the wicked, for a bad association
Ultimately makes a pure person impure
A patch of cloud hides the sun with such brilliance*

By chance, the treasure of Gujarat which was being carried to Kanauj fell in his hand. As good fortune was predestined for him and the will of God had so ordained that a separate ruler should be established in this land, a green grocer named Champa¹ became his associate. He restrained him from wickedness and guided him to praiseworthy path and laudable deeds. He became a ruler at the age of fifty and titled himself as Banaraj (Vanaraj). He laid foundation of the city of Pattan and made it his capital. From that time till the foundation of great Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat was the city of Pattan. It is related that when he intended to lay the foundation of Pattan, he went out for recreation and hunting in search and inquiry of a suitable place. A shepherd named Anhil, getting information about his intention, pointed out to him a (piece of) land agreeable to his wish on condition that his name should be associated with it. He said, "I saw a hare on a (particular) spot who, with boldness and daring, freed himself from the mouth of a dog and ran away." He prospered that place and named it Anhil wārah which gradually became famous as Naharwārah. As it attained to good and excellent prosperity, it was called Pattan for in the Hindi language, choice town is called Pattan. A capital city is also named Pattan. It was founded in 802 Bikramrajit equivalent to 103 Hijri. Some are of opinion that it was equivalent to 102 Hijri. The election-time (muhurt) as chosen by astrologers and Hindi star knowers was after the passing of twenty two ghadis and forty five palas of the day of Bai gakh Sud Akhatri. The foundation was laid when Leo was the rising sign, second house, Virgo, third house, Libra, fourth house Scorpio with Moon's Node (Ketu) in it, fifth house Sagittarius, sixth house Capricorn, seventh house Aquarius, eighth house Pisces, with Venus in it, ninth house Aries with Mercury and Sun in it, tenth house Taurus with Moon, Saturn, Mars and Rahu, eleventh house Gemini, twelfth house Cancer. These seven stars (planets) happened to be so posited when the found-

1 Champa Banar. In one of his predatory expeditions Vanaraj met Champa in a forest and stopped him. Whereupon Champa lost his temper and cast two out of his five arrows on the ground. Vanaraj questioned him as to why he did so. He replied that Vanaraj and his companions were three while he had five arrows and so he threw away the two extra arrows. This reply convinced Vanaraj that he was a brave man. He kept him with him on a promise to appoint him as his Minister on his coronation.



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ation was laid. It should not remain hidden that kings of three dynasties ruled in this region the Chavda dynasty, the Solanki dynasty the Vaghela dynasty. There appeared to be some difference in regard to the number of rulers of each dynasty as well as the period of their rule. But here is recorded what is said in this connection in the Āin-e-Akbarī, the work of Shaikh Abul Fazl. Twenty-three rulers of these three dynasties ruled for five hundred, seventy-five years and four months and (then) came to an end. The Muslims, (after them) gained ascendancy. Seven rulers belonged to the Chawda dynasty. Banraj was the first to establish himself on the throne of Gujarat. He apparently lived for sixty years. Jolhraj ascended the throne like his father on the day of Akshatray. He ruled for thirty five years. Ghemraj, some called him Bhunraj, ruled for twenty five years. Raja Pathura ruled for twenty nine years, Raja Bajesingh for twenty-five years. Raja Rawatsingh fifteen years, Raja Sanwatsingh, the last ruler of the Chawda dynasty seven years. This dynasty got extinct within a period of one hundred and ninety six years. Transfer of power from the Chawda dynasty to the Solankis is as follows. The last raja of the Chawda dynasty was Sanwatsingh. He had a daughter who was married to a member of the Solanki dynasty. She died at the time of childbirth. Womb of the daughter was opened and a son was taken out from it. The moon at that time was in the nineteenth mansion which in Hindi is called Mul (nakshatra), the child was named Mulraj. Sanwatsingh adopted him as his son and gave him education and training. When he attained to the age of discretion, the king in a state of inebriation, designated him as his heir apparent. In a sober state, he denied of what he had said in a state of intoxication. After his death, Mulraj Solanki seized an opportunity and occupied the throne. The Solankis are ten in number. They ruled for one hundred and fifty six years, three months and two days. Raja Mulraj fifty six years, Raja Jamand twelve years four months and two days, Raja Bhalu seven months, Dulaj Raja nephew of Jamand eight years, Raja Bhimdev forty two years, Raja Kharan thirty one years, Raja Sidhraj Jaisingh fifty years. Raja Kunwarpal thirty years three months and three days. Raja Ajaypal three years, one month and two days who poisoned his patron and ruled. Lakhu Muldev, brother of Bhimdev twenty years. During the reign of Jamand Solanki in the year 416 Hijri, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni raised the banner for jihad (religious war) and started for Somnath by way of Multan. He happened to pass by Nahrwalah Pattan. Raja Jamand had no strength to offer resistance. He left Pattan and fled. Sultan Mahmud gained ascendancy over Pattan. He collected whatever was needed for his soldiers and then proceeded towards Somnath. He reached his destination in the month of Zikarad of the above mentioned year. After conquest of Somnath, he learnt that Raja Jamand, ruler of Nahrwalah, who had fled at the time of march of the victorious king, had now garrisoned himself in the fort. There was a distance of forty five farsangs from this place (Somnath) to his fort. Sultan Mahmud cherished a desire to conquer that fort. He marched to that side.



When he reached there, he saw a fort which was surrounded by water. He caught hold of two divers and inquired from them about depth of water. They said that it was possible for elephant to cross it. If the sea was in tide at the time of crossing, all might get drowned. After seeking augury, Sultan Mahmud relied on divine favour and trust and drove his horse through water along with his soldiers and reached safely to the foot of citadel of the fort. When Raja Jamand saw this state of affairs, he fled alone. Vast booty fell in the hands of the Sultan's army. Residents of the fort were slain. The author of *Rawzat us safa*¹ narrates a strange story in connection with Somnath.

CONQUEST OF SOMNATH BY SULTAN GHAZNAVI

Story It is related that when Sultan Mahmud conquered Somnath he desired to reside there for several years because it was a country long and wide. A wonder or a marvel of it was that there were so many gold mines in its vicinity that pure gold was extracted from them and the mine of Ceylon which was subservient to that country produced sapphire sufficient for the whole country. The courtiers said that to leave Khurasan and make Somnath the capital was beyond the mark. In short, he resolved to return. The Sultan said that some one should be appointed for defence protection and establishment of administrative control. The nobles replied that there would be no more control over it. It was proper that it should be entrusted to one of the local men. The Sultan consulted his loyal officers and well wishers in this respect. Some of them said that none of them, in pedigree and lineage, traced his descent from the royal family of this region. At present, there was one man from the royal family who was, in guise of a Brahmin, engaged in wisdom and austerity. If the Sultan bestowed this kingdom on him, it would be a worthy choice. Some of them differed from this view and disclosed that the recluse Dabeshlim was an ill natured man. He was involved in divine dis grace. His aversion and brokenness are not voluntary, nay, he became a captive, several time, at the hands of his brothers, sought security of life and took refuge at this spot. But there is another Dabeshlim from amongst his relatives. He is sufficiently wise and learned and the Brahmins have faith in his wisdom. He is, at present the ruler of a particular region. If the Sultan designates him as king of this region and issues a mandate in his name, he will come here. He will strengthen these regions as by right and prosper them. That will be better. He is so sincere and true to his word that he will take upon himself the responsibility for payment of tribute and contribution which he will send, inspite of a distance, to the treasury at Ghazni. The Sultan said, "If he comes to me, his request

¹ Name of the history by Muhammed son of Khwandshir commonly called *Mirkhwand* (d June 22, 1498)



would be granted, but a person who is a king in the region of Hind, has not paid obeisance to me till now and showed his loyalty. How can a kingdom with such vastness be granted to him? " In short, the recluse Dabeshlim was summoned. He gave the kingdom to him. He took upon himself the responsibility for payment of tribute. He said, " I will not act contrary, during my life, to any order of His Majesty. I will send all the gold and sapphire of the Hindi mines to the treasury of the Sultan at Ghazni. But there is another Dabeshlim from amongst my relatives. He is excessively on inimical terms with me. Several times we have fought with each other. There is no doubt that when he comes to know about the Sultan's departure, he will invade my territory. As I have no fully equipped army at present, I will be vanquished and he will gain ascendancy over my kingdom. If the Sultan now marches against him and removes his mischief from over my head, I will remit, annually, to the treasury of Ghazni as much tribute as is equivalent to that of Khurasan and Kabulistan. " The Sultan said, " We have come here with the intention of religious war. We have not gone to Ghazni for the last three years. Let there be three years and six months. He marched on that country. Residents of Somnat region said to the recluse Dabeshlim, " You are not doing a good thing. You induce the Sultan to have designs against him. One to whom God, Honoured and Glorified, made honourable and bestowed the merit of nobility, will not be put to disgrace through your efforts and slander. " Some one conveyed these words to the Sultan. He got very much perplexed. As he had already ordered to set off on a march, it was not pleasing for him to repeal and annul it. In short, he invaded that country, conquered the kingdoms of Dabeshlim, arrested him, made him a captive and entrusted him to the recluse Dabeshlim. He said, " It is a great sin in our religion to slay kings. All the soldiers will abhor a king who is pleased to shed blood of another king and rise in revolt against him. There is a practice among kings of this region that when an enemy is overpowered, a dark underground cell is built beneath his throne. He is seated there on a large cushion. All doors to his entrance are closed. Only so much space is kept open as to let in a tray of food for him every day and then it is firmly closed. This continues till the life-time of a king who occupies the throne. The enemy-king is treated in this manner. I am not powerful enough now to keep him imprisoned in this way. He, therefore, should not be sent to me to be incarcerated in this fashion. If the Sultan takes him with him to Ghazni, and keep him there so long as I consolidate my position in the establishment of good government. This will not be too much for the kindness of your Majesty. " The Sultan agreed to his proposal and beat the drum of departure. The recluse Dabeshlim sat on the throne in Somnat, and continued to send presents and gifts to him in future and pleased the courtiers with various services until he firmly established himself in the kingdom. He sent treasure and jewels for the Sultan. He demanded his enemy back. The Sultan hesitated in sending him and did not like an innocent man to be handed over to an enemy.



But as the recluse Dabeshlim had won over support of the courtiers by liberal gifts of money, all of them said "Why should mercy be shown to a polytheist? Again it is not worthy of the Sultan to practise breach of faith for it will mean hostility to the recluse Dabeshlim and the kingdom will slip away from the hand." The Sultan surrendered the youth to the men of the recluse Dabeshlim on the advice of his amirs. He wrote a mandate to kings of Hind that he should be conducted to the borders of Somnat. When he was conveyed to the borders, Dabeshlim ordered a prison as decided to be got ready beneath his throne. It was a practice among kings of Somnat that when an enemy approached the capital of a kingdom, they went out to a distance of one manzil and placed a tray and a special ewer on his head. He is then made to run on foot before his horse till he comes to the court and sits on the throne. The enemy (then) is taken to the fixed prison and seated on the cushion. The recluse Dabeshlim came out in accordance with this practice. Delay took place in arrival of the enemy. He intended to go out a hunting. The king and his soldiers galloped their horses much in every direction till the atmosphere grew warm. A squadron dismounted from horses in a corner. Dabeshlim got down under the shade of a tree and slept covering his face with a red handkerchief. There were many hunting birds with hard claws and sharp beaks in that jungle. One of them was in flight. It thought the red handkerchief to be a piece of flesh. It flew down from air, struck its claw on the handkerchief and let down its beak. One eye of Dabeshlim got blind by the blow of its beak. A furore took place in the army. In the meantime, the youth was brought. When the nobles and the grandees saw that Dabeshlim was deformed and his figure presented a wonderful and strange appearance and that there was none except that youth with merit and worth of a king, all of them saluted him as a king. Some who opposed were vanquished. The same tray and ewer which were brought for the youth were placed on head of the recluse Dabeshlim who was made to run to the court and sent to the built prison. God is holy! within twinkling of an eye, the secret of prophetic tradition became patent. The prophet, may peace be on him said, "He who dug a pit for his brother, then he fell into it." Amir Khusraw of Dihli has versified it as

Couplet

*He who digs a well on road for some one
Makes a way for himself beneath the earth*

When the turn of Raja Bhimdev came to the kingship of Naharwala Sultan Mu'izzuddin Sam famous as Shihab became governor of Ghaznin as a deputy of his brother in the year 570, five hundred and seventy. In the year 574, five hundred and seventy-four Hijri, he led his army to Auchh and conquered it from the Carmathians. In wake of it, he also conquered Multan and desired to march to Gujarat by way of a desert. Raja Bhimdev advanced to oppose him and flame



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of war and massacre blazed forth between them. He discomfited the Sultan in battle. The Sultan took himself to Ghazni with great hardship. In the year 589, five hundred and eighty-nine Hijri, Malek Qutbuddin Aibak, deputy of the Sultan in Hindustan, made Dihli the capital. From that date, Dihli became the capital of the Sultans. He led his army to Naharwalah of Gujarat and took due vengeance on Raja Bhimdev for the Sultan. When Raja Sidhraj Jaisingh Solanki became the king, he extended his conquest as far as Malwa and Burhanpur etc. and laid foundation of lofty forts such as the forts of Broach and Dabhoi etc. He dug the tank of Sahastraling in Pattan, many others in Biramgam and at most places in Sorath. His reign is known as "Sang Bast" the Age of Stone Buildings. He founded the city of Sidhpur and built the famous Rudramal Temple. It is related that when he intended to build Rudramal, he summoned astrologers to elect an auspicious hour for it. The astrologers said to him that some harm through heavenly revolution is presaged from Alauddin when his turn comes to the Saltanat of Dihli. The Raja relied on the statement of astrologers and entered into a pledge and pact with the said Sultan. The Sultan had said, "If I do not destroy it under terms of the pact, yet I will leave some religious vestiges." When, after some time, the turn of the Sultan came to the Saltanat of Dihli, he marched with his army to that side and left religious marks by constructing a masjid and a minar. Most of the temples and tanks all of them of stone whose description is long, were built by the said king.

The Vaghela Dynasty Transfer of power from the Solankis to the Baghela dynasty is in this manner. When Raja Lakhu Muldev Solanki, the last king of that dynasty had no son with worth and ability of kingship, the kingdom, therefore, passed on to the Baghela family. There are six rulers of this dynasty. They rule for a period of one hundred and twenty-six years, one month and fifteen days. Raja Andol Muldev twelve years and five months, Raja Bisaldev who founded the town of Bisalnagar, thirty-four years and six months, Raja Bhimdev forty-two years, Raja Arjundev ten years, Raja Sarangdev twenty-one years, Raja Karan six years, and two and a half months.

Domination of Muslims Prevalence of the clear faith of His Prophetship, Chief among the Prophets, may benedictions and peace of Allah be on him, in this region in accordance with the Command of the Supreme Almighty

It was, in accordance with the Eternal Will and Permanent Intention that the practices of Islam and prevalence of Prophetic rules may peace be on him, may come to be manifested in this land and that the rule and domination of the three unbelieving dynasties may come to an end. It should remain under control of protectors (defenders) of the bright creed and the shining path and that the lustre of lights of the sun of the clear Faith may shine in the dark region of unbelief from four directions so that people might, with the announcement of the word



of God and the currency of religions principles, devote themselves to execution of the commandments of God and abstention of prohibitions and they may be escorted to the cheerful highway of guidance from the dreadful valley of erring (error) Those who have lost their way of truth may reach the destination of the path Clearness of this statement and explanation of this substance is

Sultan Alauddin Khilji established himself on the throne of Dilli as a sovereign He was a God-fearing king and a nourisher of his subjects He made utmost efforts and attempts in obeying the bright religion The Ulama(learned men) of the age unanimously decided to recite his name in the Khutba (religious sermon on Friday and the 'Id days) as one who strove in the path of Allah He was worthy of this title In the year 696, six hundred and ninety-six, he sent an army for the conquest of Gujarat under the command of Ulugh Khan who became famous among the Gujaratis as Alp Khan and Nusrat Khan Jalesri These khans subjected Naharwala that is, Pattan and the whole of that dominion to plunder and pillage Raja Karan Baghela, the last raja of that dynasty gave battle As he saw that he had no power to offer resistance and also it was the will of God, he fled to Devgarh Chandali His women, daughters, treasure and elephants fell in the hands of religious warriors of Islam They obtained lot of wealth and jewels from rich men of Khambhayat They broke the idol of Somnat which was installed again after Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi and sent riches, treasure, elephants, women and daughters of Raja Karan to the Sultan at Dilli When the daughter of the above-mentioned raja, ruler of Pattan by name Dewaldi Rani reached Dilli along with riches and other captives Khizr Khan son of 'Alauddin Khilji became enamoured of her perfect beauty The Sultan, after learning about Khizr Khan's love for Dewaldi Rani, married her with him He himself married the mother of Dewaldi Amir Khusraw Dihlwi versified in a book the romance (love-episode) of Khizr Khan and Dewaldi It is a famous book But it is so understood from it that Dewaldi Rani was tender in age and beautiful Ulugh Khan looked after her as a daughter At last she was married to Khizr Khan under order of the Sultan The following few couplets giving information about the love episode of Khizr Khan and Dewaldi Rani are cited

Couplets

*Dewaldi Rani who is in the age
Unique among peacocks of Hindustan
According to the Hindu custom, from her mother and father
In the beginning, her address (name) was Dewaldi
As dev (devil) found his way to the name of that fairy
My incantation guarded her from that dev
I so observed the rule of change*

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*That from Hindi I raised the mark to Hindat (women in Hind)
I dropped one obscurity to serve purpose
That I made dewal dawal with a rule
Dawal, as, is the collection of fortunes (dawlat) in hearing
There are many good fortunes combined in this book.
As the Rani was the master of good fortune and desire
I compounded her name Dawalrani
When name of the Khan got added to name of the friend
The sky, under shadow of these two, became famous
Name of this romantic book
Remained in the world as Dawalrani Khizr Khan*

After conquest of Naharwal and expulsion of Raja Karan, Ulugh Khan occupied himself with the government. From that day, governors were appointed on this side on behalf of the Sultans of Delhi. It is said that a lofty masjid called Masjid-i-Adinah (Friday Masjid) of marble stone which exists even today is built by him. It is popular among common folk that error is mostly committed in counting its many pillars. They relate that it was a temple which was converted into a masjid. In reality, it is a wonderfully lofty masjid. In those days, it was (situated) in middle of population (in the heart of the city). Now it is away from the city. Most of the relics and vestiges of magnificence and extension of the ancient prosperity of Pattan city are found in the shape of bricks and dried clay, which inform us about the truth of this statement, scattered nearly to a distance of three kurohs (one kush = 2 miles) from the present place of habitation. Remnants of towers of the ancient fortifications seen at some places are a proof of repeated changes and vicissitude in population due to passage of times. Most of the ancient relics gradually became extinct. Marble stones, at the end of the rule of rajas, were brought from Ajmer for building temples in such a quantity that more than which is dug out from the earth even now. All the marble stones utilized in the city of Ahmedabad were (brought) from that place. In short, Ulugh Khan continued as a Nizam (governor) of the Gujarat Suba for twenty years on behalf of Sultan Alaaddin Khilji. At the close of Saltanat, Ulugh Khan was called to the royal presence. Khwaja, Sava who then was the confidante of secrets and held the office of Vizir (ministership) was put to death without any cause due to hostility and slander of Malek Naib. Khizr Khan was arrested at his instigation and imprisoned in the Fort of Gwalior. After a short time, the Sultan suffered from the disease of dropsy. After a period of twenty-one years' rule, he died in the year seven hundred and seventeen Hijri.

Couplet

*When departure came face to face
It matters little whether one is Jamshid or Parus or Ahustan*

It is said that Malek Naib poisoned the Sultan. As Khizr Khan, son of Sultan Alaaddin Khilji was set aside as heir-apparent due to wickedness of Malek



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Naib who raised Shihabuddin, the younger son of the Sultan, to sovereignty and named him a king while he himself managed administrative affairs and conducted the Government. He sent some persons (to the fort of Gwalior) and blinded Khizr Khan. This state of affairs continued for one month and five days when some of the Alai slaves slayed Malek Naib.

Couplet

*If you practise evil, do not expect goodness
For a tamarisk tree will never yield grapes as fruit*

* * *

CHAPTER 2

REIGN OF SULTAN QUTBUDDIN MUBARAK SHAH, SON OF SULTAN ALAUDDIN

The amirs and the nobles took out Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, son of Sultan Alauddin from prison at the age of eighteen, and seated him on the throne. From the time, Sultan Alauddin recalled Ulugh Khan from Gujarat and slayed him and he himself died as stated above, chaos prevailed in Governmental affairs. Riots and revolts happened in Gujarat. Rebels raised their heads everywhere. When Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah ascended the throne, he appointed Malek Kamaluddin to suppress untoward events. He came to Gujarat and was ennobled with the honour of martyrdom. Revolts became more intense. The Sultan sent Ain ul Mulk Multani with an equipped army for quelling rebellion. He restored real order and established quiet in the region. After removal of mischief mongers, Malek Dinar, father in law of the Sultan was bestowed the title of Zafar Khan and appointed the Nazim of Gujarat. The said Khan established real order and authority during the three or four months when he governed the region and sent vast sums of money to the royal treasury. The Sultan then, recalled the said Khan who was a pillar of the state (a noble) and put him to death without any offence. He sent Husamuddin who was from the side of the mother of Khusraw Khan's brother, the favourite of the Sultan with a grant of all the equipage of Zafar Khan. When Husamuddin reached Gujarat, he collected members of the Parmar tribe who were caste fellows of Khusraw and Husamuddin and interded to rise in revolt. Other amirs who had accompanied him, arrested him after knowledge of this base deed, imprisoned him and sent him to the Sultan. The Sultan sent in place of Husamuddin Malek Wajihuddin Qureishi who was noted for plentiful valour and experience to Gujarat. He improved Gujarat which was ruined by Husamuddin. At the close of his reign the Sultan recalled Wajihuddin and conferred upon him the office of Vizarat and



the title of Taj-ul-Mulk. Khusraw Khan, the Hindu of the Parmar tribe, with whom the Sultan made love and was enamoured of his handsomeness, declared Gujarat in his own name on account of his sufficient access and influence (over the Sultan) Not content with this, he entertained a craze for sultanat in the mind of his blessed name He killed the Sultan and sat on the throne He collected before himself his own tribesmen and assumed the title of Nasiruddin for himself Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah ruled for four years and four months When Ghazi-ul-Mulk, an Alai amir learnt about the base action of Khusraw, he was stirred with a sense of honour He gathered together the amirs and armies of different parts, captured Khusraw after a war and sent every limb of his body to the keeper of hell As there was no descendant of Sultan Alauddin, the amirs unanimously raised Ghazi-ul-Mulk to Sultanat in the year seven hundred and twenty Hyri and gave him the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq Shah He marched towards Gujarat at the close of his reign and appointed Tajuddin Jafar as the Nazim of Gujarat He died along with six other persons due to a sudden collapse of the palace ceiling after a reign of four years and some months

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CHAPTER 3

REIGN OF SULTAN MUHAMMED SON OF GHIYAS-UD-DIN TUGHLAK SHAH.

Sultan Muhammed son of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq Shah ascended the throne He was a king with abundance of sharp intelligence He was proficient in most of the branches of knowledge. He cherished far-fetched ideas, details of which are found in books on history He put forth wonderful claims Malek Muqbil titled Khan Jahan Naib Bakhtiar a minstrel was, in those days, the Nazim of Gujarat. Once he was proceeding to Dihli by way of Dabhoi and Baroda with treasures and horses he had collected for the Sultan's stable The hundred-fold amirs of Gujarat plundered him. The Malek fled away and came alone to Naharwala On hearing this news, the Sultan got enraged and marched with an army to Gujarat He halted here for two years and conquered the fort of Karnal Raja Khengar of Kutchh came to wait upon him At the time of return, he appointed Nizam-ul-Mulk to the office of Nizamat of Gujarat He fell ill on the way and died within a few days

Couplet.

*Did you see that the head of Alp Arsalan went up to the sky in exaltation?
At Meru, now, you will see the body of Alp Arsalan under the ground.
He reigned for twenty-seven years*

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CHAPTER 4

REIGN OF SULTAN FIROZ, COUSIN OF SULTAN MUHAMMED

Sultan Firoz sat on the throne of sovereignty in accordance with the consensus of opinion of Muslims, personal merit and successor of Sultan Muhammed on 24th Muharram ul-Haram of the year 752, seven hundred and fifty-two Hijri. He formulated rules, regulations and orders concerning affairs of the state, matters of the Sultanat, welfare of the empire and encouragement of the religion. He made many conquests. The Sultan came to Gujarat after the conquest of Nagarkot when he appointed Zafar Khan as Nazim by removing Nizam ul-Mulk. Zafar Khan died in Gujarat in the year 773, seven hundred and seventy three. His eldest son, being ennobled with the paternal title, was appointed in his father's place. In the meanwhile, Shamsuddin Damghani petitioned to the Sultan "I agree to pay forty lakhs of tankahs over and above the total revenue of Gujarat along with one hundred elephants, two hundred Arab horses and four hundred slaves annually." The Sultan said that if Shamsuddin Anwar Khan deputy to Zafar Khan agrees to pay the same, so far so good. As he did not agree to it, the Nizamat of Gujarat was granted to Shamsuddin Damghani. He rebelled as he failed to discharge his responsibility. The Sultan sent an army (against him). He was killed. After his death, Gujarat was put in charge of Malek Mufarreh Sultan who ultimately received the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk Rasti Khan. Sultan Firoz died in the year 790, seven hundred and ninety Hijri. He ruled for a period of thirty-eight years and nine months.

Couplet.

*The world, oh brother, does not remain with any one
Attach your heart to the World -Creator and that is enough
When the pure soul intends to depart
What matters if one dies on the throne or on surface of the earth*

* * *

CHAPTER 5

REIGN OF SULTAN GHIYAS-UD-DIN SON, OF FATEH KHAN SON OF FIROZ SHAH, WHO WAS ALSO CALLED FIROZ SHAH

After the death of Firoz Shah, the Firozi servants seated Sultan Ghiyas ud din, son of Fateh Khan, son of Firoz Shah on the throne with the title of Firoz Shah. Due to predominance of youth, he gave himself up to sport, play, pleasures, merriment and sensuality. He practised tyranny and oppression over people. Malek Ruknuddin Naib slayed him in the year seven hundred and ninety-one Hijri and suspended his head before the court. He ruled for six months and eighteen days.

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CHAPTER 6

REIGN OF ABU BAKR SHAH, A DESCENDANT OF FIROZ SHAH AND MUHAMMED SHAH, SON OF FIROZ SHAH.

After the death of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din, grandson of Sultan Firoz Shah, the amirs brought out Abu Bakr from the (royal) house, a descendant of Firoz Shah and seated him on the throne. He became a captive in the hands of Muhammed Shah, son of Sultan Firoz and died in a prison. He ruled for one year and six months. When Muhammed Shah became victorious, the ryots of Gujarat and Khanbhayat lodged a complaint seeking redress against the tyranny of Rastikhan. Sultan Muhammed Shah granted the fief of Gujarat to Zafar Khan son, of Wajihul-Mulk on 2nd of the month Rabi ' I, 993, nine hundred and ninety-three Hijri and permitted him to go there. The Sultan died of a disease on 17th Rabi, seven hundred and ninety-six Hijri. He ruled for six years and seven months.

* * *

CHAPTER 7

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERIOD OF ZAFAR KHAN, SON OF WAJIH- UL-MULK. FOUNDING THE STATE OF GUJARAT. BEGINNING OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GUJARATI SULTANS.

The original object in writing these pages in narration of events which took place after termination of the rule of the Gujarati Sultans and the conquest of this kingdom by His Late Majesty (Akbar) may God illumine his grave, as well as those which happened during regime of the Nazims in every period and relation of circumstances which became courses of ruin of this kingdom and brought desolation in such a fertile and rich region. The account has been continued from the beginning of the rule of the Rajas of this land to that of the Gujarati Sultans. Events of the above-mentioned Sultans have been recorded by many sages of the ancient times such as Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi. After that, Halwai Shirazi has left a versified history of Ahmad Shah (which is) extremely sweet, on shop of the world. A respectable person wrote Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi in the name of Sultan Mahmud Begada; a person wrote Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi in the name of Sultan Bahadur. Every one of these books was brought out in the regime of the respective Sultan. None of them comprises all the events from beginning to end. But Mirat-i-Sikandari, written forty years after termination of the Sultans' regime, gives a detailed account of that dynasty till its extinction. As the account of the Sultans was necessary for continuity of narrative, something that was proper for every Sultan is related in short. It is a selection. If details are needed, reference should be made to the above-



mentioned books It should not remain hidden that the first person who was ennobled with the honour of Islam was Sidharan titled Wajih ul Mulk of the Tank, sub caste of the Khatri caste Continuity of their lineage ends in Ramchandra whom the Hindus have adopted as god to be worshipped Their conversion to Islam, cause of designation of Tank and wine dealers are given in details in the History of Gujarat This book has no capacity to treat it When Sultan Muhammed Shah son of Firoz Shah, cousin of Sultan Ghiyas ud din Tughlaq Shah became the Sultan, of Delhi in the year seven hundred and ninety, the fortune of Zafar Khan son of Wajih ul Mulk rose high In the year seven hundred and ninety, a report of revolt, rebellion and oppression of Nizam Mufarreh titled Rasti Khan who held the fief of Gujarat reached the Sultan who conferred the title of Azam i Humayun on Zafar Khan on 2nd Rabi 'I of the above year, favoured him with a grant of red pavilion which is specially meant for kings and appointed him a governor of Gujarat by way of a reproof to Rasti Khan The said Khan marched from Delhi and planted his tent at entrance to ' Hawz i Khas On 4th of the said month, Sultan Muhammed Shah came out to see Khan i Azam i Humayun off and bade him adieu Tatar Khan son of Zafar Khan was adopted by him as a son and looked after him himself After covering a few stages (manzils) news arrived that a fortunate son was born in the house of Tatar Khan He was named Ahmad Thence, he proceeded with continuous marches At Nagor, the ryots of Khanbhyat who had sought redress from the tyranny of Rasti Khan waited upon Azam i Humayun and demanded justice The Khan solaced them continued march and encamped at Pattan He sent a letter (to Rasti Khan) to obey the Sultan Rasti Khan did not give a proper reply He beat the drums of misfortune with an intention to fight and marched towards Pattan At last he gave battle to the Khan near a place Kanbhu within jurisdiction of Pattan Sarkar The Khan came out victorious and triumphant Rasti Khan was killed The Khan arrived at Pattan This event took place in the year seven hundred and ninety four Hijri He devoted himself to promotion of affairs and giving comforts to the ryots and the subordinates He founded Jipur as the place of victory He made efforts at the proclamation of the word of God (confession of the Muslim faith) He led an army for plundering the temple of Somnat that is, Pattan dev He spread Islam at most of the places He brought all the cities of Gujarat under his sway He applied ointment of regard and favour on hearts lacerated by the tyranny of Rasti Khan He pleased all residents and inhabitants in general When Sultan Muhammed Shah died in the year seven hundred and ninety six the affairs of Delhi Saltanat fell in a chaotic state Tatar Khan son of Zafar Khan was appointed to the Vizarat of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud son of Sultan Muhammed Shah He fled due to the ascendancy of Iqbal Khan and came to his father in Gujarat Zafar Khan and Tatar Khan made preparation for



collection of an army to wreak vengeance on Iqbal Khan. In the meantime, a report arrived that his Majesty Sahib-i-qiran Amir Timur Gurgan had encamped in the neighbourhood of Dihli. A great disaffection found its way in that region. A large number of persons fled to Gujarat to escape from that calamity. In the meanwhile, Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah fled to Gujarat from Dihli. Having lost hope there, he proceeded to Malwa. When His Majesty Sahib-i-qiran marched towards Samargand from Hindustan, Iqbal Khan hastened again to Dihli and held sway. Tatar Khan said to his father, "By the favour of God, we have a large army and perfect preparations. It is better that we should take vengeance on Iqbal and liberate Dihli from him for sovereignty is not an inheritance of any one." Zafar Khan, out of farsightedness and some other matters did not agree to his suggestion. After much discussion, Zafar Khan set himself apart from government, entrusted attendants, retinue and means of government of the province to his son and chose the corner of seclusion. But the truth, according to a statement is that Tatar Khan imprisoned his father, assumed the title of Muhammed Shah and ascended the throne in the town of Asawal in the year eight hundred and six in the month of Jamadi II. He won over the attendants and retinue, set out in the same week for jihad and destroyed the unbelievers. Thence, he resolved to proceed to Dihli. On hearing this news, Iqbal Khan began to tremble. Sultan Muhammed, suddenly got indisposed in the month of Shaban of the said year. Clever physicians made utmost efforts in his treatment but to no avail. But a rumour, well-known and popular among the people of Gujarat and which has come down to them continuously is that the cause of death of the above-mentioned Sultan was this as the Sultan cared not for the respect of his father, observance of which meant the attainment of permanent felicity, for the sake of ephemeral world, some of the near relatives of the Sultan, whose hearts were in accord with the victorious Khan, poisoned the Sultan. Others hold the view that this took place at the suggestion of his father. In short, the corpse of Sultan Muhammed was brought and buried in Pattan. After his death, he was remembered with the title of Khudaigan -i-Shahid (the martyred king). In short, Azam-i-Humayun Zafar Khan came to the camp after that. Pillars of the state and nobles of the kingdom (nobles and grandees) submitted to his order and loosened their tongues first in condolence and then in congratulations. The Khan conciliated every one of them and returned to the Capital. It is said that the Khan always shed tears from that day to the close of his life. As the Sultanat of Dihli in the Firoz Shahi Dynasty, got into confusion (became shaky) every day till there did not remain any one to hold sway. Iqbal Khan was killed in a battle with Khizr Khan. The nobles and grandees petitioned to the victorious Khan to the effect that "the administrative control of the kingdom of Gujarat is not possible without grandeur and magnificence of sovereignty."



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At present, there is no one worthy of this great affair except yourself " Zafar Khan sat on the throne at the request of loyal courtiers at Sherpur, after three years and seven months of the death of Sultan Muhammed in the year eight hundred and ten of Hijri with the title of Muzaffar Shah. The khutba was recited and the coins were struck in his name. He designated his grandson Ahmed Khan as heir-apparent. He conducted the government with administration of justice, equity, practice of the faith of Islam and chastisement of the mischief-mongers till Sultan Ahmed, son of Sultan Muhammed who was called Tatar Khan, the grandson of Muzaffar Shah poisoned his grand father in the year eight hundred and thirteen Hijri. Other causes have been mentioned about the death of Muzaffar Shah. But this view is regarded as reliable by the author of Mirat-i-Sikandari that when the Kolis of Asawal town placed their feet outside the path of obedience and extended their hands to pillage and plunder, Sultan Muzaffar permitted his grandson Ahmed Khan to proceed with a large army to chastise them. Accordingly, Ahmad Khan marched from Pattan city and encamped at the tank of Khansarovar. He summoned the 'ulma, (learned men) and inquired from them as to what they had to say in this respect, "If any one has killed some one else's father unjustly, is it proper on the part of his son to seek retaliation from him or not?" Every one of them replied in the affirmative. They wrote out a fatwa (religious decree). The Khan preserved the fatwa with himself. Next day, he suddenly entered the city. He imprisoned his grand father Sultan Muzaffar and put poison in his cup. The Sultan said, "Oh son! You made haste, otherwise, is this all not for you?" He replied, "Time has come." The Sultan said, "Listen to some admonitions from me which will be useful to you. Firstly, never hope for friendship from that person who has instigated you to commit this deed. Kill him. Secondly, abstain from drinking wine for its renouncement is ved useful to kings. Further, slay Shaikh Malek and Sher Malek for both of them are a mischief of the age." He imparted several other admonitions and drank the draught of despair. He died at the close of the month of Safar of the above year. He was buried in the middle of the citadel of city-fortifications of Pattan. It is related that Sultan Ahmed repented very much after the death of his grandfather and regreted. He was a governor for eighteen years and a king for three years, eight months and sixteen days. There were fourteen Sultans of Gujarat or thirteen according to different accounts. They ruled for one hundred and eighty years, slightly less, from the coronation of Muzaffar Shah in the year 810, eight hundred and ten to 14th Rajab of the year 980, nine hundred and eighty. And God knows the best.

Couplet

*He who came to the world, will become a person of death
He who will permanently remain, will be God*

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CHAPTER 8

CORONATION

AN ACCOUNT OF ACCESSION (TO THE THRONE) OF AHMED KHAN TITLED SULTAN AHMED, GRANDSON OF MUZAFFAR SHAH.

May it not remain hidden that a fixed practice and permanent rule among the Gujarati Sultans was that the 'Khan' was added to the name of their sons and that any one, who attained to the rank of Saltanat, assumed the title of Sultan. When Sultan Muzaffer Shah died, Ahmad Khan sat on the throne with the title of Sultan Ahmad Shah on 14th of the month of auspicious Ramzan of the year 813, eight hundred and thirteen. The first revolt was that of Mawdud, son of Firoz Khan, cousin of the Sultan who was then the governor of Barodra (Baroda). Having confederated himself with the neighbouring amirs, he breathed of "I am better than he" and raised a disturbance. The Sultan led an army against him. After a repeated warfare, Mawdud fled and garrisoned himself in the fort at Broach. At last, he came out and saw the Sultan. The Sultan returned from that place. When he arrived at the town of Asawal, he made it his object to exterminate Asa Bhil. In that auspicious year, he ordered laying the foundation of the great city of Ahmedabad with the permission of the Full Moon among the perfect mystics, the Sun among the sincere friends of God Shaikh Ahmed Khattu Ganj-bakhsh (bestower of treasure). Details of width and length of the city, God the Great willing, will be written in the supplement.. He led an army against Idar in the year 814, eight hundred and fourteen Hijri, The Raja of the place fled. He repented of his deed and agreed to pay a certain tribute. The Sultan connived at his offences. May it be clear, that at the outset, rust of unbelief was cleared from mirror of the cities of Gujarat with the polish of the lustrous sword of Sultan Alauddin. Although brightness had appeared in a long tract of land extending from the city of Naharwala alias Pattan to the fort of Broach but the darkness of unbelief had remained in various parts of the land. At last, all these parts became pure and bright slowly with efforts and diligence of the Sultans of Gujarat. Some of those places acquired light of Islam through efforts of Sultan Ahmed. In the year 817, eight hundred and seventeen Hijri, he resolved to march with intent of jihad against the unbelievers of Girnar, a famous fort in Sorath. Raja Mandalik fought with him but was defeated and took refuge in the fort. It is narrated that even though that land (region) this time did not get complete brightness from the lamp of Islam, yet the Sultan subdued the fort of Junagadh situated near the foot of Girnar mountain. Most of the Zamindars of Sorath became submissive and obedient to him and agreed to pay tribute. After that, he

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demolished the temple of Sayyedpur in the month of Jamadī I of the year 818, eight hundred and eighteen Hijrī. He led an army against the town of Dhar in the year 819 eight hundred and nineteen Hijrī. He made an inroad on Sokhda on 1st Ziqad of the year 821 eight hundred and twenty one and built two forts at Sokhda on 22nd Safar of the year eight hundred and twenty-two as well as a lofty masjid. He appointed a Kazi and a Khatib (preacher) for propagation of the Path of Muhammed and the Religion of Ahmed and gave currency to the practice of Islam. In that very year, he built a fort at Mankani in the district of Sokhda and left a squadron for defence. He returned because of a letter written by Shams Khan Dandani, uncle of Sultan Ahmed who was the governor at Nagor. Shams Khan was nicknamed Dandani because his four teeth had protruded long. In the year 823, eight hundred and twenty three Hijrī, he attended to the establishment of administrative control over his dominion. He suppressed refractoriness wherever it was found. He demolished temples and constructed masjids in their places. He built forts and appointed wardens. First, he built a fort at Chitor in the pargana of Barah Sinor. He then populated the town of Dahahud in a mountaneous region and built a fort there. He repaired the fort of Kareth Kasha which was founded by Ulugh Khan in the reign of Sultan Alauddin in the year 704, seven hundred and four and named it Sultanabad. He again marched towards Idar in the year 830, eight hundred and thirty. The Raja fled to a mountaneous region. The Sultan founded the city of Ahmednagar on bank of the River Hathmati at a distance of ten Kurohs (1Kuroh=2 miles) from Idar on the border of Gujarat. He built a fort of strong stones round the city and decided to reside there. In the year 831, eight hundred and thirty one, an army came by way of Kahi while Kodu Punja, Raja of Idar rushed from an ambush and attacked the residents of Kahi. The Mir of Kahi fled. An elephant which he had was, driven ahead by Punja who went away. At last, the soldiers who were in a scattered state, gathered together and chased Punja. By chance, they came to a valley on one side of which there is a mountain whose peak touches the sky while on another side of it there is a cave whose depth goes down to the lowest region of the earth. Between the two, there is a narrow passage through which a horseman can pass with many difficulties. When Punja came to that narrow path, the army of the Sultan came from behind. The elephant-driver turned face of his elephant and drove towards Punja. Punja's horse got frightened and fell in a cave and died instantaneously. The Sultan's army advanced with that elephant but nobody had any information about Punja. Next day, a carrier of fuel cut off his head and brought it to the Sultan's pavilion. After that, he remained at the capital for two years. He did not care for another man's kingdom except governmental organization of his own territory. He evolved a system of civil



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and military administration in consultation with his sagacious ministers and well meaning amirs in this way Soldiers' stipend-half of it was to be paid out of the jagir (revenue-produce from land) and half in cash If the complete salary is paid in cash, there will not remain any surplus with him. A soldier will be without any means He will become careless in defence of the kingdom If half out of revenue produce is assigned to him as salary, he will derive benefit in shape of grass, fuel etc from that mahal If he made efforts in cultivation and its improvement, he will be benefited He will strive with heart and soul for defence and protection of the kingdom Half in cash will be conveyed to him every month without delay and waiting so that he may remain present wherever he may be for receiving it If he has to face scarcity, he may not be in need of borrowing either when he is at a greater distance or nearer home Again, it is possible that when he is in a distant place, a soldier may not get revenue from jagir, he may take half of his salary from the public treasury so that he may not become helpless in the army for his needs and may not take a loan on interest. He may be at ease from the side of his family for the expenses will reach his family from revenue of the jagir Regulations for treasury Officers A treasurer ought to be a servant of the king, while his officer (accountant) a nobleman If both of them are noblemen it is possible that they may enter into bond of friendship with one another, or may create a link of relationship and thus they may extend their hands to dishonest means If both of them are servants, they may behave in a similar manner Tax-gatherers or revenue collectors of the Parganas were also similarly appointed. This regulation continued till the close of Saltanat of Sultan Muzaffer Halim (the clement) son of Mahmud Begada In the reign of Sultan Bahadur, as the soldiers were collected from different parts of the kingdom, the economical ministers made a selection of the region's revenue produce Revenue of some mahals rose ten-fold, of some to nine, eight and seven folds, revenue from certain mahals rose from ten to twenty No mahal was in deficit After this, changes were introduced and regulations were set aside Revolts and rebellions took place in the province of Gujarat Some account of it will be given at its appropriate place After that, the Sultan, every year, sent an army sometime for pillage of Idar, sometime for chastisement of Vair Khan, son of Raja, ruler of Asir, sometime for punishment of Sultan Ahmed Bahmani and sometime for plunder of Mewar. At time, he personally marched with the army He was always a victor He did not suffer any defeat during his reign The army of Gujarat always gained a victory over the armies of Mandu, Delhihin, Aor, unbelievers of Mewar and neighbouring places In the year 815, eight hundred and forty-five, he died and was buried in a mausoleum situated at Minck Ghawk before June ' Mayid , Ahmedabad The Sultan was born on the night of 19th Zilhajj, 793, seven hundred and ninety-three. He acceded to the throne of



sovereignty when he crossed twenty years of age. He ruled for thirty-two years, six months and twenty-two days. He lived for fifty-two years and some months. He is a murid (disciple) of His Holiness Hazrat Kutb-ul Mashaikh Shaikh Ruknuddin,¹ mine of sugar. He had no equal in administration of justice, practice of piety and generosity.

It is narrated that the son in law of the Sultan committed an unlawful murder in a fit of arrogance and vanity of youth and relationship with the Sultan. The Sultan sent him to a Kazi in a chained state. The Kazi pleased the heirs of the murdered person with a grant of two hundred camels and brought him before the Sultan. The Sultan said even though the heirs of the murdered fellow are pleased with compensation for man slaughter but I should not accept it but this action will be construed by wealthy mischief mongers in light of their power and authority and would be emboldened to commit unlawful murder. Hence retaliation is better than compensation on this occasion. He ordered the murderer to be taken to a market for retaliation and was hung on gallows. He remained in a suspended position for one complete day. Next day, he ordered him to be brought down and buried. After seeing this punishment, none of the amirs and the soldiers committed unlawful murder from beginning to end of the Sultan's reign.

It is narrated that one day the Sultan was on balcony of the royal palace. He saw in the river Sabarmati which flowed beneath the royal palace that a black thing was floating on surface of water which was moving fast. He ordered that it should be brought to him. It was a jar wherein a dead body was put and left floated in water. He ordered all potters of the city to be brought before his presence. He inquired from them as to who had made it. One of them said 'I have made it. I had sold it to such and such a mukaddam (headman) of such a place from the environs of Ahmedabad. He was also presented. After an inquiry and investigation it was found that, that mukaddam had slayed a green grocer, put him in a jar and left it floating on water. He ordered him to be retaliated. These two unlawful murders were committed during regime of the Sultan. Sultan Ahmed had a genius for versification. The following couplet is composed by him in praise of His Holiness Hazrat Syed Burhanuddin Kutb ul Alam son of Syed Mahmud Nasiruddin, son of Hazrat Syed Jahl Makhdam i Jahannia, May God make their souls holy.²

Couplet

*The kutb of our age is a sufficient proof for us
His proof is always evident like his name*

* * *

¹ See p 114 Supplement Mirat Ahmadi

² See p 26 Supplement Mirat Ahmadi



CHAPTER 9

REIGN OF SULTAN MUHAMMED SHAH, SON OF SULTAN AHMED

Sultan Muhammed Shah acceded to the royal throne on the third day after the death of Sultan Ahmed in the year 845, eight hundred and forty-five Hijri. He indulged in pleasures and joys and did not care for government, nay, a lasso of his capability would not reach the high stages of kingly affairs. But he was very charitable ("Zar Bakhsh" = bestower of gold). He led an army against the Raja of Idar this year, who fled to the mountains and sent his envoys from there to the Sultan to get his past offence forgiven. He sent his own daughter to the Sultan. The Sultan got enamoured of her beauty and gave back the kingdom of Idar to her father at her intercession. Then he marched against Bakhda, subjected it to plunder and pillage and returned to the Capital. The divine saint, knower of mysteries of the Holy God, Pole or Chief of the Spiritual Directors Shaikh Ahmed Khattu famous as Ganj Bakhsh died at the age of forty-nine. Sultan Muhammed built lofty buildings and a mausoleum over the shrine of Shaikh. He hastened to the fort of Champaner in the year 854 eight hundred and fifty four. At the time of return, he fell ill at Ghothara in the Paragana of Sarli. Thence he came to Ahmedabad and died on 20th of the Holy Muharram of the year 855, eight hundred and fifty five Hijri. He was buried in the enclosure of his father's mausoleum. He ruled for nine years and some months according to another statement seven years and four months. There is another cause of the Sultan's death, details of which are written in Mirat i Sikandari.



CHAPTER 10

REIGN OF JALAL KHAN TITLED QUTBUDDIN, SON OF MUHAMMED SHAH

In the month of Holy Muharram of the year 855, eight hundred and fifty-five, Sultan Qutbuddin, son of Muhammed Shah was at Nadiad. He came (to Ahmedabad) at the invitation of the ministers and amirs and acceded to the throne. He honoured his soldiers with khilat (robe of honour) and presents in accordance with ancestral practice. In the meantime, Sultan Mahmud Khilji, ruler of Malwa marched from the centre of his saltanat for conquest of Gujarat and encamped in the neighbourhood of Sultanpur. Thence he arrived at Baroda with continual marches and plundered it. In the meanwhile, Sultan Mahmud received a report that Sultan Qutbuddin was ready at Khanpur situated on passage of the river Mahinadi and had pitched his pavilion. On receipt of this news, Mahmud Khilji hastened by way of the town of Kapadwanj on the environs of which the two armies met. Sultan Mahmud fled away. This event took place on Friday, 1st of the month of Victorious Safar of the year 856, eight hundred and fifty-six. Death of His Holiness Hazrat Syed Burhanuddin famous as Qutb-ul-Alam, may his grave be sanctified, took place at the rise of true dawn on 8th of Holy Zilhajj in the same year (856). One of the students of that age wrote this chronogram " Ma'la i-Yaum ul Tarwiya " (rise of the moistening day) It is narrated that Sultan Mahmud Khilji came to the border of Gujarat, some of the pen-men, who suffered a fall at the hands of Sultan Qutbuddin saw Mahmud Khilji. He demanded of them the division of the Gujarat Kingdom. He brought it before his view and found that two-thirds of it are the Jagir of soldiers and the crown land and one-third of it was for religious endowments, in the name of imams, Syeds etc. Mahmud said, ' Conquest of Gujarat is a difficult work for it has army of the day ready as well as army of the night. In short, Sultan Qutbuddin returned to Ahmedabad victorious and triumphant and indulged in pleasant pursuits and drinking red wine. He completed the buildings of the holy mausoleum of His Holiness Hazrat Ganj-Bakhsh, may his grave be sanctified, begun by his father Sultan Muhammed. He also constructed other lofty buildings such as the Kankariya Tank, Naginah Bagh and Ghamnadrol building. The author of Mirat i Sikandari writes that he had seen all these buildings a few years ago but there is no trace of them except the Kankariya Tank and the Naginah Bagh. Sultan Qutbuddin in company of Sultan Mahmud Khilji led an army against Rana Kunbha who harassed the people of Nagor in the year 861, eight hundred and sixty-one. He first made conquest of Abu Fort and thence, he raised aloft the banner of determination towards Kanbhalmer and ravaged its suburbs. Rana Kunbha was, then, in the fort of Chitor.



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The Sultan marched thither. The Rana came out with forty thousand cavalry from Chitor and fought bravely for five days. Ultimately, he got defeated, took refuge in the fort of Clitor, sent envoys, evinced repentance of his deeds, agreed to pay tribute and pledged not to harass the people of Nagor. His request was acceded to. The Sultan returned to the capital while Sultan Mahmud Khilji went to his kingdom. The Rana, again, practised breach of faith and marched against Nagor with designs of pillage. Malek Shabran Imadul Mulk, the Vazir, received this news at mid-night, he seated the Sultan that very moment in a palkhi (litter) and encamped at Kunbhalmir. When the Rana got a report of it, he returned to his kingdom. But the Sultan marched with his army towards Sirohi and entered the Rana's territory. After plunder and pillage, he returned to his kingdom. The Sultan died on 3rd Rajab of the year 863, eight hundred and sixty-three. He was buried in the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmed by the side of his father. He ruled for eight years, six months and thirteen days. Other causes are also mentioned concerning the Sultan's death which will be found in Mirat-i-Sikandari to which reference should be made by those who want to know.

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CHAPTER 11

REIGN OF SULTAN DAWOOD, SON OF SULTAN AHMED BADSHAH, UNCLE OF SULTAN QUTBUDDIN

Sultan Dawood, son of Sultan Ahmad sat on the throne, on the third day after the death of Sultan Qutbuddin, with the concord of dignified vazirs and high-stationed amirs on 6th Rajab of the year 803, eight hundred and three. He had no worth. He committed unworthy deeds. Imadul Mulk, therefore, in consultation with other amirs, brought Fath Khan, foster brother of Sultan Qutbuddin who was being brought up by His Holiness Hazrat Shah Alam. When he entered Bhadra, Sultan Dawood heard beating of drum and blowing of trumpet. He inquired about facts of the case and went out from a window to side of the bank of Sabarmati. He ruled for one month and seven days. It is said that Sultan Dawood after his dethronement, entered the Khankah of Shaikh Adhan Rumi, may his grave be sanctified, and sought instruction from him. He became an attendant of His Holiness. He made considerable progress on the spiritual path within a short time but died.



CHAPTER 12

REIGN OF FATH KHAN, SON OF SULTAN MUHAMMED TITLED SULTAN MAHMUD BEGHADA

It is related that Sultan Mahmud Be-ghada sat on the throne on Sunday, 12th of the month of great Sha'ban of the year eight hundred and sixty-three Hijri in the great city of Ahmedabad. There are two views among people of Gujarat about his nickname of Beghada. Firstly, mustachios of the Sultan were big and twisted (curved) like two horns of an ox. In the Hindi language such an ox is called Beghada. Secondly, be in the language of Gujarat means two and ghad is a fort. As the Sultan had conquered the forts of Junagadh and Champaner, he was called Be-ghada. The author of Mirat-i-Sikandari says that this Sultan was best among the Sultans of Gujarat in point of abundant justice, obligation and also in minding religious warfare, observance of the principles of Islam and respect for the Muslims. He was also distinguished among them all in point of soundness of judgment both in young and old age, as well as longevity of life, abundance of strength, valour and liberality. Abnormal appetite was a gift from the Lord of the Kingdom along with the good fortune of kingship. Daily food of the Sultan consisted of one maund in weight of Gujarat. Its ser is equivalent to fifteen Bahlul in weight. At night, trays full of sanbusa were kept to his right and left sides, so that he can eat them on whatever side he happened to wake up and then sleep. This took place several times at night. After performance of namaz, every morning, he took one cup full of honey and one cup full of ghee along with one hundred and fifty bananas. He often used to say, "If God had not made Mahmud a king, who would have filled his stomach?" His sexual potency was to such an extent that no woman was able to share bed with him except a negress who was erect, tall and young. After sexual intercourse with several ladies of the haram, the Sultan obtained sexual satisfaction only from her. He sat on the throne at the age of thirteen years, two months and three days. He favoured his soldiers, in keeping with his ancestral custom, with presents and honours. After a lapse of few months, some amirs became hostile towards Malek Sha'ban Imadul Mulk and waited for his fall from office and decline of his fortune. They culminated him before the Sultan, chained Imadul Mulk and imprisoned him. At night, Abdullah, the Superintendent of Elephant-stables represented to the Sultan the selfish motives of amirs and said that Imadul Mulk was loyal to the Sultan. At last, Imadul Mulk was released with the concord of royal servants while an order was issued for capture of perfidious amirs and plunder of their houses. When the tyrannical amirs got intelligence of this order, they arrived at Bhadr completely armed and equipped with their squadrons. Three thousand soldiers only were in attendance upon the Sultan then. He ordered elephants to be driven over



those disloyal persons. Five hundred and six hundred elephants in a body attacked them. The amirs fled away with their forces. Every one of them was captured and given a befitting punishment. After that, no one was bold enough to disobey the Sultan's order till end of his life. When rebels measured the path of non existence (died), fifty-two persons were given titles, raised to high offices and granted jagirs. A large army was collected within a short time. Safety and security prevailed in the kingdom. The Sultan had made a regulation to the effect that if any amir or soldier was martyred or died a natural death, his jagir should be assigned to his son. If he left no son, half of his jagir was given to his daughter, if he had no daughter, he fixed means of livelihood for his dependents so that they may not have any complaint against fate. One day, a man petitioned to the Sultan that the son of so and so deceased amir is not worthy of wealth. The Sultan said to him that wealth would make him able. After that, no one dared speak a word in this connection before the Sultan. He built lofty serais and elevated inns rest houses for travellers. He erected paradise like madrasahs and masjids like highest heaven. He had issued an order that none of his soldiers should borrow money on interest. He had set aside a sum for giving loans to soldiers who needed them and recovered from them on a promised period. He used to say how would the Muslims fight with religious zeal when they borrowed money on interest. Innumerable fruit bearing trees in Gujarat are due to watering in the reign of the Sultan. Whenever he saw a vacant shop or a dilapidated house in a city and villages, he inquired about their circumstances and prospered them. In the year 866, eight hundred and sixty six, he marched to the Deccan, at the request of Nizam Shah king of the Deccan that Sultan Mahmud Khilji, ruler of Malwa had led an army against him. When Sultan Mahmud Khilji received a report that Sultan Mahmud Beglada was marching by way of Buthanpur, he lifted the siege and set out for his kingdom. When Nizam Shah sent his envoys to the Sultan, he left no moment for discharge of thanksgiving and requested him to return. The Sultan returned from that place to his capital. In the year 871, eight hundred and seventy one, he hoisted his banner with an intention for conquest of the Girnar Fort of Junagadh and destruction of Rao Mandalik, raja of Girnar. It is narrated that when Sultan Mahmud Beglada resolved to conquer Girnar and Junagadh, he ordered the treasurer to take gold coins only worth five crores with him. He gave an order to the keeper of the arsenal that he should take with him one thousand and seven hundred swords of Egypt, Yamen, Africa and Khurasan, grip of each one of them should weigh six sers in gold in weight of Gujarat upto four sers three thousand and eight hundred Ahmedabadi swords, grip of each should be of silver in different weights, maximum five and minimum four sers, one thousand and seven hundred daggers and jamdhars, grip of each should weigh



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three sers and two sers and a half of gold. He instructed the Master of the Horse that he should keep ready one thousand Arab and Turk horses in this invasion. He distributed all the gold, arms and horses among soldiers during four days' of the siege. He sent powerful forces to all parts of Sorath, who plundered and pillaged them and obtained much booty. Rao Mandalik sent his agents to show humility and supplication. The Sultan thought it advisable to postpone the fort's conquest that year and returned to his capital. In the year 872, eight hundred and seventy-two, the Sultan heard that Rao Mandalik goes to the temple for worship under cover of a canopy and precious jewel-studded paraphernalia. Regal sense of honour being stirred in the Sultan, he sent forty thousand horse and many elephants with an order that the canopy and other gold paraphernalia should be seized from him, otherwise his kingdom should be subjected to plunder and pillage. When Rao Mandalik heard this news, he sent, that very moment, the canopy and other gold decorations with worthy service (obsequance) to the Sultan. The Sultan's army returned. The Sultan distributed the gold decorative ornaments among his songsters (qawwal). In the year 874, eight hundred and seventy-four he set out for conquest of Girnar and Junagadh. Rao Mandalik came to pay respects without any message of summons and petitioned to him "I am ready to do any service the Sultan orders me to do. Why should you try to ruin your obedient servant without any offence committed by him?" The Sultan said, "What offence can be equal to unbelief? If you seek security, utter the word of Unity so that I will grant your kingdom to you otherwise I will bring about your destruction." Rao Mandalik saw that his fate was such. He fled at night to the fort and gave him a battle. When the warfare continued for some time, provisions in the fort became scarce. He requested the Sultan in all humility to save his life. The Sultan agreed on condition of his accepting Islam. Rao Mandalik came down from the fort, surrendered the fort's keys to the Sultan. The Sultan offered recitation of the word of Unity to him to repeat. He instantly recited it. The fort was conquered in the year 877, eight hundred and seventy-seven. Others say thus in respect of Rao Mandalik's acceptance of Islam that he came to Ahmedabad in company of the Sultan and got ennobled with the honour of Islam in attendance upon His Holiness Hazrat Shah Alam, may his tomb be sanctified as stated in Mirat-i-Sikandari. His tomb is situated adjacent to the path which goes to the Kalupur Gate to the right on the road itself. After that, he summoned the great Syeds, respectable 'Ulma, Qazi of the Path of Muhammed, religion and censors who are the standard-bearers of Ahmad from every city and clime and settled them in the kingdom of Sorath. He directed energies to its prosperity and built the jahan-panah fort. He constructed lofty buildings. The amirs built houses for themselves under royal



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order In a few days, he populated a city which can be called Ahmedabad and named it Mustafabad Rao Mandalik was given the title of Khan Jahan with a grant of jagir He gave away as presents the gold idols brought from the temple of Rao Mandalik to all soldiers He then invaded Sindh In the year 878, eight hundred and seventy eight, he brought to Junagadh many captives from Sindh In this very year, he conquered Jagat Sankhodhar Cause of the Sultan's march for its conquest was a complaint by Mulla Mahmud Samarqandi who was going with his family and children by boat when they were captured by unbelievers of the place The author of Mirat i Sikandari has recounted severe hardships of the road and stages of travel in detail Inquisitive readers should refer to it This victory took place in the year 878, eight hundred and seventy eight the island of Sankhodhar was never conquered in any age by any king of the past It is related that the Sultan performed two genuflexions of namaz out of thanksgiving at the time of demolishing the temple and breaking the idols of Jagat He grew eloquent in recitation of praise out of gratitude to God The Muslims raised calls to namaz (azan) by loud voice from top of temples Mulla Mahmud Samarqandi was in prison of unbelievers with his family They obtained liberation It is said that a vast booty consisting of sapphire, corals and cloths fell into his hands He built a masjid there He collected food provisions He put Sankhodhar, the Kingdom of Jagat in charge of Malek Jughan who held the title of Farhat ul Mulk He returned to Junagadh In the year 880, eight hundred and eighty, death of Glory of saints Hazrat Shah Alam, may his tomb be sanctified took place The dome of the holy mausoleum situated at Rasulabad was built by Taj Khan Narpali a dignified Mahmud Shahi amir He came to Mustafabad alias Junagadh on Friday 13th Jamadi I of the above year The Sultan had heard that certain Malabaris came in their boats and pirated the ports of Gujarat He went to Ghogha and sent several boats with perfect preparations for chastising the Malabaris He personally came to Khanbhayat from Ghogha and thence encamped at Sarkhej He was ennobled by a visit to the Shrine of His Holiness Hazrat Qutb-ul Mashaikh Shaikh Ahmed Khattu and stayed there for three days He summoned sons of the amirs and soldiers who were martyred in this incursion or died a natural death assigned to them the jagir of their fathers an amir who had no son, half of his jagir was granted to his daughter any one who had no daughter, he fixed means of livelihood for his servants He then entered Ahmedabad Every year, he went to Mustafabad for recreation and hunting and then returned to Ahmedabad As an idea for conquest of Champaner Fort crossed his mind every now and then, he intended to go for recreation and hunting to that side By chance, he went hunting one day to the bank of Vatrak river situated at a distance of twelve kurohis of Ahmedabad between south and east, and founded a city of Mahmuda-



bad He built a strong stone quay embankment on the rivershore and ordered lofty palaces to be constructed there. Relics and vestiges of those buildings are extant when this book was being written in the year 1170, one thousand, one hundred and seventy Hijri. He then directed his energies towards conquest of the fort of Champaner which was held by Rawal Patar and conquered it in the month of Zikad of the year 809, eight hundred and eighty-nine which year of victory is evident in Ifutah and Zikad (according to Abjad System). In short, the Sultan found the climate of Champaner very pleasant. He made it his capital. It sprang up into a big city. It was named Muhammedabad. He built a lofty masjid and city-fortifications. The amirs, vazirs, merchants, and professional men also built lofty palaces for their residence. He laid out gardens on the environs of the city. Within a short time, a city sprang up in all beauty and ornamentation. One of them is named Halol. In the year 892, eight hundred and ninety-two, he put the kingdom of Sorath with the fort of Junagadh in charge of the Prince Khalil Khan. In this very year, certain merchants complained to him, "We were bringing four hundred 'Iraqi and Turki horses from Iraq and Khurasan along with Hindi cloths (textiles) with an intention to sell them in the Sultan's dominion. When we came to the foot of Abu mountain, the Raja of Sirohi took them all from us so much so that he did not leave even old clothes on our bodies. Where can we seek justice of this tyranny except from the Sultan who is the asylum of religion?" The Sultan asked them to give in writing the price of horses and other goods. He saw the amount and ordered that amount to be paid to the merchants from the treasury saying that he would recover it from the Raja of Sirohi. The amount was brought, counted in presence of the Sultan and then given to the merchants. The Sultan marched towards Sirohi and sent an order full of threats to the Raja of the place. Its contents were, "On receipt of this farman, horses and whatever else of goods seized from the merchants, should be sent to the court or else he should know that the royal banners will follow. After reading the contents of the royal farman, the Raja sent the horses, and goods intact along with other worthy presents to the Sultan and sought forgiveness in all humility. The Sultan returned to Muhammedabad. He spent four years in Muhammedabad in pleasure and tranquility but visited Ahmedabad in summer, the season of melons. He lived in Ahmedabad with ease for three months and then returned to Muhammedabad. As Adil Khan Faruqi, ruler of Asir delayed sending usual presents in the year 904, nine hundred and four Hijri, he led an army against him. On the Sultan's arrival at the bank of Tapti, Adil Khan sent tribute with an apology. The Sultan sent his camp by way of Nazarbar at the time of return while he himself went to see the fort of Thanesar and joined the camp at Nazarbar. He then returned to Muhammedabad. In the year 913, nine hundred and thirteen, he marched towards Chawal port and thence, he proceeded towards Basar and Bombay on



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account of Portuguese disturbances. He returned to his capital on 15 th Muhar-
ram 914, nine hundred and fourteen. After that, Alam Khan son of Ahsan
Khan, grandson of the Sultan's daughter whose father was the ruler of Asir and
Burhanpur said to his mother to petition the Sultan thus "Adil Khan son of
Mubarak died seven years ago without any son behind him. The amirs
raised to the throne one of the slave descendants of Malek Raja and designated
him 'Adil Khan. They have practised force in establishing authority over
the Kingdom. If the Sultan raised me from dust and seated me on my
paternal throne, it will be in keeping with favouring a slave." The Sultan
acceded to her request. In the month of Rajab of the above year, he granted
Asir to 'Alam Khan and proceeded towards Nazarbar. When he arrived
at Thanesar, he conferred the title of 'Adil Khan on 'Alam Khan, son of Ahsan
Shah after 'Id uz zuha with a present of four elephants and thirty lacs of
tankahs and nominated him to the government of Asir and Burhanpur. He
honoured Malek Ladan Khilyi with the title of Khan Jahan and gave Banas
in the district of Sultanpur and Nazarbar as inam for his sustenance. The
above place was the original birth place of Malek. He appointed him to
accompany 'Adil Khan. Some other amirs were also appointed. 'Adil
Khan proceeded towards Asir with a gladdened heart while the Sultan
returned to his capital. At this time, Syed Muhammed Jaunpuri* who
professed to be the Promised Mahdi came to Ahmedabad and alighted in
the masjid of Tuj Khan, son of Salar which is situated near the Jamalpur
Gate. He invited people to accept him as Mahdi. The 'Ulama and the
scholars issued a religious decree for his murder. The Syed left for Pattan.
He stayed there for some time. The Muslims of Palanpur accepted his mission
(claim). Till now, the sect of Mahadivism exists there. After that, the Sultan
went to Pattan in the month of Zilhajj of the year 916, nine hundred and sixteen.
This was the last ride of the Sultan. He saw eminent men and 'Ulama of
the place and said, "I have come this time to bid farewell to you. I know the
cup of my life is full to the brim." On the fourth day, he left Pattan for
Ahmedabad. When he arrived at Sarkhej, he paid a visit to the shrine of Shaikh
Ahmed Khattu, may his grave be sanctified and looked at his mausoleum with
an eye of warning which was built at the foot of the mausoleum of His Holiness
Hazrat Shaikh. After that, he fell ill at Ahmedabad and his illness continued
for three months. He summoned his Prince Khalil Khan from Baroda and
apprised him of his journey to the next world. He died at the time of
afternoon namaz (namaz z Asr) on Monday, 3rd of the month of Ramazan of
the year 917, nine hundred and seventeen Hijri. He was consigned to the
dust at the mausoleum built at Sarkhej. Birth of Fath Khan with the title of
Sultan Mahmud Beghada had taken place on 8th Ramzan 849, eight hundred
and forty nine. He ruled for fifty-four years and one month. He lived for
sixty seven year

* See P 70 Supplement



CHAPTER 13

REIGN OF SULTAN KHALIL KHAN TITLED SULTAN MUZAFFER HALIM, SON OF SULTAN MAHMUD BEGHADA

Khalil Khan titled Sultan Muzaffer Halim (the clement) sat on the throne of Mahmud at the age of twenty-seven at the time of Friday namaz on 3rd Ramazan of the year 917, nine hundred and seventeen Hiji. In accordance with the ancestral practice, he gave presents in shape of cash, horses, robes of honour to every one befitting his merit. Sons of amirs who earned distinction when he was a Prince, received titles. The Mahmud Shahi amirs too were distinguished with additional rank and grant of more villages. Mir Ibrahim Khan, an ambassador of Shah Ismail king of Khurasan and Iraq came in the month of Shawwal of the above year. Under orders of the Sultan, some amirs went out to receive him and brought him in all honour. The afore said Mir presented an extremely precious turquoise cup (bowl) along with a casket full of jewels, many gold embroidered cloths thirty Iraqi and Turki horses sent by the Shah as gifts. The Sultan favoured the said Mir along with his companions with royal Khulats and regal presents. After a few days, the Sultan proceeded to Baroda and founded Dawlatabad in that district which is famous as Baroda. In the meantime a report was received about a broil at Aulakh Mandu and a blaze of fire of war between Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Muhammed. Sultan Muhammed sought refuge in the court of Sultan Muzaffer and encamped near Mahmudabad. Every thing that was needed by him and his soldiers was got ready under the Sultan's order. The Sultan said, "God the Great willing, I will go to Mandu of the kingdom of Malwa when the rainy season will be over. At this time, Adil Khan, ruler of Asir and Burhanpur, son in law of the Sultan came with his children and paid obeisance. He left after a few days. In the meantime, Sultan Mahmud of Mandu left without permission of the Sultan on account of the conversation that he had with the ambassador of Shah Ismail. The Sultan got vexed at this behaviour. He permitted the ambassador to depart after a few days with presents and gifts. In the month of Shawwal of the year 918 Hiji, it was brought to the notice of the Sultan that Sultan Mahmud Manduwari brother of Sultan Muhammed, who ruled over Malwa, collected a vast army consisting of unbelievers, fought with Sultan Muhammed and routed him. Medni Rao, the centre of important affairs (minister) of Sultan Mahmud had acquired great authority (had become very powerful) and reduced Mahmud to the position of a Sultan in name. Unbelief had spread, again, in the cities of Malwa. The Sultan was seized with zeal for Islam. He marched towards Malwa, in the same month, from Muhammedabad for repulsion of unbelievers and defence



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of religious minded Muslims. He halted at the town of Godhra for reinforcement of powerful forces when he received a report about insolence of the Raja of Idar. He, therefore, marched thither and ordered to demolish houses and temples of Idar. This event took place in the year 919, nine hundred and nineteen Hijri. The Raja of Idar repented of his deed as a penitent, and sent usual tribute. The Sultan returned to Godhra and marched towards Malwa permitting the Prince Sikander Khan to return to Muhammedabad. When he arrived at Dholka town, he ordered a fort to be built and marched further. At this time, he received a report, that Medni Rao removed Sultan Mahmud Nasiruddin towards Chanderi. Sultan Muzaffer said, "My object in this expedition is not to conquer Malwa from Sultan Mahmud because he is a king of Muslims, nay, my object was to expel Medni Rao and other unbelievers and patch up peace between the two brothers." The Sultan had heard praise of 'Deer houses' of Dhar, he, therefore, went to see Deer houses and Dilawara palaces and then returned to Muhammedabad. In the year 920, nine hundred and twenty, it was brought to his notice that Raimal brother's son of Rao Bhim, Raja of Idar drove out Bharmal, son of Bhumrao, after Bhumrao's death with the support of Rana Sanga, Raja of Chitor and occupied it. The Sultan did not approve of it. He said, 'Bhim ruled over Idar with my permission. What power has the Rana to seat Raimal on the throne of Idar with his support?' He issued an order to Nizam ul Mulk, the Jagirdar of Ahmednagar that he should expel Raimal from Idar and give it to Bharmal. Raimal fought with the Sultan's army till the year 923, nine hundred and twenty three. Some time he vanquished and sometime he got vanquished. In the meantime, the amirs of Malwa such as Habib Khan etc fled from Malwa through fear of Medni Rao and waited upon the Sultan. They reported to him the condition as it prevailed in Mandu saying that the tenets of Islam at Mandu were set aside and that Medni Rao had slayed many eminent men and within a day or two he would either kill Sultan Mahmud or imprison him. The Sultan, after hearing this report said, "God the Great willing, I will march towards Mandu after the monsoon is over and destroy Medni Rao." When Sultan Mahmud saw that the kingdom, treasure and government had passed into the hands of Medni Rao and that he was kept under surveillance he seized an opportunity, mounted a horse at midnight himself and seated his harem on another horse and set out towards Gujarat. The Sultan evinced joy after his arrival and sent him a tent, elephants, horses and other things essential for royalty. He raised aloft the victorious banner to proceed to Mandu on Thursday, 4th Zik'ad of the year 923, nine hundred and twenty three. On Monday (Tuesday?) 15th of the above month, Sultan Muzaffer met Sultan Mahmud at Devla. The Sultan marched continually and encamped with his victorious army near the fort of Mandu.



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on Sunday 23rd of the above month (23rd should be on Tuesday, Sunday will be 21st) and appointed a sentinel Medni Rao fled from Dhar to seek help from the Rana. He sent word to residents of the fort to come to terms of peace with the Sultan demanding a respite for one month during which period he hoped to bring the Rana to his succour. The Rana marched with a large army as far as Sarangpur in greed of precious jewels and some famous elephants of Sultan Mahmud which had fallen into the hands of Medni Rao. When the Sultan heard this news and got intelligence of stratagem and plot of residents of the fort, he appointed 'Adil Khan of Asir, Qiwar-ul Mulk and Malek Sarang with other brave amirs to encounter the Rana and issued an order to storm the fort. The fort was conquered on Monday, 2nd Safar. It is related that the number of unbelievers who died was nineteen thousand while others state it to be forty thousand. Fifty seven famous sardars whose names are mentioned in Tarikh-i-Muzaffer Shahi and Mirat-i-Sikandari died in action. This event took place in the year 924, nine hundred and twenty-four. Date of this victory is obtained from letters of the last hemistich of the following fragment

Fragment

*Muzaffer Shah conquered Mandu
The first capital was Dhar
If they ask about date of its victory
It is "distraction to all unbelievers"*

The following Arabic hemistich also gives the date

Hemistich

Our Sultan had conquered Mandu

Sight-seeing of Sultan Muzaffer at Mandu, enjoying hospitality of Sultan Mahmud and his return to the capital are given in details in Mirat-i-Sikandari. In the year 925, nine hundred and twenty-five, a report arrived that a great battle took place between Sultan Mahmud and the Rana. The Sultan got wounded at the hands of the Rana. The Sultan became anxious on hearing this report. He sent an army for defence of the fort at Mandu. The Rana sent Sultan Mahmud to Mandu after his wounds were healed but he kept the son of the Sultan as hostage with himself. In the year 926, nine hundred and twenty-six, the Rana made an incursion on the outskirts of Idar. A war took place between him and the jagirdars of Ahmednagar and the Sultan's army suffered losses. The Rana continued depredation and pillage as far as Badnagar and Bisalnagar. In the meanwhile, he received news that the Sultan's army had marched from the district of Pittan and Ahmedabad for



his chastisement, he marched towards Chitor without a break Sultan Muzaffer Shah sent Malek Ayaz, his favourite slave with one lac horse and one hundred elephants to punish malicious Rana who dared to make depredation in his dominion in the month of Muharram of the year 927, nine hundred and twenty seven He was joined by Qiwwam-ul-Mulk with twenty thousand horse and twenty elephants Equipments, preparations and war materials which Malek Ayaz carried with him are mentioned in details in Mirat i-Sikandar The royal army passed through the kingdom of Bakhed, the Raja of which place had joined hands with the Rana in mischief, with depredation, desolation and massacre to march to the Rana's dominion On receipt of this news, the bird of soul flew over head of the Rana Sultan Mahmud Khilji also came to the help of the Sultan's army and joined it They made a peace with the Rana and returned to Ahmedabad on account of disagreement which took place among the army chiefs of the Sultan On account of this mismanagement, the Sultan was displeased with Malek Ayaz and resolved to march after the monsoon was over He permitted Malek Ayaz to go to Sorath The Sultan came to Ahmedabad with determination to chastise the Rana in the year 928, nine hundred and twenty eight At this juncture, the Rana's son came to pay obeisance to the Sultan with elephants and tribute he had agreed to pay The Sultan, whereupon, postponed his expedition In the year 931, nine hundred and thirty one, Prince Bahadur Khan got vexed at receipt of insufficient jagir, proceeded to Dongerpur and thence to Chitor From Chitor, he passed through Mewat to Ibrahim Sultan, King of Dihli when he was engaged in battle at Panipat with Zahiruddin Babur Padshah Sultan Ibrahim summoned Bahadur Khan and received him with honour and respect When Sultan Ibrahim and people of Dihli witnessed Bahadur Khan's valour and prowess, Sultan Ibrahim cherished respect for him in his heart Bahadur Khan, having come to know about it, proceeded towards Jaunpur Death of Rana's nephew and the affairs which took place in travels of the Prince are recorded in detail in Mirat i-Sikandar When the Prince reached environs of-Jaunpur, he heard news about the death of Sultan Muzaffer Thence, he determined to start for Gujarat When Sultan Muzaffer learnt that Bahadur Khan went to Bakheda in vexation, he felt much and resolved to conciliate him and bring him back He had gone beyond the borders of Gujarat when he felt debility in him At last, he came to Dawlatabad alias Baroda from Muhammedabad in an indisposed state in the year 932, nine hundred and thirty two Thence, he arrived, with continual marches at Ahmedabad and lived in Khanamdol palaces People got despaired of the Sultan's life Prince Latif Khan saw that the heir apparent Sikander Khan would not keep him alive, he left for Baroda with his retinue on the 1st of Jamadi II Others hold this view that he went away under a hint of the



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Sultan. On the 2nd of the said month, the Sultan summoned Sikandar Khan to his presence after morning prayers and gave him some beneficial admonitions in respect of administrative affairs. After farewell and request for forgiveness from high and low, he died at prayer-time on Friday 22nd Jamadi II of the year 931, nine hundred and thirty one and was buried in the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud Beghada at Sarkhej. He ruled for fourteen years and nine months. The Sultan was a disciple of Syed Tahir who rests in Baroda. It is related that Sultan Muzaffer was matchless in piety, learning, clemency, understanding, bravery and liberality. On account of too much clemency in him, he was called Sultan Muzaffer the Clement. He did not touch intoxicants during his life. All laudable qualities of the Sultan are given in Mirat-i-Sikandari. As some cases of punishment were delayed in disposal, some disturbance had taken place. It is popular among people that cultivation was in such a prosperous state in the reign of Sultan Muzaffer Halim that the ryots of Jhalawar Paraganah complained about the absence of a pasture-ground for cattle. The Sultan ordered that so much land as was necessary for pasture of cattle should be left uncultivated. And God knows the best.



CHAPTER 14

REIGN OF SIKANDER KHAN TITLED SULTAN SIKANDER, SON OF SULTAN MUZAFFER HALIM (THE CLEMENT)

Sultan Sikander sat on the throne at Ahmedabad on the day of death of Sultan Muzafer Halim. On that very day, he went to Muhammedabad. He sat on the throne of Muhammedabad, in accordance with ancestral practice, on 25th Jamadi II of the year 932, nine hundred and thirty two. He conferred titles on all those persons who attended upon him when he was a Prince. He distributed one thousand and seven hundred horses among his own men. The Muzafferi amirs got dissatisfied with him for this bestowal. Imad ul-Mulk otherwise known as Khush Qadam felt aggrieved when nothing was given to him even though he was a tutor to the Sultan, and expected to get the great office of ministership of the Sultan. At this juncture, news arrived that Latif Khan son of Sultan Muzafer sat (on the throne) in the mountaneous region of Sultanpur and Nazarbar with the support of Bhim Raja. He corresponded with certain amirs. He appointed his confidential man named Sharzah Khan to expel him or to capture him. The Khan was killed in a scuffle. He sent, once again, Qaiser Khan with a large army to that side. Some Muzafferi amirs were in despair and they knew about the displeasure of Khush Qadam alias Imad ul Mulk and further, they so found out that the Sultan was a messenger of his death. That disloyal slave, who had great authority, made efforts to win over a section of seditious soldiers and made them co operate with himself. One day, the Sultan went out on horse for playing polo and returned. He then slept for rest. After some time, Imad ul Mulk who did not stir out of his house, on a pretence of illness, for some days came to wait upon the Sultan, with his head and ears covered, in company of forty, fifty horsemen. As it was untimely, many persons had retired to their respective houses after a ride. When this slave arrived at the royal pavilion when a chamberlain informed him that the Sultan was in sleep. He paid no heed to his words and entered the pavilion in company of a person called Malek Pahar. At the suggestion of that disloyal, shameless fellow, Malek Pahar sent the Sultan to a sleeping chamber of non existence with a sword blow so that he may not rise till the resurrection day. This event took place on 14th Shaban of the year 932, nine hundred and thirty two. He was buried at Halol at a distance of two kurohs from Champaner alias Muhammedabad. When Imad ul Mulk was free from the affair of Sultan Sikander, he went inside the haram of the Sultan, brought out Nasir Khan son of Sultan Muzafer, a child five, six years old, designated him Sultan Mahmud seated him in his lap and bestowed khilat, horses and titles on amirs and soldiers. But all the



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amirs and grandees were thirsty of his blood on account of shameful murder of Sultan Sikander. As they had no leader among them, every one of them left for his respective jagir and meditated on amends. They sent swift couriers to summon Bahadur Khan with a report of this event and arrival to this side. Sultan Sikander was the first among the Gujarat Sultans to be murdered. He ruled for two months and sixteen days.

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CHAPTER 15

REIGN OF BAHADUR KHAN TITLED SULTAN BAHADUR, SON OF SULTAN MUZAFFER HALIM.

As stated above, Bahadur Khan, son of Sultan Muzaffer who had gone away being felt aggrieved at the grant of insufficient jagir and disagreement with Sultan Sikander, the heir-apparent. Now when Bahadur Khan received a report about the death of Sultan Muzaffer and martyrdom of Sultan Sikander, first, he performed condolence ceremony and started on the fourth day from Jaunpur, by way of an expedition, for Ahmedabad. He arrived at the town of Mekriy alias Mahmudnager. The amirs and grandees, who had retired to seclusion through fear of Imad ul-Mulk, came out from every side in squadrons and battalions for attendance upon him. He reached Ahmedabad on 26th of blessed (holy) Ramazan of the year 932, nine hundred and thirty-two and entered the fort citadel situated at Bhadr. On the Id day, he went to the prayer-carpet with royal usage and recited the Khutaba in his own name and honoured thirty-two persons with titles and offices. On 2nd Shawwal of the above year, he went to Muhammedabad. Imad ul-Mulk shivered on hearing the arrival of Sultan Bahadur. He secretly summoned Latif Khan who was in the neighbourhood as stated because Nasir Khan, being young, could not remain firm in case the affair terminated in war. He was confused at his future. At last, he became indifferent towards Latif Khan and Nasir Khan (he thought no more of them) and led a secluded life at home. In the meantime, Sultan Bahadur crossed Mahinadi, led an expedition with a small body of men without caring for an army and paid a visit to the tomb of Sultan Sikander at Halol. He appointed Taj Khan with three, four hundred horse to catch hold of Imad-ul-Mulk. Taj Khan demolished his house. Imad ul-Mulk fled and hid himself in the house of the Superintendent of the Diwan. At this juncture, Sultan Bahadur entered Muhammedabad with a cavalcade and regal pomp and alighted at the royal palace. He again issued an order for capture of Imad-ul-Mulk. After an inquiry, that wicked slave was captured on the same day within a short time and brought before royal presence. He was hanged on gallows under the Sultan's order. Those who were accomplices in that foul deed received due punishment. Latif Khan had come near as summoned by Imad-ul-Mulk but he kept himself apart. Sultan Bahadur sat on the throne in accordance with usages of his ancestors and forefathers on the night of 14th Zikad of the year 932, nine hundred and thirty-two. He gave robes and horses to vazirs and amirs and one year's salary as a present to soldiers. He exalted and pleased the hearts of one hundred and fifty individuals with distinguished valuable (important) titles. In this very year, there was a famine. The Sultan ordered



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a number of bede-houses to be opened. He gave one ashrafi to every poor man when he mounted a horse. Latif Khan had collected many zamindars in the neighbourhood of Sultanpur and Nazarbar and had risen in rebellion. A force, therefore, was sent against him. After a war, Latif Khan got wounded and was captured. He was being brought before Sultan when he died at Murghdarah. Nasir Khan was poisoned. Sultan Bahadur went out for sight-seeing and hunting towards Khanbhayat on 15th Rabi I of the year 933, nine hundred and thirty-three. He proceeded to Sorath on account of a dispute among the sons of Malek Ayaz. On return, he went to the port of Div, stayed there for one month, put Div in charge and care of Mujahid Khan Behlim and marched towards Ahmedabad. Bikramajit, son of Rana Sangha had come in that glorious city to pay obeisance. He resided in Ahmedabad for three months and then went to Muhammedabad by way of Khanbhayat. He chastised the Raja of Nadot and proceeded towards the port of Surat. He came to Muhammedabad from Surat in one complete day. He bade farewell to the Rana's son. He went again for recreation to the island of Div Port in the year 934, nine hundred and thirty-four. He stayed there for a few days and came to Khambayat. Thence he went to Ghogha by boat. He again went to Port Div from that place and from Div to Khanbayat and then to Muhammedabad. He ordered to build city-fortifications at Broach. He then led an army against Bakheda. The Raja of Fungarpur arrived at Mirkrej and paid obeisance. Thence he hastened to Pattan. From Pattan he came to Ahmedabad and from Ahmedabad he went in one day by way of expedition to Muhammedabad alias Champaner. Travelling of the Sultan in those days had become proverbial among people by saying that he made a Bahaduri expedition. It is not our object to write about all the travels and expeditions of Sultan Bahadur. Our aim is to be concise and short in keeping with the condition stated in the beginning of this book. Those who want to know in details, should refer to Mirat-i-Sikandari. In short, he marched towards Dawlatabad to the succour of his sister's son Muhammed Khan, son of Adil Khan in the year 935, nine hundred and thirty-five. It is said that one lac of horses and nine hundred elephants with mountain-majesty were with the Sultan. Having settled the affair of that place, he returned to the capital in the month of Shaban of the above year. On 2nd of the holy month of Muharram of the year 936, nine hundred and thirty-six, he marched for the conquest of the Dekhkhani. At Dhar, many zamindars of the Dekhkhani kings and Bharji, Raja of Baglana came to pay obeisance to him. He ordered his forces to march towards the port of Chawal, Ahmednagar and other directions for plunder and pillage. The Khutaba was recited in the name of the Sultan in many cities of the Dekhkhani. He returned on the last date of Shaban of the above year. He arrived at Muhammedabad by way of expedition with a few persons. He led his army for conquest of Bakheda in the year

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nine hundred and thirty seven Thence, he occupied himself for conquest of, Mandu fort as detailed in Mirat i Sikandari After a few days siege and fight the Sultan in person came up with a few royal attendants from the side of the fort-wall which is the highest place and conquered the fort of Mandu Sultan Mahmud, the defender of Mandu fled to his palace Mahmud Khilji came out with his sons to pay obeisance to the Sultan on 12th of the holy month of Muharram of the year nine hundred and thirty eight Sultan Bahadur entrusted Mahmud Khilji with his sons to Alif Khan, Iqbal Khan and Asif Khan to take them to Gujarat These amirs had to engage in war with Raja Pal and the Kolis who had collected together to effect release of Sultan Mahmud Khilji in the neighbourhood of Dohad on the border of Gujarat Mahmud Khilji was killed in the midst of a conflict The whole Kingdom of Mandu came under sway of Sultan Bahadur He appointed a Governor and a Faujdar for the place He spent monsoon of that year comfortably over top of the fort in joy and pleasure On 9th of victorious Safar of the year 939, nine hundred and thirty nine, he went for recreation to Burhanpur and Asir He gave a royal canopy to Nizam ul-Mulk, ruler of Ahmednagar with a title of Nizam Shah After that, every one of the rulers came to be styled Nizam Shah Muhammed Khan Asiri was conferred upon the title of Muhammed Shah The Sultan went to Mandu He led an army against Silhadi, Raja of Ujjain with some motive At last, Silhadi, as stated in Mirat i Sikandari, was captured and the Sultan came to Ujjain by expedition He put Darya Khan Manduli in charge of the fief of Ujjain and proceeded by continual marches to Sarangpur which was granted as a fief to Mailu Khan He then occupied Bhilsa and encamped, by continual marches, on a river bank near the fort of Raisin which was held by Lakhmi Sen Silhadi He appointed Amirs to intrenchments for conquest of the fort Rumi Khan, who was matchless of the age, in pyrotechnics, demolished one turret within twinkling of an eye, by a cannon ball Twelve thousand Dekhani Soldiers who were attendants of the Sultan mined a fort wall and flew one turret of it to a distance of the remotest arrow Silhadi witnessed this scene and conveyed to the Sultan in a petition "I accept Islam I vacate the fort and surrender it to you " Lakhmi Sen said to Silhadi, "Why do you surrender the fort ? My son Bhupat has gone to the Rana and brings the Rana with a cavalry of forty thousand and innumerable soldiers by way of help Till receipt of succour, we should resort to machination and stratagem Silhadi represented to the Sultan that Lakhmi Sen should be permitted to vacate the fort tomorrow instead of today The Sultan gave him permission Next day, no sign of yesterday's agreement was noticed The Sultan heard about approach of the Rana for succour He appointed Muhammed Shah Asiri and Imadul Mulk to proceed against the Rana Imadul Mulk reported facts of a large army of the Rana to the Sultan He left Ikhtiyar Khan in



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charge of the siege and led an expedition in person. It is said that he covered a distance of seventy kurohs in one complete day and joined the advanced army with thirty horsemen. The Rana's spies conveyed the report of Sultan's approach to him. On hearing the report, he saw that he had no courage to offer resistance and remained one manzil behind. He sent his confidential man to the Sultan and advanced a few pleas worse than guilt. With this excuse, he wanted to find out whether the Sultan was personally present in that army or not. At this juncture, a report was received that Ulugh Khan had come from Gujarat with a cavalry of six thousand, an artillery and many elephants. The Rana instantaneously beat the drum of departure and fled. The Sultan also chased him expeditiously in great rapidity and arrived at Chitor. But the Rana entered the fort before approach of the Sultan. The Sultan said, "God the Great willing, after being at ease in respect of Raisin, I will start conquest of the fort of Chitor. He, therefore, returned to Raisin from that place. When the garrisoned persons got despaired of succour, the fort of Raisin was conquered. Details of its conquest are mentioned in the above history (Mirat-i-Sikandari). After conquest of the Raisin fort, all the cities such as Bhilsa, Chanderi etc. over which Silhadi held sway, were granted to Sultan Alam Lodi, a relative of Sultan Sikander Lodi, who, on account of being expelled by Humayun from Kalpi had sought refuge with twelve thousand horse with the Sultan. He sent a letter-patent to Muhammed Shah Asiri that he should occupy the town of Kakroon which the Rana had occupied by force from Sultan Muhammed. Sultan Bahadur resolved to go for hunting elephants towards Gondwana. He captured many elephants. He conquered the fort of Kanwar in one day and put it in charge of Alif Khan. He brought Islamabad, Hoshangabad and some places on the environs of Malwa under his sway and returned to Sarangpur. He went to Kakroon which Muhammed Shah Asiri had not yet conquered but it was conquered on mere arrival of the Sultan. He appointed Malek Imadul Mulk at Mandasur. He made it extensive. The Sultan marched towards the capital. When he arrived at Muhammedabad, he received news after some time from the port of Div that many Firangis had arrived there for its capture with many ships and artillery. The Sultan expeditiously arrived at Cambay in one night. On hearing about the Sultan's arrival, the Firangis fled away. The Sultan went to the port of Div, he sent two very big cannons along with one hundred others to Muhammedabad with an intention to conquer Chitor. He himself came to Ahmedabad. From Ahmedabad, he expeditiously proceeded to Muhammedabad in one day. He sent an order to Muhammed Shah Asiri that he should proceed to Chitor from Asir for its conquest. He ordered Khudawand Khan the Vazir to join Muhammed Shah Asiri with the army stationed at Mandu. He himself reached Mandu in three days from Ahmedabad.



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He ordered Muhammed Shah and Khudaward Khan to march to Chitor. When they reached Mandasur, the agents of the Rana came and petitioned them that the Rana would feel it an obligation to render any service the Sultan ordered him to do with sincerity and that he should abandon the idea of Chitor's conquest. Their request was not acceded to. The Sultan's forces arrived and besieged Chitor. The garrisoned persons were reduced to great straits. At last, the mother of Bikramajit son, of Rana Sangha made a request in all humility saying, "I am an old servant of the Sultan" which became cause of pardon by the Sultan. He marched with a gold belt, a crown and jewel studded cap which belonged to Sultan Mahmud Khilji and about which the jewellers had acknowledged their inability to fix its adequate price and which had fallen in the hands of the Rana on the day of Sultan Mahmud's defeat in addition to five hundred lacs of tankas, equivalent to five lacs of rupees in cash, one hundred horses and ten elephants as tribute. He ordered Malek Burhan-ul-Mulk and Mujahid Khan to proceed with a vast army for conquest of the fort of Ranthambhor. He sent Malek Shamsherul Mulk with twelve thousand horse to conquer the fort of Ajmer. He himself reached Mandasur within four days. He stayed there for a day and ordered the camp to march towards Mandu. After two days, he led an expedition from there and covered a distance of sixty kurohs in one complete day and arrived at Mandu. After some time, he appointed Muhammed Shah Faruqi Asiri to march against Nizam-ul-Mulk Dakhani with famous amirs of Gujarat. Muhammed Shah encountered Nizam-ul-Mulk near the town of Bid. Muhammed Shah sent swift couriers to the Sultan with a report of encounter. On receipt of the petition, Sultan led an expedition with twelve thousand select brave horsemen. He reached the town of Bid just when the two armies were arraying themselves in rows with heat and ardour. The Dakhani fled as soon as they heard the arrival of the Sultan. After a few days, Nizam Shah saw the Sultan and wore a ring of obedience in ear. His kingdom was restored to him. He marched towards Mandu. Nizam Shah accompanied the Sultan to a few manzils. An idea of Chitor's conquest again crossed the Sultan's mind. By chance, Muhammed Zaman Mirza, grandson of Sultan Husain Mirza, King of Khurasan who was a near relative of Humayun Padshah got an opportunity to wait upon Sultan Bahadur. This became a cause of displeasure on the part of Humayun. Repeated correspondence took place in respect of sending the Mirza or expelling him from the capital. Details of correspondence are mentioned in Mirat-i-Sikandari. Fire of hostility between the two Kings blazed forth. In short, Sultan Bahadur raised aloft the standard for conquest of Chitor from Mandu. Rumi Khan was in command. He promised to grant Chitor after its conquest to Rumi Khan. At this juncture, it was reported that Humayun advanced to Gwalior with intention to fight with Sultan Bahadur. As Sultan Bahadur was busy in a siege of Chitor and unbelievers, Huma-

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vun waited to watch as to what manifests itself from the curtain of futurity. When Sultan Bahadur learnt about the intention of Humayun, he appointed Tatar Khan Lodi to march on Dihli by way of Bayana with a cavalry of thirty thousand horse, with an idea that if Humayun marched on Gujarat, he should march on Dihli and occupy it. His Majesty, helplessly will return uttering the maxim "the return is commendable." Through heavenly decrees, this design failed to fructify on account of misunderstanding on the part of Tatar Khan Lodi. He got a defeat from Humdal Mirza, brother of His Majesty (Humayun). In short, the siege reduced the besieged ones of the fort to great scarcity and the fort was conquered. The fort of Chitor for certain reasons was not given to Rumi Khan as promised. He felt terribly aggrieved and sent a secret petition to His Majesty Humayun. He made the task difficult for the Sultan, details of this short reference will be found in Mirat-i-Sikandari. Sultan Bahadur took refuge with a few companions in the fort of Mandu. That fort also was conquered by His Majesty Humayun. Sultan Bahadur took himself to the fort of Champaner with great efforts. He put that place in charge and care of Ikhtiar Khan and Raja Narsing Dev who was in a wounded condition and went to Sorath by way of the port of Khambhat and settled down in the island of the port of Div. His Majesty conquered the fort of Champaner in a short time. His Majesty encamped at Ahmedabad. He left his brother Mirza Askari at Ahmedabad, Kasim Beg in the Sarkar of Broach, Yadgar Nasir Mirza in the Sarkar of Patan, and Babar Beg Jalair in the fort of Champaner. He marched to the capital Agra on account of insurrection of Sher Khan Afghan who had styled himself as Sher Shah. In the meantime, the Badshahs Amir such as Malek Amin, governor of the fort of Ranthambor, Malek Burhan-ul-Mulk Banbani, governor of Chitor Fort, and Malek Shamsur ul-Mulk, governors of Ajmer Fort arrived together with a force of nearly twenty thousand cavalry near Patan and petitioned to Sultan Bahadur to the effect, "If you order, we step forward to fight with Yadgar Nasir Mirza." The Sultan wrote in reply, "Know me to have arrived soon till then do not engage in war." He came on wings of haste and joined the army. On hearing a report of the Sultan's arrival in that vicinity, Yadgar Nasir Mirza hastened to Ahmedabad to avoid him. On getting in all gence of Sultan's arrival, the dispersed forces of the Sultan came from different sides and joined the Sultan. The Sultan resolved to go to Ahmedabad. Mirza Askari fought with the Sultan at Ahmedabad. As it was not possible to stay with stability in a foreign region, he proceeded to wait upon His Majesty. Mirza Askari and the above units stayed in the region of Gujarat for a period of nine months and a few days. Sultan Bahadur stayed at Champaner. The Sultan was greatly anxious (to suppress) the revolt of the Firangis and to build a fort in the island of Div. He was planning to expel them. The cause of building a fort in Firangis in the above island is written in history.



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It is said that when the Sultan met a few Firangis, those perfidious unbelievers martyred the Sultan and threw him in sea. From day, the island of Div port is held by Firangis. This event took place on 3rd Ramzan of the year 943, nine hundred and forty three. Ikhtiyar Khan, the Vazir found the date of this event from "Sultan of the land, martyr of the sea". He ruled for eleven years. He was thirty one years of age. After occurrence of this event, eminent vazirs and notable amirs sent a petition to Muhammed Shah Faruqi, king of the kingdom of Asir and Burhanpur who was the son of the Sultan's sister and who stayed at Ujjain under the Sultan's order with a cavalry of seventy thousand horse and whom the Sultan during his life time said that he was his heir apparent and had seated him on the throne for a day when he ordered all the ministers and granders to pay homage and all of them had executed his order to the effect "As the Sultan has no son you are heir to the throne. March to this side". At this juncture, an inclination for the sovereignty of Gujarat entered in the mind of Muhammed Mirza who then was at Una at a distance of three kurohs from Div Port. The amirs came to know about it. Imad ul Mulk marched against the Mirza with a strong army. A battle was sought near the above mentioned town. Mirza suffered a defeat. When the petition of amirs containing a report about martyrdom of Sultan Bahadur reached Muhammed Shah Faruqi, he did not disclose it to any one and sat in a cell of grief. Grief and sorrow overwhelmed him to such an extent due to separation (death) of the Sultan that he died on the seventh day after the Sultan's martyrdom. When news about death of Muhammed Shah reached the amirs of Gujarat, they all unanimously declared that Mahmud Khan, son of Latif Khan, nephew of Sultan Bahadur was the only heir to the throne. Mahmud Khan was, under the order of Sultan, in prison of Muhammed Shah Faruqi. He was put in charge of Shamsuddin at the town of Batawal in the district of Khandesh. Shamsuddin sent Mahmud Khan to Gujarat as written by the amirs of Gujarat so that he may settle down in the region of his ancestors. May it not remain hidden that a report of Sultan Bahadur's death had spread to various parts. From the day of Sultan Bahadur's defeat, the Sultanat of Gujarat had become extremely weak and powerless. Tributes received from kings of the Deccan and revenues from the Firangi ports etc. details of which are mentioned in the beginning of this book ceased to be paid.

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CHAPTER 16

REIGN OF MAHMUD KHAN, SON OF LATIF KHAN, SON OF SULTAN MUZAFFER, THE CLEMENT WITH THE TITLE OF SULTAN MAHMUD II

Mahmud Khan sat on the throne at the age of eleven in the year 943, nine hundred and forty-three Hijri. He assumed the title of Sultan Mahmud II. Heads of pulpits and faces of dinars were embellished with the Sultan's name. (The Khutaba was recited and the coins were struck in his name). Great office of the ministership was entrusted to Imadul Mulk. Title of "Majlis-i Girami" (Valuable Assembly) was conferred upon Darya Khan. Both together performed duties of the ministership and guardianship of the Sultan. They looked after him, due to his tender age, as a figure tied to the throne (puppet occupant of the throne). None was allowed to have access to the Sultan except these amirs. He drank, ate and wore, whatever broth, food and garments they sent to him. The Sultan was much vexed at this way of life but he did not show any vexation at all through extreme sagacity and acute ingenuity. He so occupied himself with sport and game that he, so to say, was indifferent to civil and military government of the kingdom. Both privately and publicly, he used to remark "What need is there for a king to suffer headache when he has ministers like 'Imad ul-Mulk and Darya Khan'". Very often, he used to exclaim, "What sort of places are holy Mekkah and illumined Medina?" The vizirs felt happy when they heard such remarks and conducted government as they pleased. The Sultan played the simpleton with abundant prudence and exigency of time. Whatever trivial matters, external and internal, he saw or heard, he told the ministers in toto. They were astonished at such a behaviour of the Sultan. After some time, Darya Khan thought to remove Imadul Mulk and assume absolute power in the state for himself without interference from others. He, therefore, took the Sultan on a pretext of excursion and hunting to the bank of Mahi river situated at a distance of thirty kurohs from the city. Having collected a multitudinous army, he sent word to Imadul Mulk to leave Ahmedabad at the Sultan's order and go to his jagir. Imadul Mulk, helplessly, went to Jhalawar, the mahal of his Jagir. Darya Khan chased Imadul Mulk with the Sultan and thus reached Burhanpur in chase. He sent word to Mubarak Shah to capture Imadul Mulk and send him to him. Mubarak Shah failed to carry it out. He, therefore, decided on combat and fought with him near Dargun. Mubarak Shah, being defeated, took refuge in the fort of Asir. The Sultan's famous elephants and goods and chattels fell into the hands of Sultan Mahmud. Imadul Mulk fled from there and went to Qadir Shah, ruler of Malwa, at Mandu. The Sultan stayed for a few days at Burhanpur. At last, he retur-



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ned, stipulating as a term of peace that Khutaba should be recited and coins struck in the name of Sultan Mahmud II at Burhanpur and Asir. Darya Khan came to Ahmedabad with the Sultan. He brought, with affluent circumstances, the whole kingdom of Gujarat under his authority with Sultan Mahmud as a nominal king under his surveillance. But as Darya Khan was a voluptuary pleasure seeker and fond of sport and play, he entrusted charge of looking after the Sultan to his reliable man Alam Khan Lodi. It is said that the whole population, rich and poor, of Gujarat were pleased and contented with Darya Khan for his upright conduct and grant of presents and allowances. It is said that he kept with himself blank farmans ready with the Sultan's seal with an object to give them immediately to deserving hard-working cultivators. Darya Khan for five years lived in pleasure and happiness. Even though the Sultan received reports about Darya Khan's excessive indulgence in pleasures, he connived at them with indifference. Darya Khan always sought to find out and investigate the secret working of the Sultan's mind, but he failed to find a way to inmost recesses of his mind in spite of his utmost efforts. He, very often, used to say, "I am puzzled in the task of understanding this youth, that is, the Sultan. Either he is a sage of a perfect degree or a matchless fool." By chance, Alam Khan Lodi took leave of Darya Khan, after some time, to go to his jagir. He was displeased with Darya Khan for a certain matter details of which are mentioned in 'Mirat i Sikandari'. In the meantime, he received a report that Imadul Mulk had gained much favour of Qadir Shah in Malwa. Darya Khan got exasperated on getting this report. He issued a farman to Qadir Shah as dictated by Sultan Mahmud II that Imadul Mulk should be sent as a captive or he should be expelled from his kingdom. Qadir Shah did not reply in a way he desired. Darya Khan got enraged and took out the Sultan's pavilion with an intention to lead an army against Qadir Shah. He halted in Khanamdarol palaces near the Kankariya Tank and sent an order to all forces of the various parts of the kingdom to collect. He himself returned to his house in the city every day after remaining for three hours in attendance upon the Sultan and waiting for one, two hours more and gave himself up to joys and pleasures. The Sultan bore it with patience so long he was of tender age. As he had no power, he felt sorry and painful. One day Darya Khan invited the Sultan with Syed Mubarak Bukhari for an entertainment at a festival of dance and song. Both of them enjoyed the performance for the whole night. At the close of night, Darya Khan got up, went to privacy, brought in embrace a moon-faced character of the festive party and slept. The Sultan sat in the same position alone in the assembly. The Sultan was displeased by such unworthy behaviour. His patience was exhausted. He whispered into the ears of Syed Mubarak, "you see the insolence of this servant. He left me alone, drank wine and displayed want of etiquette and slept. The



Syed replied, " Still there is time for patience, endurance and suffering so that what comes out of the curtain of futurity ' It so happened that a report of the Sultan's going to his festival and remaining in that position reached Alam Khan Lodi who was at his jagir and who harboured reproaches in his heart against Darya Khan as stated above, he came to Dhandhuka, the mahal of his jagir situated at a distance of thirty kurohs from the city and secretly sent a message to the Sultan to the effect, " If the Sultan turns attention to this side, I will obey whatever order is given to me and remove the dominant one from the midst " The Sultan felt at ease, after a pledge and pact entered through mediation of Charji the sparrow catcher who later got the title of Muhafiz Khan, he went to Alam Khan at night coming out from the Khamrindarol palaces with a cavalry of two hundred sent by Alam Khan with Khorbhal Darya Khan, next day, felt confused after learning about the Sultan's departure But the treasury was under his control He found out one of the grandsons of Sultan Ahmed, founder of Ahmedabad, titled him Sultan Muzaffer, recited Khutba and struck coins in his name He collected nearly fifty, sixty thousand horse and came out with a design against the Sultan and Alam Khan The two armies met and a hard battle took place Sultan Mahmud suffered a defeat Darya Khan, victorious and triumphant returned with a king carved by himself and went to Dholka As the fortune of Sultan Mahmud was powerful, once again, people from all sides collected together round the Sultan and Alam Khan in groups and bodies Every day, soldiers deserted the army of Darya Khan and joined this side Within a short time, a large army was collected a second time Darya Khan did not deem it proper to stay at Dholka after seeing this state of affairs and he turned towards Ahmedabad When he reached the city Residents of the city came forward to prevent him for taking such a step He entered the city by wrath and force and devoted himself to conciliation Inspite of this, people deserted him and came over to the Sultan's side Daryakhan, through fear, that the citizens would capture him and take him to the Sultan sent his family and stores to the fort of Champaner while he proceeded to Mubarak Shah at Burhanpur This event took place in the year 950, nine hundred and fifty Hijri Sultan Mahmud came to Ahmedabad and proceeded to Champaner He opened the fort and all the treasures of Darya Khan fell into the hands of the Sultan The Sultan settled at Champaner with absolute authority He assigned the office of ministership to Malek Burhan ul Mulk Bintani He appointed Alam Khan Lodi as Commander in Chief For three months, affairs continued as wished by the Sultan One day, Alam Khan reported to the Sultan that ' Darya Khan expelled Imadul Mulk out of malevolence If an order is issued for his recall, he will come to pay homage The Sultan sent a firman in accordance with his request Charji, the sparrow catcher who in Hindi technicality is called ' Chidimar had become a resource



of the Sultan with the title of Muhafiz Khan on account of working as an intermediary to carry secret communications between the Sultan and Alam Khan Lodi. That stupid, vile fellow showed himself off as a friend and well-wisher of the Sultan and as his counsellor. At this juncture, Imad ul-Mulk also came from Mandu and paid homage to the Sultan. He obtained the Sarkar of Broach along with the port of Surat as jagir. He sought leave to go to his jagir for ammunition and supply of provisions. By chance, one day during these days, the Sultan was tipsy with drink of red wine when Muhafiz Khan thought of a plan and represented to the Sultan that some old amirs should be set aside, a body of new blood should be encouraged actively so that others may be dealt with. Sultan Alauddin Lodi, brother of Sultan Sikander Lodi, the king of Delhi who had come during the regime of Sultan Bahadur and had become a servant. He was with Shuja Khan in a war with Darya Khan. He should be done away with. The Sultan, without consultation with any one of his vazirs and amirs issued an order that two persons should be beheaded and suspended beneath gallows. He himself retired to seclusion and gave no audience to anyone for three days. On the third day, Alam Khan Lodi said to Imadu Mulk that the bodies of Sultan Alauddin Lodi and Shuja 'at Khan are lying beneath gallows for the last three days and that he should go to the Sultan to report about it and obtain leave for their burial. Imadul Mulk went to the darbar. Charji titled Muhafiz Khan came out from presence of the Sultan and inquired from him as to what was the cause of his coming back when he had obtained leave to proceed to his jagir. Imadul Mulk said to him, "Report to the Sultan. If he orders, Alauddin Lodi should be buried." That stupid, base fellow, smiling sarcastically, said with version, "Oh Malek! today these two disloyal amirs have been shaved. Very shortly, many others will be made to join them." On hearing these words Imadul Mulk was flushed with rage and reported to Alam Khan what he heard saying, "If you want to live a few days more, kill this wretch Charji and keep the Sultan under surveillance." He marched and went to his jagir. Alam Khan, Wajihul Mulk etc amirs and all soldiers unanimously decided that so long as they would not kill Charji, they would not salute the Sultan. First, they buried Sultan Alauddin and Shuja 'at Khan and then came in a body to the masjid adjacent to the Sultan's darbar and sat there. The Sultan garrisoned himself. For three complete days, things passed in this manner. At last, when commotion subsided, the Sultan sent word and inquired about it. All of them with one voice said, "We are slaves of the Sultan but Charji who has become a favourite of His Majesty is not worthy of the Sultan's service. He should be surrendered to us." The Sultan did not agree to this proposal. At last, the Sultan gave audience to the amirs for salutation and summoned them in his presence. One of them had intimacy with Charji. He sent word to him that it was not proper for him to remain



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Urash a descendant of Qutb ul Aqtab, may his tomb be sanctified. Imadul Mulk, whereupon, paid homage at Champaner with twelve thousand horse and received royal favour. After a few days, through heavenly decrees, some one at midnight raised a cry to the effect that "the Sultan's order is to plunder Imdul Mulk". On hearing this cry, base fellows poured on his army from all directions and plundered it. Imadul Mulk saved himself with great misery and disgrace and took shelter with Syed Mubarak. The Sultan, on hearing this incident, was much infuriated as to who was responsible for this incident and riot. He captured many of them and executed them. He comforted Imadul Mulk very much. He petitioned leave to visit the Holy Places (Mekka and Medina). The Sultan granted it and sent him to Surat where they broke pillars of the life of Imadul Mulk on 27th Ramazan of the year 952, nine hundred and fifty two. After this event, the Sultan sent Syed Mubarak to march against Darya Khan and Alam Khan. The Syed came out victorious and triumphant in the fight. Darya Khan and Alam Khan were exterminated from the frontiers of Gujarat. They went to Sher Shah. The Sultan obtained power once again. He conferred the title of 'Imad Khan on a certain man, Abdul Karim while others too were honoured with respectable titles. 'Imad Khan rose high and became a confidante of the Sultan. He had free access to the palace under the Sultan's order to manage affairs of the harem as detailed in Mirat-i Sikandari. The Sultanat again obtained fresh splendour. He so brought the amirs and the soldiers under restraint of his administration that none dared disobey his order. At this juncture, an idea for conquest of Malwa found its way to the Sultan's mind. He consulted Asif Khan Vazir in this respect. He said, "I guide you to conquest of a kingdom which is not inferior to Malwa, that is, one-fourth of Gujarat which is technically called Banth which is under control of the Rajput Girasias and Kolis. If that one-fourth part is brought under control of the Sultan's Sarkar, twenty-five thousand horsemen will receive mahals of jagir. The Sultan issued an order for seizure of those mahals. The Girasias of Idar, Sirohi, Dungepur, Banswara, Lunawara, Rajpipla, bank of the Mahi nadi, Dahod etc created disturbances. When Thanadars were appointed at Sirohi, Idar and other places, there did not remain a name and trace of a Rajput and a Koli in the land except those who were land-proprietors and land holders. They too should be distinguished by a mark on side of the right hand. If they were found without a mark, they were slayed. Practice of Islam of Muhammed may benedictions and peace of God be on him and his descendants gained such ascendancy during the reign of the Sultan with praiseworthy end that no Hindu in the city rode a horse and he never wore a garment without a patch of red piece of cloth on his shoulder. Festivals of Hinduism such as Holi, Diwali and idol-worship were not openly, with daring, celebrated. It is related that the



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Girasias and the Kolis after martyrdom of the Sultan, carved an effigy of wicked Burhan, murderer of the Sultan, out of stone and worshipped it saying, "This is our nourisher who liberated us from a peril" The author of Mirat-i-Sikandari narrated from contemporary authorities an account of the Sultan with praiseworthy end that the Sultan was a great friend of the poor. He directed his energies to the care of the poor. He built places and constructed houses as well as engaged servants to look after their comforts and discomforts and to supply them their needs. Very often, delicious viands which the Sultan found pleasing to his taste were supplied to the faqirs in large quantity. He used to inquire whether this kind of food was available to the poor. Those who were present replied in the negative, whereupon such cooked food was supplied to them. In winter, he distributed fine robes to pious men who lived in masjids and madrasas as well as gave them coverlets. Some of them needy fellows sold them. He ordered that coverlets to the measure of covering of a group should be prepared so that all of them may not be unanimous to dispose it of. He burnt much fuel at an entrance to every lane and bazar for the whole night so that needy persons may sleep around it. It was settled that the first fruits in every season should first be given to the faqirs and then should be taken to the palace. When the heart of the Sultan was free from strange behaviour of dominant amirs, he went to Mahmudabad with ease and pleasure in the year, 953 nine hundred and fifty-three and resided there. He ordered construction of a lofty building called 'Ahu Khana' Deer-house whose length was two farsangs and width to the extent of a plun for horse's gallop in a corner of the palace, it appeared like a sky on earth. Its wall and ceiling were of gold. At the door of every house, there were roads leading to the bazar with shops on both sides. A fury-born woman sat at every shop. She sold articles of luxury and pleasure. The Sultan, very often engaged in hunting in that heart-enchaining place with delicate fury-born women. On the birth anniversary of the Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God, be on him and his descendants, the Ulama, Fuzla (scholars) and the Mashukh (spiritual guides) attended the royal court from 1st to 12th Rabi I. Lessons of traditions were given. Food was served to them after they were free from sermons.

On the 12th day, the Sultan personally girt up his loins for service in that holy assembly. This laudable practice had continued in this dynasty from the time of Sultan Muzaffer Hahm. When he retired to the royal privacy from usual service after bidding adieu to the assemblage with definite presents on the 12th day of birth anniversary in the year 961, nine hundred and sixty-one, he suffered fatigue and so he lay down on bed and slept. He woke and demanded syrup to drink. Burhan was in charge of syrups. He gave poisoned syrup to the Sultan to drink. After a moment, the Sultan woke up from sleep in a changed condition and vomited. He summoned Burhan and said, "Oh unfortunate



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fellow ! What sort of syrup was it that you gave me ” Burhan replied, “Your sound nature is upset due to tedium of serving the assemblage at the birth day anniversary of the Prophet You should take rest so that it may disappear A watch of night had passed when the Sultan again felt inclined to sleep When his eyes became heavy with sleep, faithless Burhan struck such a sharp dagger on the Sultan's throat so that he may not awake till dawn of the resurrection-day This incident took place on Friday night The Sultan was born in the year 932, nine hundred and thirty three He sat on the throne when he was eleven years of age He ruled for eighteen years and attained to the rank of martyrdom at the age of twenty-eight His dead body was brought from Mahmudabad and buried at the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud Beghada at Sarkhej Date of this event is found out from ‘Sultan obtained Shahadat ’ In short, wretched Burhan along with those fearless, impure fellows who had co-operated with him in this shameful deed, worked together in a united spirit to accomplish their object He armed a few persons and kept them hidden in a room which was outside the Sultan's house with instructions ‘ If any one comes to you and steps into this room send him immediately to the hidden house of non-existence After this arrangement, they sent a person to the Chief Minister saying that the Sultan had summoned him He came without delay, empty-headed Burhan rose up to pay respect and honour and said, “The order of the Sultan is to wait in this house where he had kept a force hidden ’ He was made to advance keeping himself behind As soon as he entered the room, he was slayed In this manner, Khudawand Khan was called and seated with Asif Khan It is said that Itimad Khan was also summoned He sagaciously found out that the untimely call was not without a cause and so he did not come Afzal Khan Vazir was called in this way When Burhan's glance fell on Afzal Khan, he began to talk with cheerfulness and adulation and said Catch hold of my hand I (shake hands with me) will make you reach the goal of your desire The Khan said, Oh unfortunate fellow ! What have you in your mind ? What words do you utter ? ” When he got despaired of Afzal Khan's concord he slayed him too When the wretched Burhan made his impure mind at ease by slaying Asif Khan etc, he extended his hands of seizure to riches and royal goods He wore gaudy garments of the Sultan on his wretched body and put round his mauspicious neck the precious jewel necklace which was round the Sultan's neck He sat on the chair studded with jewels which was specially meant for the Sultan like a dog A maxim that a dog sits in place of a seller of sausages came to be true He kept a water basin and a jewel studded tray before him and engaged himself in cleansing his teeth He started to rule and govern He bestowed royal horses with gold and silver saddles and heads of reins upon those who had co-operated with him He issued an order for release of prisoners His co-



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operators kept themselves apart after taking away gold and horses. Evil-minded Burhan remained with a few followers. At this juncture, wild news spread among the high and the low and it reached the confidential person of the Sultan such as Imadul Mulk, general of the Rumis, Ulugh Khan, chief of the Abyssinians etc. They started for the Sultan's court on wings of haste. They, first of all, locked up the treasures and entrusted them to the charge of reliable men. They then proceeded to repel Burhan. In the meanwhile, that unfortunate fellow came out with a body of his followers. Suddenly, Shirwan Shah Bhati,* one of the amirs of the Sultan appeared there. Burhan said, "Come Shirwan Khan for you have come at the opportune time." He said, "I came. Having spurred the horse, he charged him with a sword on his shoulder which passed from below his arm-pit. He fell. His companions were also slayed. Sved Mubarak gathered together the remaining great amirs such as I'timad Khan, Syed Mubark etc. who were the keepers of Sultan's secrets. First of all, they removed malice they harboured for one another in their minds and consulted with one another about the Sultanat. They inquired from I'timad Khan who was a confidante about the harems of the Sultans whether there remained a son from the Sultan. He should declare about him so that he may be seated on the throne. If, in reality, there was no son, yet if any one in the harem of the Sultan was pregnant, they might wait till the birth of that child in order that the Sultanat may not pass away from the dynasty of Sultan Mahmud. I'timad said, "The Sultan has no son. No one is pregnant also." They then said. "Choose one from the relatives of the Sultan whom you consider to be worthy of this good fortune." He said, "There is one relative, at present, of the martyred Sultan in Ahmedabad by name Ahmed Khan who is worthy of this good fortune." As ordered by the amirs, Razi-ul-Mulk came to Ahmedabad within three hours in a horse-carriage, found Ahmed Khan at the shop of a grain-dealer with food-grains in his skirts for his pigeons, seated him immediately on horse-back and brought him to Mahmudabad.

* A Rajput tribe settled on the borders of the Punjab and Rajasthan who have given their name to the towns of Bhainer and Bhatinda. The majority of them are Muslims. The Phulkian Sikhs are Bhattis. (see The Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh by W. Crooke).

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CHAPTER 17

REIGN OF AHMED KHAN, SON OF LATIF KHAN, GRANDSON OF SHAKAR KHAN, SON OF SULTAN AHMED, FOUNDER OF AHMEDABAD

On 15th Rabi ' I of the year 961, nine hundred and sixty one, Syed Mubarak, in concord with amirs and khans, held arm of the Sultan and seated him on the throne with grandeur and dignity with the title of Sultan Ahmad. That very day, he became a disciple of Syed Mubarak. He entrusted the office of Vizarat to I'timad Khan. As the Sultan was of tender age, the amirs decided among themselves in this manner that they should divide the royal treasure among themselves till the Sultan became a major. Every one should reside within his jurisdiction, keep a watch on revolts and disturbances and defend the frontiers. Details of this short account are in Mirat-i-Sikandari. When a report of accession of the Sultan to the throne and division of the kingdom reached Mubarak Shah, King of Asir and Burhanpur, he led an army with designs against Gujarat and encamped on the other bank of the river Narbada opposite to Broach. On receipt of news of Mubarak Shah's march, the Gujarati amirs advanced for resistance with Ahmed Shah. Distance between the two amirs was of the river Narbada. After mutual exchange of envoys and messages, the affair was settled by peace through mediation of Syed Mubarak. They returned to Ahmedabad. But the Gujarati amirs, in this coming and going and pacification by Syed Mubarak, who were first united, now got themselves divided into two camps. A group agreed to the leadership of I'timad Khan and got themselves linked with him. Another party felt disposed towards Nasirul Mulk. Syed Mubarak who was brave and wise was on the side of I'timad Khan. In short, both the parties, travelled separately without looking at one another till they reached the neighbourhood of Baroda where a combat took place between Syed Mubarak and Nasirul Mulk. Relatives of Syed Mubarak were killed for absence of help from I'timad Khan. The Syed suffered a defeat and went to Kapadvanj which was in his Jagir. I'timad Khan fled without a fight and joined Syed Mubarak. Nasirul Mulk came to Ahmedabad with Sultan Ahmed in absolute authority and devoted himself to administrative work and absolute rule. Two months elapsed when Nasir-ul Mulk marched with an army against Kapadvanj with a design to expel Syed Mubarak and I'timad Khan. He encamped at Kamid of the Bhil paraganas. The Syed too marched to that side to offer resistance. As heavenly decrees would have it, Ulugh Khan Habashi and Imadul Mulk Rumi who held charge of the Sultan's guardianship consulted among them-



themselves to the effect that " If Nasirul Mulk completes the affairs succeeds in slaying the Syed and I'timad Khan, he will not spare us " They, therefore confirmed a secret agreement among themselves of their going over to Syed Mubarak with the Sultan. When the Syed arrived in the morning, Ulugh Khan and Imadul Mulk as agreed upon came to Syed Mubarak with the Sultan. This thing became the cause of flight of Nasirul Mulk as described in details in Mirat i Sikandari. Syed Mubarak and I'timad Khan with the Sultan came to Ahmedabad. They then chased Nasirul Mulk who had gone to the mountainous region of Pal. I'timad Khan appointed Ikhtiarul Mulk a deputy from his side in Ahmedabad. He, during two days' absence of the Sultan, the Syed and I'timad Khan, allied himself with Hasan Khan Dakhani and Fatch Khan Baluch, nominated Sahu, the uncle of the Sultan as Sultan and made the market of revolt brisk. When this news reached the Syed etc, they marched towards Ahmedabad from Broach and came to Mahmudabad. The rebellious amirs carried the Sahu with them to encounter them. A battle took place between them at a place Ruparah, four kurohs from Ahmedabad. Sahu along with the rebellious amirs fled away. The Syed entered Ahmedabad with triumph and victory with the Sultan. When they were at ease in respect of this valley, they, as agreed upon, divided the kingdom into Sarkars and Paraganas as detailed in Mirat i Sikandari, and went to their respective places. The Sultan and I'timad Khan remained in the city with happiness. But when does the perfidious time allow mischief to remain asleep? At this time, it produced another picture on surface of the canvass. Alam Khan Lodi and Darya Khan as described above, had gone to Shih Shah at Delhi where Darya Khan had died and Alam Khan under a royal order was exterminated. He helplessly sought recommendation of Syed Mubarak and came to Ahmedabad. His arrival was not liked by I'timad Khan and Imadul Mulk. They got displeased with the Syed. Through instigation a battle was fought with Syed Mubarak. The amirs carried the Sultan with them and came to fight with the Syed. As Alam Khan's mischief was known to all, the amirs carried the Sultan to the Syed when the two armies had faced each other. Alam Khan fled towards Pal mountains. The amirs went in pursuit of him but returned from Champaner. Details of this should be referred to Mirat i-Sikandari. When Mubarak Shah Asiri heard about these events, he, once again, led an army against Gujarat but he had to go back without achieving his object. In short, the Sultan, during this period, had made them royal servants. But the administrative control of the whole kingdom was with I'timad Khan and Imadul Mulk who breathed off equality between themselves. Sometimes I'timad Khan's reliable men kept a watch over the Sultan and sometimes Imadul Mulk's men guarded him. But divine will had ordained the decline of Gujarat. Sultans. In spite of pledge and pret, corroborated with solemn



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oath, they sowed seeds of discord in fields of their hearts. They gambled away cash of their faith on thought of a small gain and resorted to massacre and warfare. Syed Mubarak made an effort to improve the condition of friendship and extinguish fire. Some time passed in this manner till the source of discord raised its head between 'Imadul Mulk and I'timad Khan. Sultan Ahmed also petitioned 'Imadul Mulk to effect his liberation from the hands of I'timad Khan. I'timad Khan becoming indignant went to Mubarak Shah. He carried the Sultan and brought him to this side. Syed Mubarak, this time also, gave many heart-pleasing admonitions to I'timad Khan and desisted him from carrying out that vain idea. I'timad Khan, again, engaged himself as before with the office of ministership. Sultan Ahmed saw that it was not possible even by Imadul Mulk to help him in carrying out his intention for running the government. Again, he became a captive to I'timad Khan and that, he would take revenge on him. He secretly came to the Syed at Syedpur which was adjacent to Mahmudabad and founded by Syed Mubarak with a few favourites. He did not like his arrival in this way. He very much reproached and reprimanded the favourites of the Sultan informing that it was not proper to bring the Sultan in this fashion. At this junction, Haji Khan, one of the famous amirs of Sahm Shah, King of Dihli started for Gujarat from Dihli with five thousand horse and one hundred and fifty elephants on account of ascendancy of Humaynn's forces. On the way, he fought with the Rana. The Rana suffered a defeat and fled. Haji Khan came to Gujarat triumphant and victorious. I'timad Khan and Imadul Mulk imagined the arrival of Haji Khan at the invitation of Syed Mubarak and Sultan Ahmed. They held counsel that so long as Haji Khan had not joined Syed Mubarak and their armies have not been collected from different parts, the Syed should be done to death. I'timad Khan and Imadul Mulk marched with the army of Gujarat consisting nearly of thirty thousand horse with accompaniment of heavy artillery and encamped in vicinity of Mahmudabad. A war was decided upon after an exchange of message and mediation of well wishing peace makers. Syed Mubarak was killed and Syedpur was laid waste. But there was a custom among the people of Gujarat that they did not molest the reputation of their mutual families inspite of hostility and malice which ultimately led to this kind of warfare between them. The Commander of the army used to retreat to a distance of ten, twelve kurohs and kept himself aloof. Both the armies entered the city. After a few days, several persons intervened and peace was established. Again the same broth was in a cup. In short, Syed Miran son of Syed Mubarak went to Kapadwanj with his wife and children. The Amirs brought Sultan Ahmed to Ahmedabad and settled there. After some time, Syed Miran came to Ahmedabad on invitation of 'Imadul Mulk and I'timad Khan.



At this time again, food-grains of discord were scattered between Imadul Mulk and I'timad Khan on pretence that Sultan Ahmed again secretly conspires with 'Imadul Mulk.' Imadul Mulk summoned his son Changiz Khan from Broach while I'timad Khan had called Tatar Khan Ghorî from Junagadh. They came out of the city, collected soldiers from various parts and sent word to 'Imadul Mulk that he should leave the city and proceed to his jagir. When 'Imadul Mulk saw that he was not powerful to offer resistance, he went to Broach with Ulugh Khan Habashi. He put Ulugh Khan in charge of Baroda. I'timad Khan appointed his own guards to keep a watch on the Sultan and reclined on the throne of government with comfort. He gave half the Paragana of Kadi as jagir to Haji Khan and made him his servant. He granted leave to Musa Khan and others to go to their respective jagirs. At this juncture, a report was received to the effect that 'Imadul Mulk was slayed on some pretence by Ikhtiar Khan, father-in-law of his son, who was at the port of Surat. After some months, Changiz Khan, son of 'Imadul Mulk captured Ikhtiar Khan and killed him. I'timad Khan led an army towards Broach. But he came to Ahmedabad on account of a scuffle and combat in the district of Pattan and Radhanpur, details of which will be found in Mirat-i-Sikandari. He became anxious for the management of the Sultan because many foreigners had gathered together in Gujarat. Sultan Ahmed was disposed towards his equals from amongst them. God forbid ! an event or calamity might take place which cannot be remedied. He always spent his time in anxious thoughts. Sultan Ahmed was narrow-minded and poor spirited. Whenever he was inebriated with red wine, he used to unsheath his sword in a state of intoxication and struck it on a banana tree saying, "I chopped off I'timad Khan's head and cut 'Imadul Mulk in twain". He thus mentioned the names of many persons and amirs. Wajihul Mulk was a counsellor of I'timad Khan who was of opinion that the Sultan should be done to death before he raises some mischief. During these days, the Sultan was powerful enough to go ariding for recreation and hunting to a distance of two, three kurohs. He sometimes came to the house of I'timad Khan at an odd hour. He received him with fear and shiver. The more Wajihul Mulk pressed him for the Sultan's murder, the more delay I'timad Khan caused in removing him. One day, Wajihul Mulk sent a secret message to the Sultan to the effect that "If the Sultan promises me the post of Vizarat, we shall carry out the murder of I'timad Khan." The Sultan believed it out of folly and comforted him with a promise of Vizarat and Vikalat. He spoke of this matter to I'timad Khan. He replied, "So long as I do not hear it with my own ears, I will not trust it. Wajihul Mulk took I'timad Khan to his house near Bhadra at night and kept him hidden in a room. He sent a message to the Sultan, "I cannot come openly due to fear of I'timad Khan's relatives; if the Sultan troubles himself



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a pact and pledge will be entered into. He placed the throne for the Sultan to sit at the door of a room where I'timad Khan was kept hidden. The Sultan for whom fate had become an apologist came and sat on the throne. Wajihul Mulk repeated the words and sought for a pledge and pact. The Sultan repeated in all simplicity the words he had sent through an intermediary before, in such a manner as I'timad Khan could completely hear. He immediately came out of the room and said, "What wrong have I done in respect of you that you enter into a pact and pledge for my murder. The moment, the Sultan saw I'timad Khan, his condition changed. I'timad Khan ordered his slaves to whip him to death. His corpse was thrown on sand of Sabarmati which flowed beneath palaces of Bhadra. This event took place on the night of Monday, 5th Shaban of the year 968, nine hundred and sixty eight Hijri. This date is obtained from "an innocent fellow was murdered." On the morning of the night, it was noised (divulged) that the Sultan had fled. When they found his corpse, they said, that some murderers had killed him. It was removed to the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmed, founder of Ahmedabad and buried there.

Coup'et

*Grandeur of royal crown wherein there is fear of life
Is a pleasant cap but is not worth with loss of a head*

Martyrdom of Biram Khan took place in the city of Pattan before the Sultan's murder in this very year. Facts of this case, in short, are that His Late Majesty Akbar may his grave be illumined permitted Biram Khan, for certain reasons as mentioned in detail in Akbarnama, for pilgrimage to the Holy Ka'ba, may God increase its honour and respect. When he arrived at Pattan, he stayed for rest in that pleasant place. Musa Khan Fauladi was an absolute ruler of the place then. Many Afghan tribes had collected there. They created tumult and commotion in that region. Amongst them, there was Mubarak Khan Lohani, whose father was killed in a war at Machhuwara under command of Biram Khan. That mad Afghan thought of retribution at that time. He intended to kill Biram Khan. The Kashmiri wife of Salim Khan, son of Sher Khan with her daughter had accompanied Biram Khan's party for a voyage to Hijaz. It was agreed that Biram Khan should get that girl married to his son. The Afghans were in revolt on this side also. During his halt at Pattan, Biram Khan always went out for recreation to the gardens and houses of that city. One day, he had gone for recreation to a very big tank which is a pleasant recreation ground. This tank had a sitting-place in the middle where one can go by a boat. Biram Khan had gone there. When he came out of the boat and was about to ride a horse, that silly fellow came to



the bank of the pond with thirty, forty Afghans with designs against Biram Khan. It was appered that they had come to see him. Biram Khan called them before him. When those wicked fellows advanced, he drew forth his dagger fearlessly and stabbed him on the back in such a manner that it came out of his bosom. Another fellow hit his head with a sword and finished him. In these circumstances, the phrase "Allah is the Greatest" was recited by him with good end. He died. His companions were perplexed and terrified by occurrence of this event. Every one hastened to a place. Biram Khan had fallen on ground in blood. Some fakir and poor men lifted his blood-stained body and buried him on the margin of Shaikh Husam's shrine, a spiritual guide of the age. This event took place on Friday, 14th Jamadi I of the year 960 nine hundred and sixty Hijri. Qasim Arsalan composed the following lines as date of the event.

Quatrain

*When Biram wore pilgrim's garment for perambulation of Ka'ba
He was done to martyrdom on the way
Angel Gabriel for chronogram of the event
Said that Muhammed Biram was martyred*
9 6 0 Hijri

After that, his corpse was taken out from that place by Husain Quli Khan Khanjehan and buried at Holy Mashhad. Vagabonds of Pattan took advantage of this unforeseen event and plundered Biram Khan's tent completely. Khwaja Malek and others removed away Abdur Rahim, son of Biram Khan who was then four years old with his mother and other servants, with great efforts from the place of occurrence and proceeded to Ahmedabad. They halted at Ahmedabad for four months and then they left for paradise-like court (of Akbar) under a royal order.



CHAPTER 18

REIGN OF SULTAN MUZAFFER ALIAS NATTHU THE LAST GUJERATI SULTAN

After Sultan Ahmed's murder, I'timad Khan seated Sultan Muzaffer on the throne on 6th great Sha'ban of the year 968 nine hundred and sixty-eight Hijri. But some of the historians are of opinion that as there was none of the Sultan's descendants worthy of sultanat, I'timad Khan, the pivot of Sultanat brought a child named Natthu in an assembly and said on oath that "this is the son of Sultan Mahmud II. His mother was a maid-servant (concubine). She was pregnant. She was entrusted to me for abortion. As the pregnancy was of more than five months, abortion did not take place. This child was born. I brought him up secretly. There is, at present, no one who is an heir to the kingdom except this child." All accepted his statement, and raised him to sovereignty with the title of Sultan Muzaffer. After a few months, I'timad Khan led an army against Musa Khan and Sher Khan to wreak vengeance of Fatch Khan at Pattan. All the amirs were fear of their lives and vexed with him on account of Sultan Ahmed's murder. When he neared Pattan, a combat took place with Musa Khan and Sher Khan but suffered a defeat with a small engagement. The amirs fled to Ahmedabad without a fight. He again started collecting an army. He made his utmost efforts to win support of the amirs but none of them devoted himself in body to him (they refused). Every one of them went to his jagir. I'timad Khan marched against Musa Khan and Sher Khan with as many soldiers as he could collect but returned to Ahmedabad with a defeat. This event took place in the year 969 nine hundred and sixty-nine. In short, the amirs were openly in discord and disruption. I'timad Khan went out with a small army when Changiz Khan son of 'Imdul Mulk occupied the city. He too was killed by the Habashis. These events along with anarchy and misrule in the kingdom are described in Mirat-i-Sikandari. Some account of it will be given when the kingdom was conquered by Akbar, end of Sultan Muzaffer and the Subedari of Khan-i-A'zam Mirza 'Aziz a second time in the year one thousand Hijri-God the Great willing. Now is the time to turn the reins of pleasant-pacing piebald of pen to describe an order for its conquest by His Late Majesty Akbar may God illumine his grave, and events which took place under the Nazims who were appointed in every age from the beginning of conquest of the kingdom of Gujarat. It is a settled fact that any one who is appointed to the office of Nizam in person by the royal court under royal farman and orders will be written in a list of Nazims while those who were appointed till the settled appointment of a Nazim or a deputy Nazim or an assistant will



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be recorded under such a heading The copy of Mirat-i-Ahmedi contains cases of records and revenue Most of the royal orders were issued in the name of diwans concerning settlement of revenue Hence, an account of diwan offices of every reign is given along with that of the Nazims. An account of Faujdars and Amils is dropped for want of information and prolixity but something about them will be occasionally mentioned Short account is given because Nizamat and Vizirat are twins

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CHAPTER 19

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL DYNASTY OF ILLUSTRIOUS AND NOBLE DESCENDANTS OF HIS MAJESTY QUTB UD-DUNYA WAD-DIN SAHIB I QIRAN AMIR TIMUR GURGAN, MAY HIS GRAVE BE ILLUMINED, WHO RULED AND ARE RULING WITH JUSTICE IN THE TERRITORY OF HINDUSTAN

Holy is God ! What a lofty, dignified dynasty and what a lofty-stationed family ! That all kings and emperors, from noble ancestors and great forefathers till His Prophethood, the father of human beings may peace be on him, in degrees of elevation and ascents of greatness were bestowers of kingship and makers of kings so to say, the Tailor of eternity stitched the glorious robe of khilafat and government of the great office of Sultanat and conquest in proportion to the worth of these illustrious occupants of throne and wearers of crown in the workshop of fate and destiny The Absolute Giver combined the pleasant mode of justice and equity with laudable disposition of generosity and liberality in their pure nature It is absolutely true that if history is studied with deliberation and the goal is reached with verification and attestation, it will be found that the Sultans and rulers of various parts of the world and columns of kingdoms (Kings) of seven climes are reapers of this harvest and borrowers of this light Any learned man who comes from Iran, Turan, Syria, Arabia, Abyssinia or any other part with a need to this Court, gets it fulfilled by getting his share Such is not the case with other rulers Inspite of all greatness, grandeur, extension of territory, power and affluence they do not utter a word which may smack of pride and arrogance and they never mention the name of an inferior servant with contempt They make efforts in giving currency to the clear religion It is said that when His Majesty Sahib i Qiran II Shah Jahan the ghazi king acceded to the jewel studded Peacock Throne which was made at a cost of one crore of rupees equivalent to the several years' revenue in Egypt, he, first of all, offered prayers of thanks to God, recited His praise and eulogy in melody and sweetness saying that Pharaoh loosed his tongue in utterance of nonsense by a claim "I am your highest (Lord) because he had with him the kingdom of Egypt and a throne of ivory I am master of such a throne and a kingdom I cannot make a claim for worship which is meant for true God " Bravo for such pure belief I hope, God the Great Who is holy, may make this noble dynasty permanent and lasting on the throne of Khilafat till the day of judgment If the vicissitudes and disturbances which have taken place in the whole world on account of demands of heavenly revolutions are looked at with an eye of foresight, there is an occasion for thanks in Hindustan when compared to Iran and Turan for the ruler of this region still



continues This fact is due to mere divine favours and sincere intention of this exalted family May it not remained hidden that *His Majesty Amir Timur Sahib i Qiran* conquered the capital of Hind in the beginning of the year 801, eight hundred and one Hijri He kept the whole of this kingdom under his sway and control for one year He marched towards the capital Samarqand at close the of the above year when Sultan Mahmud was the king of Dihli He suffered a defeat at the blows of Sahib i Qiran's army, came to Zafar Khan who had not yet raised the banner of Sultanat and had not assumed the title of Muzaffer Shih When he failed to get what he expected from him, he went towards Malwa as mentioned in Mirat i-Sikandari

When the turn of sovereignty of *His Majesty firdaws makani Zahirud Din Muhammed Babar Padshah*, son of Mirza Umar Shaikh Shah, son of Sultan Abu Sa'ced Mirza Shah, son of Mirza Amiran Shah, son of His Majesty Sahib i Qiran Amir Timur Gurgan came, he marched from the capital of Kabul for conquest of Hindustan He conquered Dihli and the capital of Agra in the year 932, nine hundred and thirty two He occupied most of the eastern cities During the reign of His Majesty, three Sultans, one after the other ruled over Gujarat viz close of Sultan Muzaffer Halim's reign Sultan Sikander and Sultan Bahadur Nearly five years of Sultan Bahadur's reign had passed when His Majesty died at Agra on 6th Jamadi I of the year 937, nine hundred and thirty seven His corpse was removed to Kabul and buried there He ruled for nearly six years in Hind



CHAPTER 20

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, JANNAT-ASHYANI, NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMED HUMAYUN BADSHAH-I-GHAZI SON OF HIS MAJESTY, FIRDAUS MAKANI, ZAHIRUDDIN MUHAMMED BABUR SHAH.

He ascended the throne at Agra of 9th Jamadi I of the year 937, nine hundred and thirty-seven. The date of his accession is found out from "Khair-ul-Muluk" the best of kings. Sultan Bahadur was the ruler in Gujarat. When Sultan Bahadur had conquered the fort of Chitor in the year 941, nine hundred and forty one, His Majesty Humayun led an army against Sultan Bahadur on account of vexation he had in mind from Muhammed Zaman Mirza. He inflicted a defeat on him, conquered the fort of Champaner and came to Ahmedabad as stated above in short. Details will be found in Tarikh-i Akbarnama and Mirat-i-Sikandar. Enemies gained in strength on account of mutual hostility among brothers. His Majesty Jannat Ashyani marched to Iran due to exigencies of time. He returned from that place. In the middle of holy Zilhajj of the year 962, nine hundred and sixty-two, he liberated Hindustan once again from the hands of rebels. Sultan Bahadur had died in Gujarat. Sultan Mahmud II was slayed and Sultan Ahmed, grandson of Shakar Khan was raised to the throne when His Majesty died at the capital of Delhi on 13th Rabi 'I of the year 963, nine hundred and sixty-three. He was buried in that pure locality which is well-known as the Maqabara of Humayun Badshah. He ruled, from the beginning of his ascension in India, for twenty-five years, two months and two days.



CHAPTER 21

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, ARSH ASHYANI, JALALUDDIN MUHAMMED AKBER, BADSHAH-I- GHAZI, SON OF HUMAYUN BADSHAH

Akber's accession to the throne took place in Idgah at Kalanaur nearly at mid-day on Friday 2nd Rabi 'II of the year 963, nine hundred and sixty-three Hijri. It was the third year of rule of Sultan Ahmed, grandson of Shakar Khan in Gujarat. Kingdom of Gujarat came under sway of the rulers of powerful fortune on 14th of Holy Rajab of the year nine hundred and eighty Hijri when thirteen years of Muzaffer II 's rule had passed. It was added to the protected kingdoms of Hindustan, as it will become clear later on. His Majesty died on the night of Wednesday, 12th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and fourteen Hijri. He was buried in the graveyard at Sikandera. He ruled for fifty-one years, two months and nine days. Nine subedars were appointed in Gujarat during his reign.

CHAPTER 22

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, JANNAT-MAKANI, ABUL MUZAFFER NURUDDIN MUHAMMED JAHANGIR BADSHAH, SON OF AKBAR BADSHAH

Jahangir sat on the throne in citadel-fort of the capital Akbarabad on Thursday, 14th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and fourteen Hijri. He died at Jankash-Hati on his return from Kashmir to Lahore at break-fast time on Saturday, 27th Safar of the year one thousand and thirty-seven Hijri. He was buried in a sepulchre situated on the environs of Lahore. He ruled for twenty one years and one month. Eight Subedars were appointed in Gujarat during his reign.



CHAPTER 23

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, FIRD AUS-MAKANI ABUL, MUZAFFER SHIHABUDDIN MUHAMMED SHAH JAHN, SAHIB I QIRAN I- SANI, BADSHAH I CHAZI SON OF JAHANGIR BADSHAH

Shah Jahan sat on the throne in the fort at Akberabad on the auspicious day of Thursday, 12th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and thirty seven Hijri. He died at three ghadis of Monday night 26th Rajab of the year one thousand and seventy six Hijri. He was buried in the grave yard at Akberabad. He ruled for thirty two years and remained in seclusion in the citadel fort for seven years. Twelve Subedars were appointed in Gujarat during his reign.

CHAPTER 24

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, KHULD MANZIL, ABUL MUZAFFER MUHIYUDDIN MUHAMMED AURANGZIB ALAMGIR, SON OF SHAH JAHAN BADSHAH I-GHAZI

His first accession to the throne took place in the garden of Aghar on Friday 1st of Holy Ziq'ad of the year one thousand and sixty eight Hijri and the second in the citadel fort of Shahjahanabad on Saturday, 24th Ramazan of the year one thousand and sixty-nine. He died at Ahmednagar, in the Suba of Dekhan on Monday 27th of Holy Ziq'ad of the year one thousand one hundred and eighteen. He was buried by the side of Burhanuddin Awliya's shrine. The tomb of his Holiness Burhanuddin Gharib may his tomb be sanctified famous in Khuldabad as Rauzah, is situated at a distance of seven kurohs from Awrangabad. The corpse of His Majesty was removed from Ahmednagar to this place. He ruled for fifty-two years, two months and four days. Ten Subedars were appointed in Gujarat during his reign.



CHAPTER 25

CORONATION OF HIS MAJESTY, KHULD-MAKAN, ABUN NASR QUTBUDDIN MUHAMMED MU'AZZAM SHAH'ALAM BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH-I GHAZI, SON OF ALAMGIR BADSHAH

He sat on the throne, after defeat of Muhammed Azam, in the garden of Dahrai at Akberabad on 19th Rabi I of the year one thousand, one hundred and nineteen Hijri. He died at Lahore on 19th of the Holy Muharram of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-four. His Majesty's dead body was brought and buried by the side of the shrine of Khwaja Qutb Chiragh-i-Dihli at Shahjahanabad. He ruled for four years and nine months. One Subedar was appointed in Gujarat during his reign.

CHAPTER 26

ACCESSION OF ABUL FATH MU'ZUDDIN MUHAMMED JAHANDAR SHAH, SON OF BAHADUR SHAH, BADSHAH-I GHAZI

He sat on the throne at Lahore on 20th of Holy Muharram of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-four Hijri. He died within a period of ten months and twenty days. He was buried in the burial-place of Humayun Badshah at Shahjahanabad. One Subedar was appointed



CHAPTER 27

ACCESSION OF SHAH-I SHAHID ABUL MU'AFFER MU'INUDDIN MUHAMMAD FARRUKH SIYAR BADSHAH, SON OF MUHAMMAD 'AZIMUDDIN, SON OF KHULDMANZIL BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH.

He sat on the throne in the neighbourhood of Akberabad on 13th Zi Hajj of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty four Hijri. He recited the Khutba and struck coins in his name after vanquishing his uncle Jahandar Shah. He was martyred after being secluded, on 7th Rabi 'I of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty one. He was buried in the sepulchre of Humayun Badshah at Dilli. He ruled along with the rule of Jahandar Shah for six years and twenty five days. Five Subedars were appointed during his reign.

CHAPTER 28

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY JANNAT ARAMGAH MUHAMMAD RAFI'UDDERJAT BADSHAH, SON OF MUHAMMAD RAFI'USH-SHAN, SON OF KHULDMANZIL BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH.

He sat on the throne in the citadel fort of Shahjahanabad on 8th Rabi 'I of the year one thousand, one hundred and thirty one. He died of physical ailment, that is, tuberculosis on 3rd Rajab of the above year with a will to seat his elder brother Muhammed Rafi'ud dawlah on the throne. He was buried in the burial place of Humayun Badshah. He ruled for four months and fifteen days. No change in the Subedars took place because of a short period.



CHAPTER 29

ACCESSION OF MUHAMMED RAFI'UD DAWLAH TITLED SHAH JAHAN II, SON OF MUHAMMED RAFI'USHSHAN, SON OF HIS MAJESTY KHULD-MANZIL BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH

He sat on the throne as willed by his brother in the citadel-fort of Shah-jahanabad on Saturday, 20th Rajab of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty one Hijri. He marched to Akberabad to suppress rebellion of Muhammed Nikusiyar and died in the month of Zik'ad of the above year. No change in the Subedari took place during his four months' rule.

CHAPTER 30

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, FIRDAWS-ARAMGAH ABUL MUZAFFER NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMED SHAH BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, SON OF MUHAMMED JAHANDAR SHAH, SON OF HAZRAT KHULD MANZIL BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH

When Shah Jahan II died at Akberabad, Qutb ul Mulk Syed Abdullah Khan Vazir and Amir ul-Umara Amir Syed Husain 'Alkhan wrote to Syed Najmu ddin 'Ali Khan, his brother who was Subedar at Shahjahanabad to the effect that one of the princes of the noble descent should be sent in all haste to this side and that he should come and occupy the throne of his ancestors. He sent Muhammed Akhtar, son of Muhammed Jahandarshah Badshah in all haste on Ghara Top elephant. He sat on the throne on 15th Zik'ad of the year one thousand, one hundred and thirty-one and called himself Muhammed Shah. He died in the month of Rabi ' II of the year one thousand, one hundred sixty one Hijri. He was buried in neighbourhood of the shrine of Khwaja Nizam uddin Awliya at Shahjahanabad. Period of his rule, including that of Rafi-'udderjani and Shahjahan II was thirty years and six days. Six Subedars were appointed during his reign.



CHAPTER 31

ACCESSION OF ABUN NASR MUJAHIDIN AHMED SHAH BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, SON OF HIS MAJESTY FIRDAWS- ARAMGAH MUHAMMED SHAH BADSHAH

He sat on the throne on Tuesday, 1st Jamadi I of the year one thousand, one hundred and sixty-one at Kondarah in the taluka district of Panipat after the return of Abdali. He retired due to want of concord and co-operation of the vazirs on 10th, Great Shaban of 1167, one thousand, one hundred and sixty-seven Hijri. He ruled for six years, three months and nine days. Raja Bakht Singh was appointed Subedar during his reign.

CHAPTER 32

ACCESSION OF AUSPICIOUS, NOBLEST, HOLIEST, HIGHEST, LOFTIEST, WITH ABODE ON THE THRONE OF GOD, LORD OF THE WORLD, SHADOW OF GOD, FATHER OF JUSTICE AZIZUDDIN MUHAMMED ALAMGIR II, BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, MAY GOD MAKE HIS KINGDOM PERMANENT

He sat on the throne in the citadel-fort of Shahjahanabad on Sunday nearly at mid-day on 10th of the Great Shaban of the year one thousand, one hundred and sixty-seven Hijri. He was murdered at a hint of the Vazir on Thursday, 8th Rabi II of the year one thousand, one hundred and seventy-three Hijri. He ruled for five years, seven months and twenty-seven days. No one was appointed as a Subedar on account of sway of Balaji Rao Maratha.

CHAPTER 33

ACCESSION OF NOBLEST, HOLIEST, EXALTED SHAH JAHAN BADSHAH-I-GHAZI

He sat on the throne at close of Thursday, 8th Rabi II of the year one thousand, one hundred and seventy-three Hijri in the citadel of the capital Shahjahanabad.



CHAPTER 34

**DISTURBANCES IN GUJARAT ARRIVAL OF MIRZAS END OF
THE KINGDOM OF GUJARAT OCCUPATION OF THIS
KINGDOM BY THE RULERS OF POWERFUL FORTUNE
(the Mughals) INCLUSION IN THE PROTECTED
DOMINIONS OF HINDUSTAN WITHOUT A WAR
WITH HELP OF GOD, THE GREAT, IN THE
REIGN OF HIS MAJESTY 'ARSH-ASHYANI
JALALUDDIN MUHAMMED AKBER BADSHAH-
I-GHAZI, MAY GOD ILLUMINE HIS TOMB**

May it not remain hidden and concealed to the pure minds of men of wisdom and spectators of men of sight that decline of a kingdom took place in this ephemeral world from beginning of its creation due to seeds of discord being sown in fields of the hearts of the nobles and the grandees, they sprouted forth with watering by the rebellious evil natured men and fire wood carrying calumniators, roots of revenge ran to all directions from day to day and became fruit bearing and fruit yielding with ingratitude towards God Gratitude to the Real Benefactor which is the cause for increase of bounties was placed in the vault of oblivion. Purport of the verse with sufficient guidance " If you thank me I will increase and if you remain ungrateful, there will be my severe punishment," has been the termination of that bounty And a divine gift undergoes a change and terminates in decline in accordance with the true signification, " Verily, God does not bring about a change in the community till the people bring about a change in themselves " All sorts of revolts and afflictions recoil on them till another fortunate man holds that office himself A witness to this statement in the condition of the Gujarati Sultans and amirs Something of it is already described When the time of that kingdom's fall arrived, solvers of difficulties changed rights into disobedience, tied an ox in the harvest of concord and fell into one another's skin They brought out discord from the curtain of secrecy and showed open hostility Affairs terminated into dispute between them, so that an order for removal of that party was issued from the office (of God) The carpet of Gujarati Sultans' rule was folded up A mandate of kingship and a letter with imperial signature for possession of this kingdom were issued from the court of " He bestows kingdom on whomsoever He likes and takes away kingdom from whomsoever He likes " in the name of the glory of the family, the choice of the dynasty of His Majesty Sahib i Qiran Amir Timur Gurgan and a certificate for administration of justice and equity was granted to His Majesty 'Arsh Ashvani Jalaluddin Muhammed Akber Badshah i Ghazi Ibrahim



Husain Mirza, Muhammed Husain Mirza, Mas'ud Husain Mirza and Qabil Husain Mirza were the sons of Muhammed Sultan Mirza whose pedigree reached His Majesty Amir Timur Gurgan. They were a source of revolts and rebellions on account of their wicked nature and evil disposition. They created disturbance in the protected dominions. Their father Muhammed Sultan Mirza spent his old age in the paragana of Azamabad in the Sarkar of Sanbhal, his jagir. When the royal banners marched towards the Punjab, the Mirzas seized an opportunity and issued out from Sanbhal and started depredations. They slayed some of the jagirdars, seized their wealth and property and laid a siege to the fort of Dihli. This incident became a cause of harassment of the people and a great disturbance in the kingdom. On hearing about this incident, His Majesty marched from the Punjab to Dihli. The Mirzas, raised the siege of Dihli's fort on getting intelligence about the march of royal cavalcade and hastened towards Malwa. They seized that region from one of the royal amirs Muhammed Quli Barlas and occupied the territory as far as Hirdia. After arrival at Dihli, His Majesty appointed victorious forces for extermination of the Mirzas. It was at this time that Burhan the water-bearer had murdered Sultan Muhammed II. Villainous amirs such as Syed Mubarak, Imadul Mulk and I'timad Khan assigned Sultanat to one of the grandsons of Sultan Ahmed, founder of Ahmedabad who had not yet attained to discretion and who was not worthy of the name and named him Sultan Ahmed II. They ruled on his behalf. When he attained to the limit of maturity and discretion, they did him to death. They, then, proclaimed another boy of tender age as the son of Sultan Mahmud II and styled him Muzaffar Shah alias Nathu. But those who had certain knowledge about true affairs knew that it was a mere invention of a lie and falsehood yet this meaningless word found credence in ears and hearts of the people for a few days on account of their power and absolutism. The amirs divided the kingdom among themselves. I'timad Khan held Ahmedabad, Port of Khanbayat and a large piece of territory under his sway, Pattan Sarkar went to the possession of Musa Khan Fauladi and Sher Khan Chingiz Khan, son of Imadul Mulk occupied Surat, Broach, Baroda and Champner. Dhandhuka, Dholka etc. went to the share of Syed Hamid grandson of Syed Mubarak. Amin Khan Ghorri possessed Junagadh and the province of Sorath. These undeserving usurpers spent a few days in enjoyment. They practised tyranny and injustice. At last they fought among themselves. In the meantime, the Mirzas had no strength to oppose the royal army. They considered their stay in Malwa impossible and so they sought refuge in Gujarat under Chingiz Khan. I'timad Khan was engaged in war with Chingiz Khan near Ahmedabad and so Chingiz Khan regarded the arrival of the Mirzas at this time as a boon and assigned to them Broach as jagir. Details of this are mentioned in Mirat-i-Sikandari but something of it is narrated in this book.



After that, Jhujar Khan Habashi killed Changiz Khan. A great disturbance took place in Gujarat. The Mirzas seized an opportunity and occupied the fort of Champaner and Surat by war and also held the fort of Broach under their sway. Thus they gained in strength and power. As I'timad Khan managed all governmental affairs, Sultan Muzaffer fled from Ahmedabad to Pattan at the inducement of Sher Khan Fauladi. Sher Khan marched on Ahmedabad with equipped forces. I'timad Khan garrisoned himself in the fort of Ahmedabad, supplicated the Mirzas and also sent a petition to His Majesty (Akber) who in accordance with a request in the petition marched on Gujarat for its conquest. His Majesty took pity on condition of the ryots and subordinates of this region, thought of extinguishing the fire of the Mirzas, raised fortunate banners for conquest of Gujarat on Saturday 20th of Victorious Safar of the year 980, nine hundred and eighty Hijri. He despatched Khan-i-Kalan, Syed Mahmud Barhah, Qaly Khan, Sadiq Khan, Shah Fakhruddin etc. other great amirs with forces of brave soldiers by way of advance-guard. He personally marched to Gujarat by way of Ajmer on Monday, 22nd Rabi 'II of the above year. When the royal cavalcade arrived at Nagor, Khan-i-Kalan and other amirs of the advance-guard joined him at Sirohi. Rai Mansingh Devrahi, Raja of Sirohi allowed villainy to enter his malicious mind. He sent a few Rajputs as emissaries in guise of friendship and concordance to Khan-i-Kalan. After the mission being over, Khan-i-Kalan, in accordance with the Hindi custom, was giving pan (betel leaf) to every one of them when a Rajput approached Khan-i-Kalan, drew forth a jmdhar, and hit it below the collar-bone of the Khan which came out to the extent of three fingers from beneath the shoulder. Bahadur Khan, a servant of Khan-i-Kalan caught hold of the Rajput, threw him down on the ground when Sadiq Khan and Muhammed Quli Khan killed that fearless fellow by a blow of sword. His companions too were slayed. In the meantime, the royal cavalcade also joined the advance-guard. As such unjust conduct was displayed by the people of Sirohi, an order was issued to the effect that warriors of the royal forces should march on Sirohi and exterminate the party of those miserable wretches. Many of those malevolent fellows roamed about in a plain of misfortune and took shelter in the ravines of mountains. Some of those who were condemned to die which in the technical language of the people of Gujarat is called 'Manchhi-rod', fell on the dust of destruction round a temple. In short, when the royal army happened to come within environs of Pattan, Shah Fakhruddin was permitted to go with a firman of conciliation to I'timad Khan who constantly sent sincere petitions with a request to come for conquest. A report was received, after arrival at Deeri that Sher Khan Fauladi who had besieged Ahmedabad raised the siege on hearing about the march of His Majesty and hastened to Sorathi. He sent Muhammed Khan and Badr Khan, his sons to Pattan to remove his family to a strong place. At



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present, his sons, having sent ahead his family, marched towards Idar. Ibrahim Husain Mirza who had come to help I'timad Khan returned to his mahal I'timad Khan is intent on attendance His Majesty sent Raja Mansingh with a force to capture the sons of Sher Khan Even though the Raja came near his bag and baggage and plundered them but Sher Khan's sons, on getting intelligence, took themselves to the ravines of mountains His Majesty arrived at Pattan on Saturday, 1st Rajab of the above year He permitted Hakim 'Ain ul-Mulk from here to bring I'timad Khan and Mir Abu Turab When he arrived at Chhotanah, it was reported to His Majesty that Muzaffer Gujarati had deserted Sher Khan Fauladi and wandered in the neighbourhood in a bewildered state His Majesty ordered Mir Khan Yasawal, Farid Khan Qarawal, Mir Abul Qasim Tamkin and Karam Ali to pursue him for his capture Mir Khan had covered a little distance when he found a canopy and a parasol With a slight exertion, he found him in a grain field, captured him and brought him to the royal presence He spared him his life out of excessive kindness and entrusted him to Karam 'Ali According to the author of Mirat-i Sikandari, Muzaffer, having deserted Sher Khan Fauladi, came to the Gujarati amirs for attendance At this time, Syed Hamid Bukhari and Ulugh Khan Habashi arrived with their attendants and prostrated out of obedience After them, Shah Fakhruddin and Hakim 'Ain ul Mulk brought Mir Abu Turab to pay homage and reported that I'timad Khan was coming for obeisance with a belt of submission on waist of his life and that he had, before his approach, sent Shah Fakhruddin, Mir Abu Turab, Wajih ul Mulk and Mujahid Khan to the court so that they may return with their minds being satisfied with abundant royal favours Shah Fakhruddin joined that party on the way and hastened to I'timad Khan followed by Hakim 'Ain-ul Mulk After long speeches, the amirs of Gujarat and grantees of this kingdom wished well and bestowed grandeur on faces of dirhams and heads of pulpits with the illustrious name and excellent title of His Majesty When they arrived at the town of Kadi, situated at a distance of twenty kurohs from Ahmedabad, I'timad Khan sent Shah Fakhruddin and Ainul Mulk with Amir Abu Turab ahead for obeisance Next day, His Majesty marched from Chhotana He ordered Khwaja Jahan and Mir Abu Turab to go ahead and bring I'timad Khan to the royal presence for homage On that day, His Majesty rode an elephant with grandeur of the sky while a multitude of persons were on foot under the shade of His Majesty's greatness when I'timad Khan was favoured with felicity of kissing the ground (homage) After that, Ikhtiar ul Mulk, Malck Sharq, Jhujar Khan Habashi, Wajih-ul Mulk and Mujahid Khan arrived and got exalted with prostration of servitude Every one of them was distinguished with royal favours befitting his status I'timad Khan and Chandi were ordered to ride nearby When he encamped at Kadi,



he sent Sadiq Khan and Chandī who were attendants of the stirrup to Mahmudabad to guide Saif-ul-Mulk Habashī and others who had not yet come for homage to the royal path of servitude. At this stage, he summoned the amirs of Gujarat for observance of care, caution, regulations of conquest and government and said, "As I grant this kingdom to P'timad Khan, any one from among the amirs of Gujarat for whom he requests will be appointed as his associate. It is necessary that every one should give a reliable surety, so that the thread of Nizamat may become strong." First of all, Mir Turab became a surety of P'timad Khan. After that, P'timad Khan took upon himself the responsibility of surety of all the amirs of Gujarat except the Habashī party. An order was issued in respect of the Habashīs that they were all the slaves of Sultan Mahmud, they will now be favoured for inclusion in the circle of royal slaves. There is no need of sureties for the slaves. But every one of them was entrusted to an eminent amir for certain affairs which are essential for the principles of Sultanat and conquest. Next day, he arrived at Hajipur. Certain vagabonds noised abroad that an order was issued to plunder the Gujarati camp. A multitude of bravadoes poured upon their circle, stretched hands of pillage and ravage and thus a great revolt took place. When this disturbing state was reported to His Majesty, he appointed great Bakhsīs (inspectors) and diligent revenue-collectors to punish those fellows and none should be allowed to escape and confiscate all the wealth, and articles of the Gujaratis plundered by them and should be returned to the owners after investigation and identification. He gave a public audience sitting in person on the throne of justice. Fierce elephants were brought and they were trampled upon to death. Within a short time, lights of safety and security shone from the brilliance of justice. He encamped outside Ahmedabad on 14th of holy Rajab of the above year which date is deduced from the words "the year of nine hundred and eighty." The general public, both high and low, placed heads of submission on threshold of the throne of Khilafat and were happy with security and safety. The kingdom of Gujarat was conquered without a war. Just as Hindustan is the best clime on earth in most respects, the kingdom of Gujarat is the best part of Hindustan. In short, prosperity of Ahmedabad was to such an extent that there were three hundred and eighty prosperous puras. A purah means a big street containing lofty buildings, and bazars full of precious and rare articles, every one of which, in reality, was a big city. On that day, His Majesty halted there when offerings of abundant gold and silver were made. After a few days, a petition of Amin Khan Ghorī with worthy presents was received. Ibrahim Husain Mirza also submitted a petition, out of necessity, with precious presents. As it was not with sincere faith, it was rejected. As the conquest of Gujarat, the greatest region of Hindustan, nay, the choicest



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part of the world was facilitated with blessings of His Majesty in accordance with the wishes of the grantees of the court, government of Ahmedabad and administration of its cities were entrusted to Khan-i-Azam Mirza Kuka while the paraganas of the other side of the river Mahi were assigned to 'Umdat ul-Mulk as jagirs. Other paraganas, such as, Baroda, Champaner, Surat etc. held by the Mirzas were granted to the amirs of Gujarat, who recently had tied the girdle of servitude and who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of exterminating the Mirzas. After a few days, His Majesty decided on an excursion of the sea and then to march back to the capital. His Majesty, therefore, marched towards Kanbhayat port situated at a distance of thirty kurohs from the city (Ahmedabad) on Monday, 2nd of the great Sha'ban. The amirs of Gujarat obtained leave on a pretext to make preparations for travelling but stayed in the city a few days more. Hakim 'Am-ul-Mulk was left behind to mend relation with them and also to observe care and caution so that he might accompany them to the royal presence. On the way, a report was received to the effect that Ikhtiar ul Mulk had fled towards Lunawara and that I'timad Khan and other Gujaratis hesitate and intend to practise ingratitude. Necessarily an order was issued to Shahbaz Khan to march in haste and give no opportunity to these ungrateful persons to think of hostility and that he should bring them with himself for attendance under his guard. When His Majesty reached Khanbayat, merchants and residents of the place hastened to receive him and received from him good news of safety and security. That fountain of divine benefactions (Akbar) boarded a ship along with some royal favourites and enjoyed a trip on sea. After that, Shahbaz Khan conveyed I'timad Khan and other amirs of Gujarat to the royal court. Every one of them was entrusted to a confidential courtier for policy and welfare of the state. After being free from this affair, he made it his goal of conquest for extermination of the wretched Mirzas. Having left Hasan Khan the treasurer, for defence of Khanbayat port, he marched towards Baroda. He permitted Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Kokaltash to govern Ahmedabad from Baroda. He sent Shahbaz Khan, Qasim Khan and Baz Bahadur Khan with a squadron of warriors for conquest of Champaner. A report was received at Baroda that the Mirzas had strengthened the fort of Surat and gathered together in the neighbourhood of Champaner. Some of the amirs, therefore, were appointed with royal forces for their punishment and chastisement. At this time it was reported to His Majesty that Ibrahim Husain Mirza was then in the fort of Broach. He intends to come out of it and create disturbance all around. There is a distance of eight kurohs between the royal camp and the road he will pass by. Most of the great amirs with the royal forces were appointed to accompany Khan-i-Azam for extermination of the Mirzas and therefore, there was only a small body of men in attendance upon His Majesty. His Majesty



spurred the horse by way of expedition with faith in the help of invisible forces and marched for panishment and chastisement. An order was issued to Shahbaz Khan, the Mir Bakhshi to hasten in haste to turn back the amirs who were formerly appointed to repel the Mirzas and to join the royal cavalcade. Having left Mir Muhammed Khan, Khwaja Jahan, Shuja'at Khan and Sadiq Khan to guard the royal camp, he marched with intention to destroy those men of distracted condition. It was ordered that none of the camp-men should hasten from behind so that, God forbid, he might flee through a crowd of persons or it is possible that he may remain firm due to a small body of royal officers and thus receive due punishment for his deeds. When there remained two, three hours of the night, he made his horse swift with firm faith of trust in God. He took with him Malek Sharq Gujarati as an escort in that region. They rode till close of the day but found no trace of the enemy. When there remained only two hours of the day, a Brahmin appeared in front and said, "Ibrahim Husain Mirza crossed the river Mahi at the passage of Bikaner and has encamped with a force in the town of Sarnal. It will be a distance of four kurohs." His Majesty held consultations with loyal attendants. Jalal Khan represented that the royal forces have not arrived and the adversary is said to be with an army. It is not proper to fight with a few attendants. It is advisable that a night-attack should be made at night." This counsel was not approved by His Majesty. He remarked, "An intention of night-attack is not in keeping with the reputation of a king. It is better that the work of day should not be postponed to night" He soon took himself to the bridge. As Sarnal is situated on top of a hillock, it came in view from a distance. Having walked a small distance in the river Mahi, he ordered to wear cuirasses. He had not more than forty men with him then. It was a happy coincidence that a report of royal army's arrival was received at that hour. He got angry due late arrival of the amirs and ordered that they should not be allowed to take part in war. When it was pointed out that their late arrival was due to their having gone a wrong way and that was the fault. They were allowed to pay obeisance. The number rose to two hundred after the amirs and soldiers joined him. At the time of crossing the river Mahi, Kunwar Mansingh became a vanguard. Ibrahim Husain Mirza, having noticed His Majesty in the midst of the royal army, said to his favourites, "Verily, it is His Majesty. He comes in heat and haste." Through misfortune, he, then and then, prepared for a war and stood on top of a hillock with divisions of army along with those who were condemned to die. When the royal cavalcade crossed the river, there were great water-courses and strange broken places on the river-bank and which, technically are known among the people of Gujarat as Kotar. Victory-seeking warriors broke the pre-arranged plan in their desire for precedence and every one of them went his own way. His Majesty came with a



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few loyal attendants to the side of the Sarnal Gate which is opposite to the river. Some of the vanquished fellows stood there for defence when a Calmuck Tartar slave by name Muqbil rushed on them with a few soldiers and threw those fellows on dust of destruction by blows of his lightning-pouring sword. His Majesty entered the town along with a body of soldiers who were with him. His Majesty reached the adversary with a thousand machinations through lanes of the town which were full of crowds of men and herds of animal and quadrupeds. A fire of warfare blazed forth. The enemy pushed back Baba Khan Qashqal and other warriors with force but other loyal soldiers stood firm and overthrew many of the enemy on the dust of disgrace. At this time, many royal officers who had got separated due to fatigue of the road arrived from various sides and a heated war took place. When His Majesty turned to repel the adversaries, a thorny hedge intervened. Three persons of the enemy side rushed to attack him. One of them turned to Raja Bhagwantdas. The Raja thrust aside his lance and threw a barchha at him. In the meantime, two other horsemen rushed to attack His Majesty. Khan-i-Ajam, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and other favourites found no pause to attack. That lion of the forest of bravery made his red-coloured horse of fortune jump over the thorny-bed with strength of divine power, and turned to defend himself against the adversary. Those two unfortunate fellows had no strength to offer resistance and fled. Ibrahim Husain Mirza saw the working of deceitful fortune in the memoirs of warriors, gave up his plan and fled in a perplexed state. Those spared by the sword took themselves to the shore of safety from a vortex of death with manifold difficulties. Royal warriors chased them and made many of them food for fire-pouring sword. Such a victory became, through blessings of eternal royal fortune, associated with the auspicious regime of the clime-conquering monarch. When night intervened between the lives of adversaries, the royal cavalcade encamped in the town of Sarnal. Surkh Badakhshi was sent to the royal camp with a letter of victory. Next day, they proceeded towards the victorious camp with victory and triumph. His Majesty appointed Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Sadiq to march with a force of warriors against Surat by way of vanguard. When news of arrival of the royal forces reached the garrisoned soldiers of the Surat fort Gulrukh Begum, daughter of Mirza Kamran, wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza hastened towards the Dekhan with her son Muzaffer Husain Mirza and a few reliable persons. The amirs chased them much but could not reach them. That brave lioness escaped. When it was reported to His Majesty that the Mirzas had strengthened the fort of Surat and put it in charge of Hamzaban, a royal horseguard who had joined the rebels. His Majesty, therefore, directed his energies to the fort's conquest. An order was issued that Raja Todarmal should distribute intrenchments with



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Fauladi went to Junagadh. A'zam Khan chased the unfortunate Mirzas with some amirs. When tidings of this fresh victory reached His Majesty, he performed dues of thanksgiving and gratitude. A royal order was issued to Khan i A'zam to the effect that if he deemed advisable he should appoint Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan, Shahdagh Khan and Murad Khan etc amirs to pursue the enemy and that he should personally come in all haste to the royal presence. Khan i A'zam was ennobled with the fortune of kissing the threshold on 20th of the venerable Shawwal when he received royal favours. At this time, the garrisoned soldiers of the Surat Fort sought means for their liberation, they wrote to the Firangis of the Goa port, "If you soon arrive here, we shall surrender the fort to you." They started for Surat with deliberation and wisdom in guise of envoys with precious gifts and rare presents of their country with a motive 'If the object is possible to be achieved, the fort will be occupied, otherwise, ignoring it, they will pay homage as envoys.' When they viewed the grandeur and power of His Majesty, they did not covet the fort and showed themselves as envoys and were benefited with adoration at the levee. They presented their gifts, received in return many favours and obtained leave to depart. When the siege continued for one month and seventeen days, mines were made in walls of the fort, and battery was raised. The garrisoned fellows were in despair. Hamzaban who was in charge of management of the fort, sent his father in law Mulla Nizamuddin Lari to the royal court with a petition that, 'If I am made secure of life, one royal servant should come and take this black faced fellow for adoration at the royal threshold. I will surrender the fort to whomsoever an order is given.' His Majesty ordered Qasim Ali Khan and Khwaja Dawlat to give hope of freedom to Hamzaban and other captives and ennoble them with felicity to kiss the ground. Residents of the fort performed adorations of gratitude with their heads hung in disgrace on Thursday, 25th of venerable Shawwal of the above year. They were made secure of wealth, life and reputation except Hamzaban who prepared means for his punishment by means of loquacity and prattle. An order was issued to cut off his tongue. Next day, His Majesty went to see the fort. He ordered to remove to the capital the big Sulaimani cannons every one of which was a heavenly handicraft. Those cannons, undoubtedly, were of Sultan Salim the King of Rum. He had sent big cannons with a large army to conquer the Firangi ports in India. The Rumi army was defeated without the help of the Gujarat rulers and so they had to go back. They could not carry those cannons with them which remained in the Surat fort. One of the wonderful events of this period was a wound on the hand of His Majesty. One night, the Khagan of brilliant forehead was tipsy in a paradise-like assembly. They were talking about the bravery of the Rajputs. Life has no value and worth with them. As for example, some Rajputs give a person to hold firmly in his hand a two-pointed barchha. Two men who are equal competitors, keep ends of the barchha opposite to their bosoms and run in



front of it in such a way that the points of the barchha pierce through the back of both of them. They come near each other and struggle. His Majesty placed the handle of the royal sword against a wall and keeping the point of the sword on his stomach said, "We have no equal and no rival so that we may act after the Rajput fashion. It is better that we should attack with the same sword." Those who were present in the assembly were overtaken by a peculiar state by his utterance. None had power to speak nor strength to breathe. At this time, Raja Mansingh ran with loyalty and courage and hit his hand at the royal sword in such a manner that the sword fell from His Majesty's hand at a distance. A scratch was made between the fore finger and the thumb of His Majesty. His Majesty threw down Mansingh on the ground in a great rage. Syed Muzaffer Sultan, brother of Syed 'Abdullah Khan boldly wished to release Mansingh from the grip of that lion of the forest of bravery. He twisted the wounded hand of His Majesty and released him. In these struggles, the wound became deeper but it was completely cured within a short time with the protection of the absolute physician (God). When His Majesty was free from conquest of the Surat fort, Qalich Khan was put in charge of its government. Ashraf Khan, Mir Munshi of the empire composed the date of the fort's conquest and showed it to His Majesty.

*The sword of conqueror Akbar Ghazi
Is a key to forts of the world.
He conquered the fort of Surat with an attack
The victory is due to the help of felicitous fortune.
Date of conquest was "He conquered a wonderful fort"
This is not far from the good luck of the world-king.*

He marched towards Ahmedabad on Monday, 4th Ziq'ad. When he reached Broach, Changiz Khan's mother came forward with a complaint that Jhujar Khan Habashi had killed her son in a garb of friendship. After search and investigation, it became certain that Jhujar Khan had been a source of this illegitimate murder. He was trampled to death under feet of an elephant by way of retribution. He encamped outside Ahmedabad on 29th of the above month. He once again devoted himself to the organization and management of the conquered territory.



CHAPTER 35

RETURN OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY TO AGRA APPOINTMENT OF KHAN I A'ZAM MIRZA 'AZIZ KOKALTASH AS SUBEDAR OF GUJARAT AND WAJIH UL-MULK GUJARATI AS DIWAN (FINANCE MINISTER)

When His Majesty, after making arrangement for the conquered territory of Gujarat, started for Agra he entrusted the government and defence of this kingdom to Khan I A'zam Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltash, who held the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar. He was the first Subedar to be appointed by the court of Timur's family. The city of Ahmedabad, paragana of Haveli and paragana of Petlad along with several other paraganas were granted to him as a jagir. Baroda was assigned to Nawrang Khan and the Sarkar of Pattan to Mir Muhammed Khan, the uncle of Khan I A'zam. He granted the Sarkar of Broach and the neighbouring region to Qutb ud-din Muhammed Khan, Dholka and Dhanduka to Syed Muhammed Bukhari and thus, he distributed (as jagir) all the mahals of Gujarat to great amirs. He marched towards the capital city of Agra by way of Pattan and Jalor on Monday, 10th Holy Zilhajj. Khan I A'zam and other great amirs of Gujarat who were appointed to the government and defence of this kingdom were ennobled with favours of muskets and robes and were granted leave to return from Syedpur. At the time of return, Khan I A'zam received a report that Ikhtiar-ul Mulk, who had fled before had risen in revolt at Idar with Rai Narain Zamindar and the sons of Sher Khan Fauladi have confederated with him. Consequently, he did not deem it advisable to return to Ahmedabad but turned reins of his horse to repel the enemy. Mirza Muqim, the jagirdar of the place gave way to the adversary on account of its large number and joined Khan I A'zam and reached Ahmednagar situated at a distance of ten kurohs from Idar. At this juncture, Muhammed Husain Mirza heard at Dawlatabad that His Majesty returned to Agra. He deemed it a favourable opportunity and came to Surat. Qalich Khan garrisoned himself within the fort and fulfilled the dues of its defence. The tumult raising Mirza saw that conquest of the Surat fort was not possible, he raised the siege and came to Broach which he occupied from disloyal servants of Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan who then was at Baroda. Thence, he occupied Khanbayat without a fight due to folly of Husain Khan who went to Ahmedabad. Khan I A'zam sent Syed Hamid Bukhari, Syed Bahauddin, Shaikh Muhammed Monkery and others to the help of Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan to join him to repel Muhammed Husain Mirza who was at Khanbayat with three hundred horse. The abovesaid persons joined Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan at Asamali at a distance



of five kurohs from Dholka. At this time, Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk and this party who were in narrow passes of mountains came forward. Khan-i-A'zam sat under shelter of a strong place so that that revolting group could not stretch their hands. They, indispensably decided among themselves to reach Ahmedabad and fight with Khan-i-A'zam if he came out from his house or else to occupy Ahmedabad. With this intention, they set out. At the close of the same day, when Khan-i-A'zam learnt about their design, he set out for Ahmedabad in all haste. As the day was about to set, the enemies could not sally forth for war. Khan-i-A'zam did not wait for the night and entered the city in the morning. That very night, Muhammed Husain Mirza suffered a defeat at Khanbayat and happened to pass nearby when his baggage fell into his hands. As he was in a ruined state, he passed by Khan-i-A'zam's force from a distance and joined Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khan Fauladi. When Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan, Syed Hamid Bukhari, Nawrang Khan and the attendants of Khan-i-A'zam arrived at Khanbayat, that unlucky man exerted beyond his capacity with a small body of men and suffered a disastrous defeat. Son of Syed Bahauddin performed exploits and sacrificed his life. The amirs regarded his defeat as a great success and so they did not pursue him. Had they exerted a little, that vanquished man would have been captured. In short, when he joined that unfortunate group, he showed great diligence in hastening to Ahmedabad. The Gujaratis prolonged their speeches and talked for three days. Khan-i-A'zam tried during this respite to strengthen entrances and exits. The Khanbayat amirs also arrived. After a few days, these unfortunate fellows came within limits. Every day, warriors entered the battle-field and fought bravely. Even though, their army was sufficient to array rows and to adorn the battle-field and the royal forces would have won a victory; but as Khan-i-A'zam had no faith in his own attendants and Qutbuddin Khan, he showed no haste in this affair. At the time of departure, His Majesty had admonished him that if, through heavenly decrees, the battle is hotly waged, he should be cautious in it and report about it to His Majesty. Accordingly, Khan-i-A'zam sent a petition in consultation with the amirs about the circumstances with Sultan Khwaja to His Majesty for external and internal help.



CHAPTER 36

MARCH OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY TO AHMEDABAD AND ARRIVING HERE WITHIN NINE DAYS FROM THE ABODE OF KHILAFAT OF FATEHPUR

When a report of Gujarat revolts reached His Majesty, he decided to personally lead an expedition to that side. There was no time for military preparations due to shortage of time, he opened the door of treasury and poured many gold coins in the skirts of royal attendants by way of presents and favours. Royal orders were issued to the amirs of Malwa and those parts to the effect that they should soon reach themselves to Gujarat. He marched towards Gujarat on Sunday, 24th Rabi 'I of the year 981, nine hundred and eighty one. Loyal amirs, favourite courtiers and other servants accompanied him, some on fast running she camels and others on swift horses. On Monday morning, he arrived at Hans and halted awhile. One watch of night had passed when they reached Muzabad. He was so swift in motion that he encamped at the abode of good, Ajmer on Tuesday. After a visit to the shrine of the Khwaja, he rode fast. On Wednesday morning, he halted at Mirtah for a while and then marched forward. He reached Sojat at midnight of Thursday, rested till morning and marched. At close of night, he reached a village on the environs of Jalor and spurred his horse on Friday morning. He reached Jalor when a watch of the day had passed and rested there till midnight. Having mounted his fast horse, he surpassed sight in swiftness till mid-day on Saturday. Till close of Saturday, he found rest in want of rest and arrived at Deesa situated at twenty kurohs from Pattan on Monday evening. Shah 'Ali Lankah was its administrator on behalf of Khan i Kalan. He came to pay homage. The accompanying amirs were of the view that His Majesty should personally march to Pattan and halt there till next day. This view was not accepted. He issued an order that Khwaja Ghayasuddin 'Ali should join at Pattan. He marched further at midnight. He encamped at break fast time on Monday in the town of Balisana at a distance of five kurohs from Pattan. Khan i Kalan with his force along with Wazir Khan, Shah Fakhruddin, Tayyeb Khan and other amirs who were appointed before the occurrence of revolt out of foresight had halted at Pattan as the road was full of fear. They came to pay obeisance.

The royal forces were arrayed in a worthy manner at this stage. He personally formed a flanking party with a hundred horsemen and marched from Balisana at the close of Monday. He gave an order to a royal sentinel that he should in haste convey good news to the garrisoned about the arrival of His Majesty and get them ready for fight so that the Ahmedabad army



may join these forces when they approach Ahmedabad. He rode in all haste the whole night and a part of Tuesday and reached Chhotana on the environs of Kadi when a watch of the day had passed. Here he learnt that some of the adversaries under the leadership of Auliya, an attendant of Sher Khan Fawlad, had strengthened the fort of Kadi and were ready for warfare. That unfortunate man, undoubtedly, thought of Khan-i-Kalan's army from Pattan and therefore he arrayed his army. His Majesty, at that very time, ordered some valiant soldiers to advance and chastise him. These warriors soon slayed many of them. Some of them fled and went inside the fort. The warriors were on the point of capturing the fort. Royal army had come near and halted in the bazars of that town. The warriors, who were on the point of capturing the fort, were summoned and ordered, "What advantage will there be in capturing this small fort? All our efforts in undertaking this trouble is to capture the disturbing factors of Gujarat. This fort will be captured without a difficulty." Becoming unmindful of it, he marched further. Having travelled two kurohs from Kadi, he paused for comfort to rest. Next night, Mirza Yusuf Khan, Qasim Khan and other amirs, who were in the wake, saw torches and thought them to be the royal army. The garrisoned fellows of the Kadi fort came out without a fight and fled. On Wednesday morning, he marched in the arranged array. When he encamped at a distance of three kurohs from Ahmedabad, Asaf Khan was sent in all haste to the city to convey tidings of His Majesty's arrival and make them source of exertions. When the royal army neared the enemy, His Majesty wore the curass and marched further in a worthy manner. On the way, the royal horse "Nur-i-Baiza" sat down at the time of riding. Raja Bhagwant Das came forward and congratulating on the conquest of Gujarat represented that three signs of victory became evident every one of which, in the opinion of experienced men of Hindustan is certain evidence for victory. Firstly, the horse on which the fortunate man rides, sits down on occasion like this, secondly, blowing of favourable breeze behind the royal army which faces the vanquished persons, thirdly, many crows and kites flying along with us. His petition was appreciated and it became a cause of joy. In spite of the fact that the enemy's army consisted of nearly twenty thousand persons, His Majesty arrayed the battle-field resolutely with a few attendants who travelled a long distance within nine days on Wednesday, 5th Jamadi I. When the royal army approached the enemy, and no trace was visible of Khan-i-A'zam and army of Gujarat, His Majesty engaged in war with faith in divine help. He ordered drums to be beaten. Sinister enemy were proud of their large number. They had narrowed down the siege and waited for the arrival of Sher Khan Fawlad. When the royal cavalcade neared the Sabarmati river, a royal order was issued to the effect that the soldiers should cross the river in the arrayed manner.

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Before advancing further, the amirs waited for the arrival of Gujarat army. In the meantime, nearly three hundred Gujarati troopers who had wandered from Sarkhej, appeared. His Majesty ordered the royal gunners such as Salbhan, Qadr Quli, Ranjit and several others that they should fire their guns at them. They fled without resistance to their intrenchments. Noise of trumpets and drums whirled in that area. Some of the enemies conjectured that Sher Khan Fauladi was coming. Others surmised that Khan-i Kalan was coming to the help of Khan-i-Azam from Pattan. Muhammed Husain Mirza was perplexed about this commotion. He personally came out as sentinel. Subhan Quli Turk and other warriors had gone ahead of the royal cavalcade to the river side to inquire about the enemy's condition. The Mirza loudly inquired about the squadron. Subhan Quli to create awe in the enemy and to throw stones of dispersion among them replied, "Oh unaware person! His Majesty is coming in person with a large army. Why do you stand? What do you inquire about?" That unfortunate man replied, "Oh warrior! you frighten me by saying that it is His Majesty. Apprise yourself with royal elephants and a large army. What do you speak when you say that our swift couriers had come leaving His Majesty at Fatehpur fourteen days ago?" He replied that His Majesty had covered this road within nine days and come with loyal attendants. That unfortunate man saw the truth of this event, hastened towards his camp and engaged himself with array of his army. It was known to His Majesty that the enemy till now were in a slumber of negligence about arrival of the royal cavalcade, and that they were now on a stage of armour wearing and row arraying. He ordered the soldiers to cross the river. They showed great solicitude for Khan-i Kalan's arrival but it was of no avail. That man represented with farsightedness that the enemy was in a large number. It was better, therefore, to be on this side of the river till arrival of the army from Ahmedabad. His Majesty said, "Where is an occasion to pause now that the enemies have come to know us? What worth is there in waiting? If we had looked to external fairness, it was not proper to step forth on this road singly." When external appearance and knowledge for lack of means dominated over minds of the warriors, they delayed to cross the river. They watched what His Majesty had to see. After inquiring about the true condition of water, he galloped his horse with divine help in company of the favourites who were with him. As soon as he spurred the horse, he forded through water. At this time, he demanded the helmet which he had removed and given it to Raja Dipchand to hold it in hand. He had dropped it on the road while coming in haste. His Majesty remarked, "It is a good omen for us. Our court will be spacious." In the meantime, a warrior brought a head of an adversary before the royal glance. That too supported this statement. The emperor marched further with such



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a loyal party The great amirs began to cross the river by witnessing this inevitable state of affairs Muhammed Husain Mirza advanced with misfortune to wage war with a benefactor and king of the time He made Wali Khan, son of Jhujar Khan Habashi who was executed at the first invasion of Gujarat, a commander of the right wing of his army and put under his command all the Abyssinians and the Gujaratis He appointed Muhammed Khan, son of Sher Khan Fauladi in charge of the left wing consisting of the Afghans He set out for the battle field with a large number of Badakhshi and Transoxianians under his command His Majesty came up on an elevated place at a distance of one kuroh from the river and watched the signs of victory At this juncture Asaf Khan came and represented to His Majesty that Mirza Kukah had no knowledge of the near approach of the victorious banners and that he was then about to come prepared The royal forces had not then come when the enemy appeared from the midst of trees His Majesty also advanced further Muhammed Quli Tarkhan advanced with a strong, brave force of archers of the centre who were as vanguard After a slight scuffle, they rode their horses That mountain of power and authority addressed Raja Bhagwant Das saying " Even though the adversary is in large number but divine favour is with us Our companions should not give way to vacillation in mind With one heart and one face, they should approach with victory the squadron with red standards It so appears that Muhammed Husain Mirza had made his standards red with a claim of sovereignty Muhammed Husain Mirza has separated himself with great pride from his forces with a party of men condemned to death and was advancing faster Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Husain Khan represented to His Majesty that it was time to spur horses to punish that proud man That experienced man in the subtleties of warfare said that still the staircase was far off He hastened in a graceful manner with knowledge slowness and courage till the forces came near him But order and organization were not maintained Certain cowards of the right wing had turned their horses with a slight heat of war just when the enemy had come near That brave man of determination continued to attack Hapa Charan said that it was time for attack The moment he uttered these words, he attacked His Majesty attacked with those war seeking sacrificers with drawn swords Shouts of " Allah o Akbar" rose up on earth and time One of the iron rockets which came to the royal army got entangled in a thorny hedge and created such a commotion that an elephant of the enemy got bewildered and fell among the party of those ill natured fellows It became a cause of confusion and dispersion of the adversaries The lion-hunting king of warfare stood alone in the battle-field There was none in attendance upon His Majesty except Tarachand and Balawal Khan from among the royal favourites In this state

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of aloneness, Muhammed Husam Mirza arrived in that man-trying plain with a host of ungrateful persons. Exploits were performed by many brave warriors. In the midst of engagement, one of the unfortunate fellows turned to His Majesty and cast a sword on his horse. As the horse was in a state of rearing, His Majesty caught hold of the horse's neck with a left hand and kept it back. He attacked that unfortunate man with a barchha with all adroitness. With a blow of hand of power, it penetrated through his weapon and settled there. His Majesty was about to draw it out when the point of the barchha broke. That black-faced fellow fled in a perplexed state when another unfortunate fellow threw a sharp sword at His Majesty. Divine guardians protected him from that calamity when he took to the path of misfortune by utterance of divine splendour of 'keep off' and fled. Another impudent fellow arrived and threw a lance at His Majesty when Gojar overpowered him with a wound of the barchha. At this time, the centre of the royal army approached. His Majesty turned to the centre and ordered with a loud shout, "Warriors! approach quickly and complete the work of these unfortunate fellows." On hearing the voice of His Majesty, warriors turned to repel those dark-fortuned fellows. They immediately routed Muhammed Husam Mirza. Breeze of victory began to blow. Slowly and slowly, he turned reins of his horse towards Ahmedabad. He inquired about the late arrival of Mirza Kukah and the Gujarat army when Lal Kalawant petitioned to His Majesty that Saif Khan Kukah sacrificed his life. At this juncture when the royal mind was perturbed about the sacrifice of such a loyal servant and the late arrival of Mirza Kukah, it was reported to His Majesty that Muhammed Husam Mirza was captured. In the meantime, that unfortunate man was brought to the royal presence. He bore a wound on face. He was put in charge of the courtier Raja Mansingh. At this very time, Shah Madad who was Kukah Mirza and his compeer in the state was brought before His Majesty. His Majesty cast a barchha which he had in his hand when he went down to the bottom of non existence. His Majesty was informed that Muhammed Husam Mirza asked for water from the courtier Mansingh. Farhat Khan Chulch struck him on head with his two hands. That fountain of beneficence and obligation showed aversion towards Farhat Khan, sent for water and gave it to him. When such a wonderful record of deeds came to be manifested with divine help, yet Mirza Kukah and the Gujarat army did not come. A greater part of the day had elapsed when His Majesty started from the place where he had halted. He entrusted Muhammed Husam Mirza to Raisingh so that he might bring him to the city on an elephant. At this time when most of the warriors were resting in a corner and there were nearly one hundred attendants on His Majesty when suddenly a large squadron appeared in front. More than five thousand men of experience conjectured and guessed that Mirza Kukah and the



Gujarat army arrived. Some thought that he was Shah Mirza who had fled towards Mahmudabad before the commencement of the battle. After a time, it was identified that the unfortunate Ikhtiar-ul Mulk was coming. Dust of anxiety settled on the foreheads of most of the men of stirrup who were present either by way of well wishing or heartlessness. Row breaking king like a fierce lion galloped his horse and endeavoured to give heartiness, steadfastness and repulsion of the enemy. A royal order was issued to beat drums and blow trumpets. The drummer was so much seized with fear that neither his ears listened to the royal order nor he was ready to beat the drum. He was stirred with threats of a barchha and then he started beating the drum. Shuja'at Khan, Raja Bhagwant Das and several brave archers advanced a little and began to dart arrows. His Majesty advised them not to go fast for his head would be shortly brought. In this tumult and commotion, he ordered Raja Bhagwant Das with emphasis that he should finish Muhammed Husain Mirza the source of disturbance. However much that undignified force came nearer it got more dispersed. Ikhtiar ul-Mulk, being separated took care with a few persons in haste to take himself to a shore of salvation from a vortex of destruction. He fell down from the saddle due to collision in a thorny hedge. Sohrab Turcoman, a royal favourite chased him with designs against him from a distance. His feet got slipped and his shoulder was lightened of a load of head. Details of life of this unfortunate man are that he supervised the siege of Ahmedabad along with many persons of upturned fortune. He was a stone on the path of Mirza Kukah and Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan which was set aside. Twelve hundred soldiers were counted as dead from the enemy's side in this battle, more than five hundred persons were wounded on margins and neighbourhood of the battle-field. A hundred soldiers of the victorious army tasted the syrup of martyrdom. When His Majesty's mind was free from the exemplary event of Ikhtiar ul-Mulk, he intended to march further. A portion of the day was left when an arrayed squadron appeared. At last, it was found out that he was Mirza Kukah. His Imperial Majesty rejoiced at the Mirza's arrival and showed many kindnesses towards him. Having embraced the *felicitous* Mirza, he made him an object of commiseration. Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan and other amirs of Gujarat were ennobled with obeisance. In the meantime, the above-mentioned Sohrab brought Ikhtiar-ul Mulk's head. He was praised and eulogised. An order was issued to the high and low that a minaret should be erected of the heads of rebels. At the close of the day of victory, His Majesty encamped at Ahmedabad with fortune and felicity. Palaces of the Gujarat Sultans were elevated by blessings of auspicious feet of His Imperial Majesty. Letters of victory were sent to different parts of the kingdom. Different sections of people small and great received royal favours. Mirza Kukah complained to

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His Majesty against certain ecclesiastics and mystics that they sided with the mischief-exciter. When their influence was found out by royal discernment, they were distinguished with royal favours. From amongst them, it was made known in respect of Shah Wajihuddin, who was qualified with rational and narrative sciences that the wealth of unlawful earners (venal persons) came out from his house. His Majesty asked him as to what relation he bore to such affairs. The Mawlawi replied that it was out of friendships and modesty. Similarly, the sons of Mir Ghiyasuddin Qadri were produced saying that the riches of Ikhtiar ul Mulk were deposited in his house. He too was absolved due to His Majesty's foresight and kindness to the poor. Shaikh Muzaffer Husain, a relative of Abdunnabi, who was the Sadr (Judge) of Gujarat was at this time produced before royal presence mostly on a charge that he accepted bribes from the people. The Mirza had kicked him. When he was brought before the royal sight, he remained safe. It is said that it was mentioned in the royal assembly that a Gujarati resident who in short had a poetic genius found the date of the royal cavalcade's arrival from the words "Wrath came to Gujarat." A royal order was issued for his presentation. When that unmannerly fellow came before the court of inquiry, he petitioned impromptu that his enemies attributed these words to him otherwise he had said "the king came to Gujarat" as the date of His Majesty's arrival. He was honoured with a present on account of his elegant speech and came out safely. He then visited the houses of Itimad Khan Gujarati and framed rules and regulations in respect of order and organization of this kingdom. He sent, at this time, Qutbuddin Khan, Nawrang Khan and others to Broach as Shah Mirza had fled to that side. Raja Bhagwant Das, Shah Quli Mahram Lashkar Khan and other royal attendants were granted leave to proceed by way of Idar to the kingdom of the Rana to reprimand him. Government of Pattan was as usual entrusted to Khan-i-Kalan. Dholka, Dhandhuka and other mahals were granted as Jagir to Wazir Khan. He was left there. An order was given that the province of Saurath should be liberated from Amin Khan Ghor. Wazir Khan hastened to that side after march of the royal cavalcade. He returned without achieving anything inspite of continuous warfare and sacrifice of many notable persons to the royal presence. He came, a second time, in company of Mirza Khan, son of Biram Khan as a deputy of the Subah which will be stated later on. At this time, one day, there was a mention of "loh, lakkad, patthar" in the royal assembly which assumed property of iron, wood and stone by the utterance of His Holiness Qutb ul 'Alam' may his tomb be sanctified. After seeing it, half of it was cut and removed to the capital while the other half is still in possession of the saint's successor till now at Batwa.

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CHAPTER 37

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY TO THE CAPITAL AFTER REPRIMAND AND CHASTISEMENT OF THE MISCHIEF- MONGERS OF GUJARAT GRANT OF THE SUBEDARI, AS BEFORE, TO KHAN I-A'ZAM MIRZA KOKALTASH

When the organization-bestowing royal mind was free from all the affairs of Gujarat, he raised aloft the victorious banner with determination to proceed to the capital on Monday of the month of Jamadi I. He took, at this time, Syed Hamid along with the family and provisions, with him. He halted that day at Mahmudabad and encamped next day at Dholka, where he stayed for a day. He granted leave to Mirza Kukah having exalted him with royal favours. Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Ali Qazwini Bakhshi, who rendered laudable services during this campaign was bestowed the title of Asaf Khan and was left as the Subah's Bakhshi for promotion of its affairs so that he should brighten up this work in consultation with Mirza Kukah. Affairs of Gujarat were thus completely organized. Next day, he marched and encamped at two stages from the town of Kadi. Thence, His Imperial Majesty arrived with two stages at Sayyedahpur. His Majesty heard at this place that the army under command of Bhagwant Das that was permitted to go by way of Idar, had to pass through the town of Vadnagar where was garrisoned Awliya, a slave of Sher Khan Fawlad, who had strengthened Kadi at the time of His Majesty's departure. Next day, he stayed by way of caution to help him in case he needed help. When he learnt that the fort of Vadnagar was conquered and that Awliya was captured while roaming about in guise of jogis. Next day, he marched further. On the way, he granted leave to Raja Todarmal for investigation of assessment (of land revenue) and inquiry of other affairs. He ordered that an examined assessment of revenue should be fixed without looking to personal interests and covetous claims in accordance with abundant experience in keeping with justice and a copy of it should be brought to the royal court so that experienced accountants of the state may act according to it in relation to civil and military personnel. The afore-said raja went there, he set right within a short time the investigated assessment of this province, returned to the royal presence and submitted it to the royal record office. After a lapse of two months, when His Imperial Majesty had gone by way of Narnol to Ajmer to visit the shrine (of the Khwaja), Khan-i-A'zam Mirza Aziz Kukah measured the path on wings of ardent love from Gujarat, paid homage and returned with permission. Next year also, Mirza Kukah attended upon His Majesty in the neighbourhood of Narnol and got ennobled with royal favours. He was, on that very day, distinguished



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with glorious favours and was permitted to return for management of Gujarat affairs. In the year 983, nine hundred and eighty-three, His Majesty cast a glance of kindness at the Gujarati amirs, who had accompanied him from Gujarat. I'timad Khan, who was distinguished with practical commonsense and abundant dignity, was exalted to the mansab of one thousand Zat, bestowed a favourable rank and entrusted with government and honour in the royal court. He was specially put in charge of business of jewels and jewel-studded weapons. His son Sher Khan was honoured with a mansab of four hundred. Ulugh Khan Habibashi was favoured with a mansab of four hundred and ennobled with a fief. Malek Sharq was granted the government of Thanesar.

CHAPTER 38

APPOINTMENT OF WAJIB-UL-MULK GUJARATI TO THE DIWANI OF THIS SUBAH

From the beginning of Gujarat's conquest, many mahals were granted as jagir to the amirs appointed in the Subah while some of the places were made definite as crown-land. Wajih-ul Mulk was appointed as Diwan and sent there. He is the first Diwan to be ennobled from the court of Khilafat and world-government. Some of the ladies of the royal haram started by ship by way of Gujarat for pilgrimage to the House of Allah. Khan-i-Azam proceeded to the Royal Presence under orders.

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CHAPTER 39

SUBEDARI OF MIRZA KHAN, SON OF BIRAM KHAN, DEPUTY-SHIP OF WAZIR KHAN AND DIWANI OF BIYAK DAS

Regulations for branding horses were formulated before the arrival of Khan-i A'zam to the Royal Presence. First of all, the afore-said Khan, who was the greatest leader, was ordered to make a beginning so that others may not have the power to say why and wherefore and thus the office of branding may be organized. He disobeyed the order relying on his relations and secluded himself in a corner of the garden situated in the capital of Agra. His Majesty paid attention towards him on account of regards for his mother and recognition of claims of his repeated services and desired that as Gujarat was the seat of Sultans of exalted dignity, it was put under his sway from the beginning of its conquest. If he repented of his uncivil behaviour, it would again be granted to him as jagir. In spite of this, Khan-i-A'zam, making a show of outward forgiveness, petitioned that he should be relieved of military service and that he wished to be organized in the thread of His Majesty's well-wishers. As protection is necessary and incumbent upon the charge of kings, Mirza Khan, son of Biram Khan who was exalted with the mansab of four thousand and who in future will be raised to the valuable title of Khan-i-Khanan, which will be mentioned at its proper place, was granted the honour of the government and rulership of Gujarat. Wazir Khan, 'Alauddin Qazwini, Syed Muzaffer and Biyakdas were permitted to accompany him. He ordered that as it was his prime of youth and the first service, he should give precedence in all affairs to the opinion and approval of Wazir Khan, who was one of the old servants of the family. The Aminship of the Subah was granted to Mir 'Alauddin.



CHAPTER 40

DIWANI OF BIYAK DAS ON THE RECALL OF WAJIH-UL-MULK

On the recall of Wajih-ul-Mulk, the dignified office of Diwani was given to Biyak Das who was an experienced scribe by the court of Khulafat and world government. Syed Muzaffer wore the robe of distinction of the office of a Bakhshi. In the month of Rabi 'II of the year 983, when His Majesty had gone to Ajmer, Mirza Khan, that very year, had come under a royal order, at the first stage, from Gujarat to the Royal Presence and obtained felicity of kissing the ground. Wazir Khan was occupied as a Deputy with defence and government. Tarsun Khan was honoured with the government of Pattan. Syed Hashim and Raisingh were ordered to stay in the town of Nadot to subdue the rebels of that locality. During this period, some of the amirs were appointed with commendable forces at Idar to chastise the zamindar of that place in a proper manner and liberate that region. The fort of Sirohi was at this time conquered through the efforts of Tarsun Khan, the Faujdar of Pattan. At the close of the year nine hundred and eighty four, Qahj Khan, the accountant of Surat Port, had come to the Royal Presence. He was granted leave to go as escort to the caravan proceeding to Hijaz. Rai of Idar, who had taken himself to the ravines of mountains due to awe of the royal forces, advanced with a party of Rajputs condemned to death. After an engagement, Idar too was conquered. As His Majesty had heard that the province of Gujarat had become insecure on account of the maladministration of Wazir Khan, Mutammud daulah Raja Todarmal was ordered to proceed in haste to display his experience and ability in establishment of order and organization in that province. When he arrived in the vicinity of Jalor, the zamindar of Sirohi, saw the Rajah through mediation of Pahar Khan Jalori and gave a sum of fifty thousand rupees and one hundred ashrafis by way of present. The Rajah gave a robe of honour, jewel studded turban ornament and an elephant on behalf of the royal court. It was decided that he should serve with a cavalry of two thousand horse along with the Subedar of Gujarat. When Raja Todarmal reached the Subah, he proceeded to Surat. At Broach, the Zamindar of Ramnagar came through mediation of Nahir Khan and gave a sum of twelve thousand rupees, four horses, and two swords as presents. He was favoured with a horse and robe of honour. He was proposed a mansab of fifteen hundred and it was settled that he should remain present with a cavalry of one thousand horse to promote royal affairs along with the Nazim.



CHAPTER 41

AN ACCOUNT OF WAR OF MUZAFFER HUSAIN MIRZA, SON OF IBRAHIM HUSAIN MIRZA

At the time of the previous conquest of Gujarat and march of the royal banners for conquest of the Surat fort, Gulrukh Begum, daughter of Mirza Kamran, wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, had fled to the Dekhan with her son, Muzaffer Husain Mirza. She wandered a while in the neighbouring region. A stone of dispersion fell in the unanimity of the Mirzas as mentioned. At this time, the Begum with her son set her face of rebellion and misfortune towards the region of Gujarat under guidance of a party of war-seeking vagabonds, whose leader was a certain man named Meher 'Ali and raised aloft the standards of revolt and disturbance. Through heavenly help, His Majesty had sent, before occurrence of this event, Raja Todarmal for investigation of assessment of revenue of Gujarat and administrative establishment. In short, as Wazir Khan did not possess a well-organized party of soldiers and along with that, there were a large number of his servants, who were war-seeking and mischievous, he had necessarily to observe care and caution and thought it advisable to garrison himself. He strengthened the gates of Ahmedabad Fort and sent a courier to Raja Todarmal, who had in hurry proceeded to Pattan from Ahmedabad to ascertain the revenue assessment of that place and then to return to the court, to apprise him of the true state of affairs. When the miscreants reached Sultanpur and Nazarbar, some of the servants of Aref and Zahid, sons of Sharif Khan, turned disloyal and joined the enemies. After their arrival at Baroda, the faujdar of the place, fled without a war. In the meantime, Wazir Khan sent Baz Bahadur with Biyak Das, the Diwan of Gujarat with a party of soldiers to oppose and repel them. The two forces encountered at Sarnal. Baj Bahadur suffered a defeat. It became the cause of increased boldness on the part of rebels. When Wazir Khan's letter reached Raja Todarmal, he returned in all haste to Ahmedabad. He took out Wazir Khan from the fort and prepared him for war through the help of royal fortune. When the royal army arrived at a distance of four kurohs from Baroda, the miscreants lost courage and proceeded towards Khanbayat. The royal forces chased them with courage. Syed Hashim, the revenue-collector of crown-lands performed exploits but bore fatal wounds. He, helplessly retreated to Khanbayat and garrisoned himself. The enemies laid a siege. When the royal forces came near, they abandoned the siege and hastened towards Junagadh. Well-wishers spurred their horses rapidly and overtook the rebels near Dholka. They too stopped to fight. That honess had dressed many women as men and appointed them to dart arrows.



CHAPTER 43

SUBEDARI OF SHIHABUDDIN AHMED KHAN. DIWANI OF BIYAKDAS, FLIGHT OF MUZAFFER GUJARATI FROM THE ROYAL COURT AND HIS ARRIVAL TO THIS REGION.

As the province of Gujarat was not controlled by Wazir Khan as it should be, it made no progress. At the sag end of the year nine hundred and eighty-five, a royal order was issued that Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, who was ennobled with the mansab of five thousand Zat should march to Gujarat from Malwa. Qasim Khan, Tahir Khan, Saif-ul-Mulk, Mir Ghiyasuddin, 'Ali Naqi, Qamar Khan, Ghazi Khan, Firozah Kamil, Shaikh Mu'azzim, Shaikh Junaid and other amirs were granted leave by the Royal Court to go to help him. It was decided that Wazir Khan should proceed to Idar and administer that region. In the monsoon of nine hundred and eighty-six, safe arrival of the ladies of the royal haram who had gone for hajj of the House of Allah was reported to His Majesty. Shihab-ud-Din Ahmed Khan was ordered to soon make arrangements to send them to the Royal Court.



CHAPTER 44

APPOINTMENT OF A DESCENDANT OF THE FAMILY OF PROPHETHOOD SYED ABU TURAB AS THE LEADER OF HAJIS. THE AFORESAID SYED BRINGS THE IMPRESSION OF THE FOOT OF HIS HOLINESS THE PROPHET, MAY PEACE AND BENEDICTIONS OF ALLAH BE ON HIM, HIS DESCENDANTS AND HIS COMPANIONS.

During this time, all the energies of His Majesty were directed to the performance of charitable deeds and good works. For the last several years, it was decided that an eminent man should every year be made a leader of the hajj party and sent with cash and other articles which may be useful to the servants and travellers of the Holy Places. As essence of the family of choice and purity, Mir Abu Turab wished to travel to Hijaz, he petitioned for permission to His Majesty. His Majesty entrusted with all beneficence the duties of amir-i-hajj to the aforesaid Mir and permitted him to go. I'timad Khan Gujarati who was attached to the Royal Stirrup and had professed to perform hajj of the Holy House of Allah and visit to the shrine of His Holiness the noble Prophet was granted leave. The afore-said Mir brought, on his return, the auspicious foot-impression of His Holiness the Prophet may benedictions of God be on him and his descendants which was in the House of Ka'aba. He arrived at the Surat Port and prepared to proceed to the Capital. He started for the abode of joy Fatehpur which then was decided as the seat of throne with seven hundred and eighty hajis, the foot-impression of His Holiness in a litter of honour and respect and with a coverlet of Abraham's abode. He sent petitions containing tidings of obtainment of this vast felicity and great miracle to the Royal Court. His Majesty, on hearing this news, ordered rejoicings. A royal order was issued to the Mir-i-Hajj in great praise and eulogy. A royal mandate was issued that information should be sent when he came to the first stage from the capital in accordance with decorum so that dues of reception may be performed. When the afore-said Mir arrived at the first stage from the capital and His Majesty learnt about it, he sent royal pavilions, and rode with all the grandees for reception of the holy foot-vestige to be ennobled with its sight. He gave a public audience where the high and the low paid homage. Next day, His Majesty covered the auspicious foot-impression in the royal mantle, placed it first on his shoulder and carried it on foot to a hundred paces towards the city. Afterwards, it was given to the refuge of nobility, Mir Abu Turab, Mir-i-Hajj. Every one of the amirs, Wazirs, the chief Qazi, the eminent nobles by turns conveyed the auspicious foot-impression to the capital. He guarded it continuously for one year in his royal palace as a



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sacred relic The populace performed perambulations of it When Shah Abu Turab obtained leave for return to Gujarat in the year nine hundred and eighty eight, he petitioned that as Gujarat was the Gate of Mecca, he should be permitted to carry the foot impression to Gujarat, erect a shrine, build an edifice and a dome and appoint him a trustee After repeated requests, he received the royal approval The afore said Mir brought the holy foot impression to Ahmedabad and Asawal which was his place of residence Under royal orders, architects and masons busied themselves with building an edifice and a lofty dome It was completed within a period of six years A detailed account of the said foot impression was written, under a royal order, in a separate pamphlet known as Risala-i Qadamīyah May it not remain hidden that this edifice continued a place of perambulation of people from that day till a long period Prosperity of Asawal suffered due to anarchy in this region Descendants of the above said Mir removed the auspicious foot-impression to the city

It is now in their possession The author was ennobled by visiting it. In short, a royal order was issued to Shah Fakhruddin to proceed to the government of Pattan from Ujjain and that he should send Tarsun Khan to the Royal Court Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi was honoured with the office of chief judgeship of Gujarat Asaf Khan was appointed as the Bakhshi of Gujarat. It was ordered that firstly the soldiers of Malwa should be branded according to royal regulations He should then proceed to Gujarat. He should brand also the Gujarat army in co-operation with Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Qali Khan After some time, Sultan Muzaffer Gujarati who was in prison, fled to Gujarat He remained for some time in the region of Tarwari who was the successor of the Rajpipla zamindar He died according to the opinion of Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan who was at Broach He came and resided with Lonia Kathi in Gadri in the Paragana of Surdharka under jurisdiction of Saurath country He passed his days in a corner of obscurity In short, revolts subsided for some time due to the well-administered government of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan People enjoyed rest and comfort Fateh Khan Sarwari, the best soldier of Amin Khan Ghori, who held Saurath under his sway got annoyed with Amin Khan and came to Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan He became the cause of "If the army of Gujarat is made to accompany me, I will bring Junagadh and the country of Saurath under sway of royal officers having forcibly removed them from Amin Khan " Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan appointed for this purpose his nephew Mirza Jan with four thousand strong cavalry Fateh Khan marched on Saurath with the army When he approached that country's borders, Amin Khan Ghori sent his agents with a request "I pay tribute, brand horses in accordance with royal regulations and I should be paid salary in accordance with jagir usages



Rest of the province belongs to you. But the fort of Junagadh which is my place of residence, should be kept with me as a source of my prestige." The Mirza replied, "Without Junagadh fort, the terms are not acceptable." They proceeded with incessant marches and conquered Junagadh known as Mustafabad on the first day under the command of Fateh Khan. Amin Khan strengthened the high fort and garrisoned himself. By chance, Fateh Khan, the cause of invasion fell ill and died of the same illness within a few days. Mirza Jan abandoned the siege and went to Manglor situated at a distance of twenty kurohs from Junagadh. He besieged the said town. Amin Khan sought help from Jam. Jam's minister came to help with a cavalry of four thousand. Amin Khan came down from the fort and hastened to Mangalar. Mirza Jan went to Kodinar. Amin Khan followed him there. Mirza Jan gave battle but suffered a defeat. Many soldiers were killed. The whole provision fell into his hands. Mirza Jan being wounded along with a few others returned to Ahmedabad. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan built forts at Modasa and many other resorts of the rebels of this side, fixed thanas, and established real settlement of revenue. Due to complaints of the ryots, he measured the cultivable lands, of the paragana of Haveli of Ahmedabad and other paraganas a second time and prospered them.



CHAPTER 45

SUBEDARI OF I'TIMAD KHAN GUJARATI DIWANI OF KHWAJA ABUL QASIM. APPEARANCE OF SULTAN MUZAFFER FROM THE CORNER OF OBSCURITY AND OBLIVION SUBJUGATION OF AHMEDABAD BY HIM. DEFEAT OF I'TIMAD KHAN AND SHIHABUDDIN AHMED KHAN

It has been stated before in this book that I'timad Khan travelled to Hijaz after obtaining leave for it. When he returned from that place he arrived for service to the Royal Court. For some time, he was in personal attendance of His Majesty. His Majesty had made him hopeful, with good news, of government of this region at the time of Gujarat Conquest, Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan at this time enjoyed honour of distinction with the government of Gujarat. I'timad Khan represented some economical measures to His Majesty, evinced loyalty, promised increase in revenue, as well as addition and augmentation of prosperity. His Majesty, raised him, out of great favour and kindness, to an elevated rank of governorship of the government and defence of this Subah in the year nine hundred and ninety one. However much the well-wishers represented to His Majesty that control of the administrative machinery of Gujarat was beyond his capability, yet as the words were uttered by the inspired tongue (of His Majesty) and also an affair which had been written by the pen of destiny, he paid no attention to those words and permitted him to go for the rulership of Gujarat. Mir Abu Turab was appointed as an Amin. Khwaja Nizamuddin was appointed as Bakhshi. Khwaja Abul Qasim, who held the mansab of two hundred Zat, was made a Diwan. Muhammed Husain Shaikh, Mir Abul Muzaffer, Beg Muhammed Buqru, Mir Muhibbatullah, Mir Sharafuddin, Saleh Shah Ber, Mir Hashim, Mir Ma'sum Bahkari, Zamuddin Khattu, Syed Jalal Bahkari, Syed Ishaq, Qanbar Ishaq Aqa and Pahelwan 'Ali Sistrani were made to accompany him. These persons were honoured with robes and horses. They all obtained leave to go to that side. Karam 'Ali, the elder son of Ramazan, Darogha i Khushbor Khana (Superintendent of scents and perfumes) who was a reliable slave was appointed to bring Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan as soon as I'timad Khan reached Ahmedabad. At this time, His Majesty received a complaint against Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi, judge of the Subah. Groups of persons lodged complaints against him. The just king dismissed him and recalled him to the Court. When his guilt was proved, he was imprisoned in the fort of Ranthambor. In short, I'timad Khan obtained leave from the Royal Court to go to the government and defence of the Gujarat Subah. Karam 'Ali was



appointed to summon Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan. Some of the war-seeking Qilchis, (swordsmen) who, before this, were in service of the Mirzas had settled in Ahmedabad after their destruction. They became servants of any one who arrived at the helm of government of this province. They thus passed their lives. They always waited for an opportunity. For example, once, during the regime of Wazir Khan they opened the gates of revolt and warmed up disturbance. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan arrived at an opportune time and extinguished fire of revolt. He made most of them his servants. His Majesty learnt facts about them. He ordered that such persons should not be allowed to stay in the province so that they might strengthen their roots. They should be removed from service and loyal persons should be employed in their place. In the meantime, the royal cavalcade marched towards Kabul. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan did not deem it expedient to expel them, nay, he increased the mansab and jagir of that party. He consoled them in various ways. Now that I'timad Khan was appointed to this government an emphatic order was issued afresh for their expulsion. This tune reached ears of the mischief mongers. They were in consideration of their own affair. Mir Abed who was the leader of men of misguidance entered into an agreement with Yusuf Balakhi, Khalil Beg Badakhshi, Biram Beg and Mirak to the effect that Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan should be done to death before the arrival of I'timad Khan to Gujarat and that Muzaffer should be chosen as chief to occupy Ahmedabad. By chance, a miscreant named Jahangir, who belonged to this group, apprised Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan about their absurd intention. As he lost interest in government, he did not, as he ought to, care for an inquiry and investigation of this matter. But he sent word to Khalil Beg and Muhammed Yusuf that they should come out of the city and not stay within it. They regarded it as support to their action, went to the paraganas of Mirat which was formerly included in their jagir and busied themselves in preparations. They wrote letters to Muzaffer Gujarati displaying submission and inducing him to come. Mir 'Abed, the ring leader of those unfortunate persons so displayed externally in attendance upon Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan that he would be the first person to accompany him to the Royal Court while inwardly he tried to deviate hearts to tread on the wrong path so much so that he made Mughal Beg Wafadar and Timur Husain, the best servants of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, in accord with himself. At this juncture, I'timad Khan, Khwaja Abul Qasim Diwan of the Subah and Khwaja Nizamuddin Bakhshi reached Patan. Karam Ali who had come as an escort of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan arrived at Ahmedabad with Qabil, an agent of I'timad Khan. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan hastened for reception of the royal firman, horse and robe and returned to the city again with Karam Ali and received information of the royal order. In that very assembly, he handed over



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keys of fort gates to the agents of I'timad Khan and summoned his own men from thanahs. As Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan had built nearly eighty forts old and new, he had established thanahs. The moment his men left the thanas, the Kolis and Girasias laid most of the forts waste and raised heads in revolt. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan came out of Ahmedabad and stayed at Usmanpur on the other side of the river Sabarmati. In the meantime, I'timad Khan and others entered the city. 'Abed gathered together nearly five hundred persons along with other afore said mischief-makers. They encamped at an entrance to a streamlet at Batwa and sent a message to I'timad Khan that he could not accompany Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan to the Court due to distraction. If he confirmed the jagirs which Shihabuddin had granted to him as before, he would come to wait upon him and fulfil the dues of service otherwise he would roam about in plains. I'timad Khan replied to him, "I will not assign jagirs to you without royal orders. But I will show regard on my behalf as much as is possible." Those persons of upturned fortune were disappointed with I'timad Khan's reply and went to Khali Beg and Muhammed Yusuf in the paraganah of Matar. A revolt warmed up. As the party appointed by the Court to help I'timad Khan had not yet arrived, I'timad Khan thought it advisable to call back Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan and keep him for a few days more. He would be encouraged to destroy the enemies with his aid and assistance. As decided, he went to him with Shah Abu Turab and Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmed and consulted him. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan replied, "Defence of the province without a disciplined party is not possible. Grant the same previous jagirs to these rebels so that the fire of revolt may extinguish. If you cannot grant jagirs without orders, we should send our force against them, now when an eminent chief is not amongst them and they have not yet collected themselves, to throw a stone of dispersion in unanimity of the mischief-mongers." I'timad Khan said, "you practically return to the city. After that, whatever will be advisable, will be the right course." Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan put forth excuses saying, "I borrowed money and prepared for travelling. My men have come out of the city in distress with their families. How can I stay?" I'timad Khan promised, "I will help you out of the public treasury of crown lands. As there was no cash, several days elapsed in conversation and giving shape to determination of the affair and fixation of sum and quantity. At last, Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan so read from pages of his circumstances that I'timad Khan wanted to detain him by engaging him in conversation and narrative for a few days till his auxiliaries might come from the court and after that, he would allow him to go to the plains. In short, he marched from environs of Ahmedabad and went to the town of Kadi. Some of the roughs who had collected together at Matar, seized an opportunity as a boon and hastened to Kathiawar to bring Muzaffer with them to advance a few



paces further When they joined Muzaffer, they represented the bride of kingdom to his sight in the most beautiful form and talked to him to step on the road They took Lonia Kathi, the chief of Kathis with them including him with greed of pillage and plunder They set faces of misfortune towards Ahmedabad They collected nearly fifteen hundred horsemen of Kathiawar and did not withhold reins of rapidity till the paraganah of Dholka. At Dholka, carcass of the plan of malefactors remained on the ground in vacillation contrary to their meditation Some deemed it advisable to make a night-attack on the camp of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan Muzaffer was of opinion to proceed to Khanbayat Port to plunder that prosperous city When I'timad Khan received news of the enemy's arrival at Dholka, he got disheartened, became nervous and went to Kadi to make Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan turn back to Ahmedabad He committed such a great blunder through great confusion and perplexity In reality, it was not wise for him to leave the enemy at a distance of twelve kurohs and to go to a distance of eighteen kurohs to seek help. Along with this, there was no chief to whose reliability he could leave the city. Whatever experienced advisers of sound judgment said that it was a wrong course, he did not listen to them He left his son Sher Khan to defend the city and appointed Mir Ma'sum Bahkari and Faizullah Beg Aqa and Zainuddin Khattu to guard the gates Mujahid Khan Gujarati was kept in charge of the Raighad Gate As soon as he came out, all the war-seekers of Gujarat who were one with the rebels sent swift couriers and regarded I'timad Khan's leaving the city as his flight When the enemies were astonished at their own action and did not know where to go and what to do, they received this good news Immediately they turned their faces of misguidance in all haste to Gujarat (Ahmedabad) and quickly their number increased by the time they came to the city When they arrived at the environs of Ahmedabad, they crowded together at the Raighad Gate which was in charge of Mujahid Khan and entered the city with a scuffle Pahlwan Ali, kotwal of the city was killed, fire of revolt and disturbance flamed forth Sher Khan, son of I'timad Khan, Mir Ma'sum Bahkari and Zainuddin Khattu came out safely with great difficulty from this peril Muchief mongers stretched their hands to rapine and busied themselves with plunder and pillage Natthu that is Sultan Muzaffer, who wished for such days with night prayers, entered palaces of the Gujarat Sultans and sat on the throne Such a prosperous city which was full of gold, jewels and valuable clothes was ruined by plunder within twinkling of an eye When I'timad Khan reached Kadi, he made Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan turn back after conversation, promise and pledge The afore said Khan, who had no confidence in most of his servants, summoned them before his presence and gave them an oath of the Holy Book Leader of the party was disloyal Samak He swore



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ahead of all. He was the first to desert and join the enemy. In short, when they reached a distance of eight kurohs from Ahmedabad, they met Sher Khan, Mir Ma'sum 'Ali Bālikari and Zamuddin Khattu etc. coming from the city. They gave terrible news of Ahmedabad. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, on hearing this occurrence, went down in a sea of meditation. He sought counsel from other well wishers. Every one talked in accordance with his wisdom. It was decided at last that they should gallop to a minding pace as far as Ahmedabad. If the enemies, coming out of the fort, offered battle, they too should fight because whatever is fated will happen. If they strengthen the fort, they should besiege it because the auxiliaries of I'timad Khan would soon come from the Court and then the matters would be managed according to the desire of royal officers. But the fault they committed was this that they carried unnecessarily, the families with them. They should have been kept at a strong place. Being thus free from anxiety about them, they should have stepped forward. In short, it was morning when the royal officers reached Usmanpur situated outside the city. Men of the camp occupied themselves with pitching tents and choosing abodes. Miscreants of upturned fortune learnt about arrival of the army, they look to arranging war weapons and essentials of riding and came out armed and equipped from the city. If they had straight gone to the city, it was probable that the enemies would have fled in confusion from the other road. In short, the miscreants wore armour with ease during the time when men of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan were busy in pitching tents for stay. They were embarrassed on the way for defence of their wives and children and carriage of bag and baggage. Those who had accompanied Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan learnt at a time when two thousand horsemen came out of the city and arrayed rows on the river bank. Muzaffer himself was in the centre while Lonia Kathi stood in charge of the right and the left wings of the army. Muhammed Yusuf Badakhshi, Khalil Beg, Fimur Husain, Wafadar Beg, Mughal Beg and other roughs advanced as vanguard. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan mounted his horse due to this divine occurrence and occupied himself with array of rows and regulations of forces. I'timad Khan, on a pretext of strengthening the passage of Usmanpur so that the enemies might not cross the river, mounted his horse along with Mir Abu Turab and other Gujaratis, took himself to a corner to find a way of flight. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan chose an elevated place to face the unfortunate adversaries with seven, eight hundred horsemen he had with him and stood with courage. He kept two hundred horsemen with him in the centre and sent other persons such as disloyal Samak, dog willow Payanda and other ungrateful fellows to cross the river to stand opposite to the enemies. The generals of the army were not unanimous against the adversaries, but the others attacked well. They made advanced forces of the enemy retreat twice. Mughal Beg



and Wafadar Beg were hit by arrows. But disloyal Samak, commander of the army, kept back men from war. Every moment, he sent his messengers to Mir Abid and other rebels for inducement to fight. Badr Beg Turkman, a servant of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan performed worthy exploits on the river bank and died. At this time, Samak and dog-willow Payanda etc. five hundred horsemen deserted and joined the enemy. Being encouraged by Samak, they advanced with daring and boldness and crossed the river. In spite of the fact that Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan had not more than two hundred horsemen, he stood with courage inducing and exciting his companions to defend and fight. His horse was hit by an arrow. There remained a few of his relatives and brothers around him. The enemies attacked when necessarily some of his well-wishers holding his horse's bridle took him out from the battle-field. At this juncture, 'Abdurrehman Majhuli, a servant of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, who had gone over to the enemy came from behind and gave a sword's blow to Khan. But it was not a fatal wound. Khan was safe. The Kachis and rabble of the city who had joined for pillage attacked tents and abodes of the Muslims and plundered them. They made wives and daughters of men of rectitude captives and outraged them. They caused many annoyances and plundered cash, ornaments, horses, elephants and accoutrements. Efforts of the enemies were renewed for fight being strengthened with this loot. Muzaffer returned to Ahmedabad with much wealth and immense booty and encamped at the city-citadel with extreme pride and vanity. He reclined on his ancestors' seat and began to rule Gujarat with an awry cap of misery on head. On that very day, disloyal Samak and most of his other known servants of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan paid homage and became his servants. That silly, short sighted king began to give mansab, title and to distribute jagirs. Next day, some misguided fellows went to Jume-Masjid, and recited the sermon in their names. On that very day, they sent swift couriers to summon Sher Khan Faruki who spent his life in misery and adversity in the province of Junagadh. He arrived with two hundred afflicted pony riders and joined them. As his mind was not at ease from Qutbuddin Khan, who was at Sultrampur and Nizarbar, he left Mir Abid in defence of the city and hastened himself to that side. He sent Sher Khan with a force of vagabonds to fight with Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan towards Pattan. He enlisted into service afflicted persons of Gujarat and soldiers of that region who ever came to him. He collected fourteen, fifteen thousand wicked horsemen from amongst men of adversity. In the meantime, a royal army consisting of nearly two thousand horse under Khwaja Abul Qasim Diwan and Muhammed Husain Shukh etc. sent to the help of Humad Khan joined Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan at Pattan. Royal officers strengthened the fort of Pattan and sent a petition containing an account of it to the Royal Court. In short, Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan, on hearing



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about this event, reached Baroda by continued marches Syed Dawlat, a servant of Kalyanrao Khanbhat, took advantage of this disturbance, collected a force and occupied Khanbhayat. Much wealth fell into his hands. Having collected nearly four thousand horsemen, he wrote to Muzaffer about it. Muzaffer wrote to him with conferment of the title of Rustam Khan, a horse and a robe that he should remain there and that he should come whenever summoned. Awliya, a slave of Sher Khan Fauladi raised dust of disturbance in the town of Chhotanah and defeated Beg Muhammed Bukjays who was nearby in a manly fight. On hearing this news, Sher Khan sent his son-in-law with a force against him. Royal officers sent Muhammed Husain Shaikh and Khwaja Nizamuddin Bakhshi with squadrons of loyal, sincere warriors to help him. The enemies retreated finding no strength of resistance. Beg Muhammed approached the enemies in all haste. A hard fight took place between the two parties. The enemies fled being defeated. On hearing about this event, Sher Khan Fauladi marched to the battle-field with arrayed forces. I'timad Khan stayed with Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan at Pattan. They appointed Sher Khan son of I'timad Khan and other life-sacrificing servants for their repulsion. These persons reached the enemies at a distance of eighteen kurohs from Pattan and prepared for warfare. Both the parties performed manly deeds. Husain, son-in-law of Sher Khan Fauladi was slayed. * The enemy was defeated. When Muzaffer marched from Ahmedabad for resistance to Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan, Syed Dawlat arrived at Nadiad from Khanbhayat with a cavalry of four thousand horse to join him. On hearing this news, Qutbuddin Khan sent Muhammed Afzal and Mirak Muhammed with a thousand horse to block up the passage of Khanpur and Bikaner in order that the enemy's army might not cross. They came and encamped at the passages but they had secret correspondence of accord with Muzaffer. The day on which Muzaffer arrived at the Khanpur passage, they offered a slight resistance and fled. Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan brought himself to the city-fortifications of Baroda with his special cavalry. Mischief-mongers stepped forward with daring and laid a siege. Nearly twenty thousand horse and foot, koba and Rayputs had collected together with Muzaffer for this siege. He defended the fort for nearly twenty-two days in spite of the multitudinous enemy. As he had no confidence in his own men, Khan made bold efforts beyond human power. Next day, Muhammed Mirak and Charkas Khan Rumi sent a message to Muzaffer from their entrenchments that "So long as we stand at our entrenchments, people defend their entrenchments looking to us. You should, on a pretence of peace, summon us, Zainuddin Kanbuh. Syed Jalal Bahkari and Khwaja Yahya, an agent of Nawrang Khan. Zainuddin Kanbu was a relative of Shahbaz Khan Kanbuh. He was sent from the Royal Court in company of I'timad Khan. After the defeat of



CHAPTER 46

SUBEDARI OF MIRZA KHAN, SON OF BIRAM KHAN. MUZAFFER'S WAR AND HIS DEFEAT. OCCUPATION OF AHMEDABAD BY THE ROYAL OFFICERS. ELEVATION OF THE AFORE-SAID TO THE EXALTED RANK OF FIVE THOUSAND ZAT AND THE TITLE OF KHAN-I-KHANAN. FOUNDATION OF FATH BAGH AT THE BATTLE-GROUND. DIWANI OF KHWAJA ABUL QASIM, THE FORMER DIWAN. ARRIVAL OF THE ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF INAUGURATION OF A NEW ERA. MANDATE OF DIVINE ERA ISSUED TO THE CONQUERED DOMINIONS OF HINDUSTAN.

When His Majesty had marched to the eastern dominions, news of disturbance was reported to His Majesty. He raised Mirza Khan, son of Biram Khan, who was brought up from childhood under the shadow of kindness and favour of His Majesty, to an exalted rank of the government and administration of Gujarat at the close of the year 991, nine hundred and ninety-one. Syed Qasim Barha, Syed Hashim Barha, Shiruyah Khan, Rai Durga, Medani Rao, Durwish Khan, Muhammed Rafi, Shaikh Kabir titled Shuja'at Khan, Nasib Khan Turkoman, many other life-sacrificing warriors and loyal soldiers of the battle-field were appointed to accompany Mirza Khan. They had to march directly to Gujarat. An order was issued to Qalij Khan and Nawrang Khan that they should take themselves to Gujarat by way of Malwa with other amirs of the Subah. When Muzaffer received intelligence of Mirza Khan's march, he returned to Ahmedabad. His mind was corrupted on account of acquisition of vast riches. He lived in arrogance for some time at Ahmedabad. On hearing news of Mirza Khan's approach with a force of brave soldiers, Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan and other amirs who were at Pattan sent Khwajagi Tahir, son of Khwaja Imaduddin Husain ahead to acquaint him with facts. He attended upon Mirza Khan at Mirat and reported to him what had happened. Mirza Khan did not disclose, out of prudence, the death of Qutbuddin Ahmed Khan to all. He gathered generals of the army in his presence and sought counsel. Every one spoke in keeping with his courage. Ultimately, it was so decided that they should march with warmth and coherence, with faith in regal fortune and start warfare. Having arrayed forces with such determination, they stepped forward with courage. Muzaffer arranged rows of his vast hosts, fixed cannons with other fire-arms in front and encamped seeking war at Muhammednagar adjacent to Usmanpur on the other side of Sabarmati at a distance of one kuroh from the city on 9th Holy Muharram of the year nine hundred and ninety-two.



Mirza Khan, out of policy, disclosed a farman to the effect that "On such and such a date, we have marched in person for destruction of the state-enemies. Beware ! Do not be hasty in warfare." These tidings became a source of increased strength in the well-wishers. A great quake found its way to pillars of enemy's courage. As land-stewards had been appointed by the Court to convey help to the army of Malwa, Mirza Khan halted for a few days and marched towards Sarkhej and encamped there on one side of which there was population of the above place and he strengthened the other side with a hedge of branches. First of all, those who had come with an intention of a night-attack, were made to retreat with disappointment. As a report of arrival of the royal cavalcade and the Malwa army was brisk; Muzaffer seized an opportunity, rose up from Muhammednagar, crossed the river, went adjacent to the shrine of Shah Bhikan, may God sanctify his grave and showed precedence in war. Royal generals necessarily had to array forces for resistance. A ditch lay on the way. At the time of crossing it, the order of vanguard forces was disturbed. Warriors of the royal army got entangled with the enemies and gave justice to bravery and life-sacrifice. As there was no organization, every one went over to any side and fought with the enemy. An extremely hard battle ensued. Mirza Khan stood with courage at a place with three thousand horsemen and one hundred elephants watching the wonderful imperial luck. Muzaffer stood with five, six thousand horsemen in a field of arrogance and vanity. When signs of ascendancy and predominance became visible in enemy's forces, some of the well-wishers desired to strike Mirza Khan's horse to take him out of the battle-field. He noticed it on the foreheads of cowardly persons and spurred the horse of courage with help of imperishable fortune of the world-conquering king. Row-breaking fierce elephants were kept in front of forces. They broke rows of forces. Every one rushed into battle-field like a demon. Muzaffer gave up reins of steadfastness and control and took to path of flight. Some of his companions hastened towards the river Mahi by way of the city. Every group began to roam about in any side of a plain. Many of them fell on dust of destruction by ruthless swords. As day was about to close, they could not chase the fleeing ones. This event took place on Thursday, 13th of Holy Muharram of the above year. In the meantime, the day on which Muzaffer suffered a defeat, Qalij Khan, Sharif Khan, Nawrang Khan and other soldiers of Malwa reached Baroda with victorious forces. As they received news of victory there, they stayed in Baroda. Nawrang Khan and Mirza Zahid, son of Sharif Khan led an expedition on Broach to occupy the fort. Haji Samak, Charkas and Nasir who were in charge of treasury and fort, closed gates against them and began to fight. Muzaffer fled to Khanbayat. He took money from merchants and residents. Nearly ten, twelve thousand war-seeking



vagabonds gathered around him on account of distribution of money. Subjects also displayed fidelity towards him considering him to be a hereditary prince. There was a big crowd again. When this news reached Mirza Khan at Ahmedabad, he kept Syed Qasim, who was wounded with some other mansabdars for defence of Ahmedabad and made an ideal of ambition to repel the rebels. He wrote to the generals of Malwa army who were in Baroda and at the siege of Broach that they should also march as the enemies again had collected in Khanbhayat. He marched against Muzaffer on 10th of the victorious Safar. The enemy also despatched Syed Dawlat with a force to Dholka and sons of Ikhtiar ul-Mulk and Mustafa Khan Sarwani towards Ahmedabad. When Mirza Khan reached Barichah, the Malwa generals joined him with forces. Muzaffer, on hearing of reinforcement by the Malwa army, came out of Khanbhayat and proceeded towards Baroda. Mirza Khan too reached Baroda in pursuit. Here he separated Tolak Khan and sent him against Syed Dawlat, while he himself marched against Muzaffer with other amirs. The enemies faced him and sought battle. Both sides fought bravely and slayed many persons. At last the breeze of victory blew over the standard of the Royal army, the unfortunate miscreants fled. Tulak Khan also gained victory and joined the royal army. Muzaffer, having crossed Nerbada, sought refuge in a valley of Jahanba mountain which is situated at a distance of sixty kurohs from Ahmedabad. Great amirs arrayed a battle-field at Nadot with determination to bring about his destruction. Having arranged rows of forces at the above place, they occupied themselves with courage for repulsion of the royal enemy. Those unfortunate ones suffered disgrace and misfortune in this battle-field. Their army got dispersed. Many of them saw Mirza Khan. Some went to the Dekhan. Their provision was destroyed. Nearly two thousand persons were made food of the sword of revenge in this war. Five hundred persons became captives in grip of destiny and travelled on path of non-existence. When these tidings reached His Majesty, he honoured Mirza Khan with a high title of Khan-i-Khanan and grant of a mansab of five thousand Zat. Other servants were ennobled with good rewards befitting their services. When Khan-i-Khanan arrived at Ahmedabad from Nadot, he devoted himself to prosperity of the province and encouragement of subordinates. He laid out a garden at the place where he had gained victory over Muzaffer on the bank of Sabarmati at Khattapur Sarkhej at a distance of three kurohs from the city. It was named Fatch Bagh which till now exists with some of its buildings and vestiges of four walls. Its garden features are lost. Its land is being made cultivable. Its income is counted in the revenue proceeds of the above place. In short, Muzaffer came out of the narrow valley of Rajpipla mountain distressed in mind and went towards Pattan. Mir Abid, Mirak, Yusuf, Mirak Afzal, Abdullah and Mir Hasan raised dust of disturbance near



Mundah Khan-i-Khanan sent a force under command of Shadman Beg and Maqsud Aqa against Muzaffer. He had no strength to resist and so he hastened towards Idar. Thence he went to Kathiawar. He then went to Lonja. Kathi at Kaharri with a few persons. Another force under command of Nizamuddin Ahmed, Mir Abul Muzaffer and other amirs was appointed to repel miscreants whose names were mentioned. When this force arrived at Dholka, the enemies dispersed. They roamed about in a ruined state anywhere. Sher Khan Fauladi took refuge with the Zamindar of Bagluna. When Qali Khan, Nawrang Khan, Tulak Khan and Sharif Khan were appointed with all the forces of Malwa for conquest of Broach fort, they besieged it. Success was not obtained in any way. Nasir Khan who was inside the fort deceitfully killed Haji Samak on suspicion that he would enter into intrigue with the royal forces. Khan-i-Khanan and Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan sent pressure on that side with reinforcement of fresh forces. He also confirmed Sarkar of Broach as his jagir. One of the gunners came out of the fort and said to Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan that residents of the fort were tired of the siege. If the royal forces turned faces of boldness towards the gate, his brothers and colleagues would open the gate. This tangle would soon be unravelled. As he smelt sincerity and truth from his words, a force immediately rushed towards the gate. The fort was easily conquered in this way. Nasir Khan and Charkas Khan escaped with many hardships. Horse of Charkas Khan fell in a mire of Narbada and got stuck. He fell a captive in the hands of royal soldiers and slayed. At the close of the year nine hundred and ninety-one, when Sultan Muzaffer went towards Junagadh in a ruined state and the royal officers returned to Ahmedabad with ease from his affair, most of the auxiliary amirs went back to their respective fiefs. Due to disturbances caused by mischief-mongers and dispersion of people, the sardars chanced to receive less income from their jagirs. Condition of soldiers, therefore, became ruinous. That war seeking person, who was in an ambush of opportunity, collected destitute vagabonds and once again raised banners of revolt and disturbance. Khan-i-Khanan, on getting intelligence of it left Qali Khan for defence of Ahmedabad, kept Syed Qasim Barha with other Barha Syeds at Pattan, established thanas wherever he deemed proper in the region and devoted himself in person to destroy that unfortunate person in company of Nawrang Khan, Khwaja Abul Qasim and Nizamuddin Ahmed with a force of brave warriors. Muzaffer arrived at Morvi and attacked Radhanpur. He seized by force whatever he got at any place and waited for help of zamindars. When the royal armies came near him, proceeded in a confused state to Kathiawar. Khan-i-Khanan, leaving his camp, chased him in all haste. He could not remain in case there also and so carried bit of misfortune to a mountain valley. Zamindars sent agents knocking doors of well-wishing. Those who had sided before with Muzaffer



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found means of salvation in loyalty. They came forward with helplessness, humility and lamentation. Amin Khan Ghori, ruler of Junagadh agreed to send his son to pay homage. Khan-i-Khanan sent Mir Abu Turab to bring him. Raja Jam pointed out, with display of loyalty, the whereabouts of Muzaffer. He further stated that if some fast running horses went in all haste, it was possible that he would be captured. Khan-i-Khanan himself went in all haste. When he entered mountainous region he found no trace of him. In short, Khan-i-Khanan arrayed four forces one under command of Nawrang Khan, another under direction of Khawaja Nizamuddin Ahmed, the third one under leadership of Dawlat Khan Lodhi. He appointed every force in the Subah for attack and plunder that prosperous province. It was reported that Muzaffer, having left his son with Jam, had gone towards Ahmedabad. Khan-i-Khanan without uneasiness to himself decided to chastise Jam. He made many of the Rajputs food for sword of revenge. The Royal officers obtained vast booty. When he encamped at a distance of four kurohs from Nawanagar the residence of Jam, the Jam came with humility supplication and lowliness and made Rai Durga and Kalyan Ray as intermediaries. He sent a fierce elephant and other precious articles. Khan-i-Khanan accepted with due regard to time and returned from that place. Muzaffer had proceeded with intrepidity and daring to Ahmedabad, When he neared the Prantij Thana, the forces of Prantij and Badawla (Bawla) collected together at one place and directed their energies for his repulsion. Brave warriors gave justice to prowess and life sacrifice and slayed many of the black fated adversaries. Khawaja Yazdi attacked with his courageous youths at an opportune time and routed the enemy. Muzaffer, being routed took to the path of misfortune. Even though many youths were wounded in this war most of the enemy's commanders rolled on dust of non-existence. Khan-i-Khanan received tidings of this victory on the way. He rendered thanks for this fresh gift (victory). In the year nine hundred and ninety (?) two, Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, who was in the district of Broach was ennobled with the Subedari of Malwa and he went there. In this very year Khan-i-Khanan, being free from occupation of Gujarat raised head of honour with prostration at the court whose basis was the sky. His Majesty distinguished him with various favours. After a few days he was permitted to return to Gujarat from the abode of blessings-Dhli. In the year nine hundred and ninety four, Khan-i-Azam Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltash was distinguished with the title of 'farzand' (son). He had gone as general of the Deccan campaign. He left the army due to dis-agreement with the appointed amirs and came to Ahmedabad to take Khan-i-Khanan for help. Khan-i-Khanan went to receive him, regarded his arrival as auspicious and was about to make preparations for help. But hypocrites dissuaded him with words and stories. Khan-i-Azam returned without achieving his object and went to



Malwa In the year nine hundred and ninety five, Khan-i-Kharan went to the Royal Presence, under summons for the festivities of Prince Sultan Murad's marriage Qali Khan officiated in Ahmedabad as Khan-i-Khanan's Deputy Khan-i-Khanan who bore the name of Mirza 'Abdur Rahim from his parents was brought to the Royal Presence under His Majesty's order at the age of four after martyrdom of his father, Biram Khan This is stated before He was brought up under the shadow of His Imperial Majesty's favour First of all, he was ennobled with an exalted title of Mirza Khan He was raised to the glory of the Subedar of Gujarat in the year 983, nine hundred and eighty-three He was summoned to the Royal Presence within a short time Wazir Khan acted as his Deputy in the office of Nizamat When he was elevated a second time to the Subedar of the Subah, he was raised to an eminent rank of Khan-i-Khanan, the title borne by his father after his victory on Muzaffer He was a man of accomplishment Noble scholars were always in his society Eloquent men of lofty station always spent their time in attendance upon him He was such a proficient expert in military affairs and inflicting defeat upon an enemy that he could be said to be an originator of that method He was superior to Hatim Tai in largesse and liberality If all the wonderful accounts and astonishing stories current among the high and the low and prevalent on tongues of the general public were recounted, a separate volume would be needed At times, he composed poems like pure water and verses like legitimate enchantment They adorned pages of night and day with embellishment and ornamentation The following couplets were composed by him

Ghazal

*I have not known enumeration of ardent love as to how much it is
Except to this extent that my heart is too much desirous of it
I neither know ringlets nor a snare. I know this much
That whatever there is from head to foot in me is in captivity
Idea is a calamity to life, sleep an enemy of eyes
It is a mid night affliction It is not love and bond
Fulfilment of love's claim is a favour from friend
Otherwise a lover's mind is not content with anything
I swear by friendship that I know nothing except friendship
God knows it and he who is a lord to me
I am pleased with words of love of Rahim
That slightly they are similar to graceful manners of love*

A Firman about establishment of Date and a mandate of decorum for the Hahri Era originated in the Royal Presence were circulated to all provinces of Hindustan which were to be acted upon as if they were royal letters patent and mandate A copy of both in the original is included in these pages



CHAPTER 47

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ILAHI ERA

In this fortune-adorning age and felicity-decorating time, when one epoch from the victory-associated accession to the throne of sovereignty has passed and the garden of fortune has begun to blossom, a farman to be obeyed by the world is issued to the effect that governors of the protected dominions and all officers in charge of financial and revenue matters with difference in rank and proportionateness of stages should know with boast and aid of continuity and multiplicity of Imperial favours that energies of His Majesty are directed to this that all human beings high and low-are wonderful deposits of Divinity. They should live in cheerfulness and comfortable means under the shadow of security and fulfilment of desires. Their precious time which has no equal and substitute should be spent in achievement of divine pleasures. Having kept aloof their necks of belief from a chain of blind imitation on which all men of creeds and masters of religions have struck their hands and signs of villainy and baseness of it are stated in all faiths in the most emphatic manner, they should turn to acquisition of means of investigation and not step out on paths of objects-small and great without escort of a guide. They should not divulge their desires-loudly and slowly-without light of argument. Our soundness-accepting minds always cast glances completely and perfectly at scientific verities and wise subtleties and get profited and favoured with lofty origins by means of inspiration and intuition through divine kindness and guidance. We thus become protected and benefited with vestiges of predecessors and successors in accordance with good character and pure faith. At this time, we saw different almanacs of the people of Hind which they name as patrah. It was observed in these pages of kalpatrah that lunar months are begun after futurity which is the time for increase of darkness. They name it "Kash Pichah" (Krishna Paksh) in the Hindi language. These black-hearted persons begin the month with darkness on sheer blind imitation, ignorance, error and misguidance, inspite of the fact that falseless of this irrational practice and absence of support become clearer with proof that it needs argument. His Majesty so heard from religious experts of this class. In accordance with ancient reliable books, these persons bring themselves to the right view that the beginning of lunar months, in the opinion of the ancients, is from beginning of brightness of this side of the moon that is towards us which they call it as Shukla Paksh in their language. From the time of Vikramajit, this clear practice was abandoned and renounced due to publicity by unorthodox persons and chaotic condition. Reasonable course is that first of the month should begin with manifestation of



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light It is an outcome of glorious fancy A royal order, therefore, was issued that masters of starlore, and lords of almanacs and calendars of the protected dominions should prepare their almanacs by the method of Shukla Paksha For the sake of care and caution and ease and facility one almanac with royal seal was sent with instruction to prepare it in that manner At this juncture, great men and eminent persons represented to His Majesty that it was not hidden from the inspired mind of His Majesty that the object of inauguration of that date was facility for knowing time of business work and transaction so that there might not be any scope for contention For example, a man entered into a contract of sale or purchase or rented on lease or took a loan Four years and four months were fixed as the period of fulfilment or payment So long as its beginning is not fixed, fixation of this period will be difficult, nay, it will be impossible It is clear that whenever date of distant promise is passed from the beginning, establishment of a fresh date will open doors of ease and facility unto all people It is clear to students of history that from beginning of life till the present time, magnificence of great kings and pillars of wisdom consisted in this that they always renewed basis of this felicity-acquiring edifice with means of care and thus gave relief to transactors from straits of astonishment At present, the Hijri era which began from the day of enemy's rejoicing and trouble to the friends has neared one thousand The Hindi Era has crossed fifteen hundred Similarly, the Sikandari and the Yazdegerdi eras have gone beyond thousands and hundreds as mentioned and written in almanacs Writing and speaking of it have become very difficult to people of the world, especially the commoners, in orbit of business, in conferences of transactions of business Again, the Hindus in protected dominions have different eras For example, the era begins in Bengal from the beginning of Lachhman Sen's reign Four hundred sixty five years of that era have passed till now Shalivahan Era is current in Gujarat and the Deccan which today is one thousand, five hundred and six years The Vikramajit Era is common in Malwa, Delhi etc. which now is one thousand six hundred and forty one They begin at Nagarkot from every one who occupies the fort Condition and position of every one is known to chroniclers and historians It is certain that none of the Hindi Eras is based on truth of great events If a new era is inaugurated in requirements of our general favour and kindness, it will be a source of facility to the people At the same time, difference of Hindi Eras will disappear Undoubtedly, good works and laudable deeds of it will accrue to the present and the future It is plain in reliable books and current astronomical tables such as modern Gurgani Ikhani astronomical tables that the beginning of the Era should be manifestation of a great affair such as appearance of a right creed of great sovereignty Thanks be God, blessed and great, that great affair glorious era



shape of conquest of great cities, opening of strong forts, other victories and triumphs have taken place in the world during this magnificent sovereignty so much so that every one has ability to understand this glorious achievement. If His Majesty begins this new era from the day of accession to the throne of sovereignty which is the greatest of divine gifts and largest of endless bounties that from that auspicious time today is twenty-ninth solar year and thirtieth lunar year, he would, undoubtedly, cause to render dues of thanks giving by means of this virtuous deed. At the same time, objects of different sections of people would have been achieved with success. Again, this good deed will not deprive the Hijri Era of its lofty dignity which began with the migration of His Holiness the best among human beings from Holy Mecca to venerable Medina due to ascendancy of rancorous persons which is only a fanciful doubt of those who lack in wisdom and sagacity. For example, Jalali Era was inaugurated for facility in the regime of Malek Shah even though the Hijri Era was not of a long duration and transactions had not become very difficult for the people. This was done to relieve a section of population of their difficulties in transactions. It is current in the almanacs of Islamic countries of Arabia, Rum, Transoxiana, Khurasan, Iraq etc. Hold of religious men of the age and orthodox persons of the time on those current almanacs was approved of on account of their repeated requests and regard for them. A royal order was issued that New Year's Day which was near the year of accession should be considered as the beginning of the Ilahi Era. When doors of ease and rejoicings should be opened. His Majesty issued an order that astronomers should add this New Era to the common almanacs of Islamic regions such as those of Arabia, Rum, Iran and Jalaluddin Malek Shah and thus open doors of ease. This New Era should be written in the Hindi almanacs by the side of different eras especially the Vikramajit Era which was based on falsehood. Other eras should be set aside. As the years were solar and months lunar in the common almanacs, months of this New Era were ordered to be solar. When wise men of creeds and religions chose some days of months and years in accordance with heavenly relations and spiritual connections for the general public and common people which may become the cause of good deeds and laudable actions out of thanks and gratitude, they were named Festivals. Having strengthened the basis of gratitude during those joyous days, they should exert themselves in performance of dues of humility and supplication to the Almighty Who is the Best for prayers and the Cream of devotion. The rich and the poor, small and great should lay open the table of beneficence and obligation according to their capacity and open doors of joy and pleasure unto dejected minds and sad hearts of the youths of the time and sons of the age. They have practised various acts of charity and obligation. Hence, some of the big festivals will be mentioned as detailed in



the following royal order. It is known and famous in prosperous cities for several thousand years. Thirdly, there have been justice-administering Kings and wise men of reality during these thousand years. Due to certain affairs, they were not remembered in this country. We have made those days of rejoicing current for seeking pleasures and following ancient vestiges (customs). It is necessary that they should be given currency in cities, towns, villages of all royal provinces in the most perfect manner and the best way. Great care should be taken in this respect and no moment left unobserved. Details of Festivals : New Year Day, 19th Farwardin Ilahi month; 3rd of Urdu Behisht Ilahi month; 6th Khurdad Ilahi month; 13th Tir Ilahi month; 7th Amardad Ilahi month; 4th Shahriwar Ilahi month; 16th Meher Ilahi month; 10th Aban Ilahi month; 8th, 15th, 23rd, Di Ilahi month; 2nd Bahman Ilahi month; 5th Asfandarmad Ilahi month. Written with permission.



CHAPTER 48

A FARMAN OF HIGH DIGNITY CONTAINING NECESSARY COMMANDS AND PROHIBITIONS ISSUED TO NAZIMS OF THE PROTECTED DOMINIONS

Organizers of the workshop of sovereignty and managers of the court of Khulafat such as the fortunate sons and sincere princes, amirs of lofty worth, all marsabdars, amils, kotwals should act in this manner and carry out the order in respect of administration of cities, villages, towns and all katras. Firstly, to be short, they should seek divine pleasure in all affairs of prayers and habits. They should begin work with supplication in the court of God without caring for one's self and others. Secondly, they should not love seclusion for it is the mode of plain-choosing durwishes. It should not be their habit to sit with common people and crowds for that is a way of men of bazar. In short, they should make use of middle course and golden mean in life. They should not give up the thread of moderation, that is, not more in multitude and not less in loneliness. Again, they should hold in esteem those made great by the Matchless God. They should form a habit of wakefulness at night and day specially morning, mid-day, evening and mid-night. Further, when they are free from work of God's creatures, they should busy themselves with perusal of piety and purity such as books on ethics which are spiritual medicine and substance of all sciences for example Akhlaq-i-Nasiri,¹ escapes and dangers of Ihya, Kamyā² and Masnawī of Mawlāwī-i-Rum³ so that having become acquainted with extreme stages of piety, they may not be misled by satanical delusions of men of dissimulation and deceit for the best prayer of God is growth of relations and accomplishment of people's affairs. It should be performed with cheerfulness without regard to friendship, enmity, relationship and alienness. Further, goodness should be practised as far as possible (to one's capacity) towards the poor, the destitute, the needy specially recluses and celibates who, having closed the doors of exit and entrance, do not loosen tongues in desire. Further, rebels should be guided on the right track with admonition, mildness, harshness and civility according to difference in rank. When the affair has passed the stage of admonition, they should act with patching, striking, cutting a limb and killing in accordance with difference in degrees. They should not rush in for slaying. They should think much.

Hemistich

For a chopped head cannot be joined

1. A book on ethics written by Nasiruddin Tusi [1200-1274]
2. Written by Ghazali [1058-1111]
3. Jalaluddin Rumi [1207-1273]



That deserving of death, should, as far as possible, be sent to the court. Facts of his case should be reported and then, they should act according to the royal order. If a responsibility for guarding that rebel or sending him (to the court) results in mischief, he should, under such circumstances, be dealt with. They should abstain from skinning, trampling under feet of an elephant and similar punishments meted out by great kings. Further, any one on whose wisdom and integrity reliance is put should be permitted to say in privacy whatever unworthy deeds he sees. If a speaker (reporter), in case, errs, he should not be reprimanded for a reprimand becomes a barrier to his report. Any one who is given grace by the Matchless God to make this utterance should be respected for people are greatly helpless in speaking the truth. Those, who are base and wicked, have no inclination to speak the truth. On the contrary, their mind wishes to be in trouble in the same way. Those who are good natured are considerate enough to see that perhaps the hearer may feel hurt by his speech and that he would be involved in difficulty. A virtuous person prefers his own loss to the benefit of others. He is like a philosopher's stone. Further, he is not a flatterer to a friend for much work remains undone by flatterers. Sometimes, flattery is not bad for it is also necessary to speak with gratification with a servant. Further, they should as far as possible, be careful in asking a complainant in person. Names of complainants should be written down in order of their arrival and examined so that those who have come earlier may not suffer trouble of waiting. Assistants in service should not be troubled with precedence and delay.

Couplet

*Do not hear his complaint in office
Perhaps his complaint may be against the office*

Further, no haste should be shown in punishing a person who slanders another fellow. They should inquire for there are many slandering knaves while virtuous speakers of truth are rare. At the time of anger, end of a thread of wisdom should not be abandoned. They should always act with slowness and patience. Several friends and servants who are noted for their intense wisdom and sincerity should be empowered not to maintain silence in speaking the truth for wise men, in moments of grief and sorrow do not speak. Further, they should not swear too much for to swear every time is to accuse one self with falsehood, and to connect the other person with suspicion. Further, they should not habituate themselves to utter abuses for it is a habit of ignoble persons. Further, they should be diligent in encouraging ryots for increased agricultural produce and payment of *takaw* for villages, towns and cities should be in increased number from year to year. *Takaw* should be recovered in such an easy manner that cultivation may prosper. Efforts



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should be made for increase in kind after prosperity. A separate programme written for the purpose should be kept before mind. In short, you should make inquiries individually from all ryots. Word which is given should not be taken back by any name and custom. Further, they should try to see that sepoys etc should alight in houses of people without permission. Further, they should not rely on wisdom in every affair. Those should consult those who are wiser than they. If they fail to find wiser persons than themselves, they should not abandon. Consultation for an ignorant man finds the path of truth. It is said

Fragment

*At times, proper deliberation does not come from an old wise man
At times, an illiterate child hits erringly an arrow at target*

And they should not, also, consult every one for practical commonsense is a gift of God. It is neither obtained by reading nor by a long period. God forbid, some ignorant men may oppose in an affair and you may feel ashamed of your wisdom. Wise workers who are always less, restrain themselves from such an affair. Every work which is done by servants should not be given to sons. Whatever work is done by sons, one should not take it upon himself for whatever is spoiled by him will be remedied with difficulty. Your habit should be to listen to excuses of people and to connive at their faults for a man is not without error and fault. A man at times becomes bolder by reproof and sometimes, he chooses a roaming life through a sense of honour. There is a man who can be reproved with one fault. There is a man whose one thousand faults can be connived at. In short, punishment is the most important affair of sovereignty and hence it should be made with sedateness and understanding. Further, roads of the country should be entrusted seriously to God fearing men. Rightness and wrongness of that path should be inquired from him. There should always be informers for kingship and leadership imply watchmanship. They are not possible without unawariness. Further, punishment of every one should be befitting his condition of a section of populace he belongs to for a severe glance at a man of lofty nature is equivalent to killing him while a kick is of no avail to a man of low nature. Further, there should be no intermeddling with creed, religion and faith of Gods' creatures for a wise man does not suffer a damage to himself in affairs of this transitory world. How can he choose a damage deliberately in matters of religion which are permanent? If God is with him, he cannot show hostility and aversion to God. If Truth is with thee, he unknowingly chose opposition. He himself is an ignorant sick man and as such deserves mercy and help. There is no occasion for aversion and denial. They should be friendly towards good doers and well-wishers of every section. Further, there should be proportion in sleep and food. They should not be more than



necessary so that they should not fall below the stage of animals. They should be esteemed and distinguished with the rank of humanity. As far as possible, they should keep awake at night and day's work should not be postponed to night. Further, faults, misguidance and offences of men should be weighed in a balance of justice. Every scale of the balance should be kept at its proper place. Every one should not be retributed with this wisdom-based balance. They should find out by subtlety-knowing heart as to whose fault in this group is to be forgiven, whose to be connived at, whose to be examined, whose to be mentioned and whose to be punished. There are many slight faults deserving of much punishment and many faults to be connived at and many to be slightly punished. Further, they should not be inveterate enemies of people. Heart should not be made a prison of revenge. If some depression is caused by any one out of human weakness, it should soon be set aside for the real doer of all, in essence, is the Matchless God. All these disputes have been devised for external organization. Further, they should be well-informed with reports of spies and should not rely upon the report of one spy for truth and uncovetedness are very rare. Hence, they should appoint several well informed spies who should not know one another (who should not get reports from one another). Reports of each should be separately written and the object should be achieved from them. Reputation-seeking spies should be deprived of office and disgraced. Further, they should not give way to base persons and miscreants even though work of great men is not done without them for this class is good for wicked fellows. But their estimation should not be given up. This class should be accused in heart for God forbid, they may have designs against virtuous persons in guise of friendship as great men have little time for assessment due to many engagements. Further, they should be chary of improper glib tongued persons who work as enemies in the garb of friendship for mischief is committed in this manner. Great men have no time on account of heavy engagements while this class of wicked persons is large. Again, they should associate with God seeking recluses and request them for blessings. Further, there are informers round about them. Having shortened prolixity, they should speak whatever is worth speaking. Further, they should exert to give currency to wisdom and acquisition of virtue so that men of ability may not disappear from sections of people. Again, they should try to supply arms and accoutrements to sepoys. Expense should be less than income for the means of every one are around it. It is said that any one whose expense is more than income is a fool. He who makes his expense equal to income is neither wise nor foolish. Further, foundation of stability should not be demolished. They should always be prepared for service and expectant of demand. Again, promise made should not be broken. They should be of true word specially the accountants who do work of the government. Further, they should always practise archery and gunnery. Sepoys should be ordered for exercise. Again, they should not be fond of hunting, nay, sometime, they should take to it for

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exercise of soldiery and joy which is indispensable for growth of relations Further, energies should be devoted to putting ancient families in order Further, laughter and jest should be less Further, drums should be beaten at sunrise and midnight which in reality is the beginning of sunrise Further, cannonceers and gunners should fire as many cannons and guns as possible at the time of sun's transit from one sign to another so that the general public should render thanks for this great gift Further, they should be careful about relatives and servants so that they may not harass any one on account of relationship Further, one servant should be reserved to bring to his view applications made to him Further, Kotwals should be the guardians of law If there is no separate kotwal in that city, chapters of law to be mentioned should be well preserved and given currency Preservation of these matters is necessary for the responsibility of His Majesty under orders of the Sultan of reason But it is not possible for one man personally to attend to all these affairs Hence, he must try to attend to it as much as possible It should be managed thus that good natured, experienced men should be separately chosen by God-given wisdom who should divide and distribute services Affairs which will be written should be entrusted to a kotwal who is able to read He should allow this idea to find itself to him in a bazar fashion as to how he should entrust it to kotwali nay, he should attend to it as if it were a great prayer Details of that are A kotwal of every city, town and village ought to write down its houses and buildings in co operation with writers He should jot down the residents of every street from house to house as to what sort of men they are How many of them are cultivators, how many professional men, how many sepoys how many derwishes He should take securities from house to house and establish communication with one another Streets should be fixed and a mir-i mohallah (street chief) should be appointed so that good and bad of that street may happen under his right direction A spy should visit him every night and day to dictate to him the events of a street It should be settled that whenever a thief comes or there is fire or some unpleasant event takes place, the neighbour should immediately rush to his help In like manner, the street chief and informers should help him If they are not able to present themselves through necessity, they will be at fault and offence Whenever an owner of house goes out, he should inform his neighbour about his departure He should not travel also without informing his neighbour chief of the street and informer On arrival of a guest either a relative or a stranger, the host should inform about him to the street chief The giver of information should get it recorded In short, one or two informers should be appointed in the same street who should make him write daily condition of that street, such as joy and grief coming and going of any person in the street Whenever a new person arrives in the street, information of it should be instantly given He should not be allowed to



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live in the street without a security If they failed to produce any security, they should be separately quartered Such quarters should be fixed by the street chief and the informers Income and expense of every one should be known for the sake of farsightedness It should be observed as to whose income is less and whose expense is more and thus ascertain a danger and give guidance A well-bred man and a well-wisher should not be abandoned This investigation should be regarded as an ornament of organization He should neither take nor attract capital Further, there should be a broker along with several brokers in proportion to a transaction Securities should be taken from them and then appointed in a market They should inform him about sale and purchase It should be settled that any one who sells and purchases without their knowledge, should pay a fine. Names of sellers and purchasers should be written in a diary Sale and purchase of a thing in market should take place with accord of the street chief and information keeper of the street Again, several persons should be appointed as night-patrol in every street, lane and environ of a city for the sake of protection Further, efforts should be made to see that there does not remain any one without work in a street, lane or market Further, investigation and pursuit of thieves, cut purses and wagerers etc No trace of them should be left Whatever articles are lost in that locality or plundered, they should be found out along with thieves, or else, he should come out of that responsibility and give a reply Further, he should investigate wealth of the disappeared and the deceased It should be given to his relative or heir if any, otherwise, it should be entrusted to the Amin Its account should be given to the Court so that a real claimant in future may get it Such matters should be dealt with honesty and integrity, perhaps, whatever is prevalent in Rum, may happen Utmost efforts should be made for prohibition Drunkards, wine sellers and distillers should be given such exemplary punishment with accord of the Hakim that it may serve as a warning to people. Further, efforts should be made for cheapness of commodities He should not allow the wealthy to purchase more for hoarding Commodities should be sold in small quantities Further, they should be diligent in celebration of Nawroz festivity and other festivals The great festival is that of Nawroz which begins from the time of entry of the greatest planet (sun) bestowing gifts on the world in the sign of Aries It is commencement of the Farwardin month Another festival is on 19th of the said month which is the day of exaltation Another festival is on 3rd of Urdibehisht month Another festival is on 6th of Khordad month Another is 10th of Aban month Another festival is on 9th of Adar month There are three festivals in the month of Di-8th, 15th, 23rd Another festival is on 2nd of Bahman month Another festival is on 15th Asfandar The common festivals should be celebrated as usual Further, lamps should be lighted on the night of Nawroz which is an exalted night as is done on the night of immunity



Drums should be beaten in the early part of night which is dawn of the festival. Drums should be beaten at an interval of every three hours on festival days. Further, a woman should not ride a horse without necessity. Further, river-passages should be separated for bath for men and lifting water for drinking purposes. Other passages should be fixed for women to bathe.

CHAPTER 49

SUBEDARI OF ISMA'IL QULI KHAN AND DIWANI OF KHWAJA ABUL QASIM.

Isma'il Quli Khan suffered disgrace for a fault in certain affairs. His Majesty, the shadow of holy God remembered his past services and precedence and elevated him to the mansab of four thousand Zat. He was honoured with the Subedari of Gujarat in the year 996, nine hundred and ninety-six and permitted him to go there. A royal order was issued to the effect that Qali Khan, on his reaching Gujarat, should proceed to the Royal Court. In the same year, the said Khan was recalled for welfare of the state and Khan-i-A'zam was appointed.



CHAPTER 50

SUBEDARI OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM MIRZA 'AZIZ KOKALTASH A SECOND TIME. DIWANI OF SYED BAYAZID. RECEIPT OF THE ROYAL ORDER FOR ABOLITION OF ZAKAT (Tax).

Khan-i-Azam who was in the Subah of Malwa, arrived for the government and Subedari of Gujarat at the close of the year 997, nine hundred and ninety-seven. He devoted himself to promotion of financial and administrative matters. In the year nine hundred and ninety-eight, the chief of perfect men and the best of masters of discourse, the compendium of rational and narrative sciences, Shah Wajihuddin 'Alawi' may mercy of God be on him died. His grave was fixed in the compound of the house where he imparted education. Date of his union is found from "Shaikh Wajihuddin." Ghaznin Khan Jalori, who was not graced with companionship of Khan-i-Khanan at the time of whose departure from Jalor for suppression of Muzaffer's revolt, rebelled. Khan-i-Khanan sent a force against him on 29th of holy Muharram. When he realized that he would not be able to succeed, he had recourse to the Royal Threshold with humiliation and disgrace. His Majesty cast a glance of mercy at him and assigned Jalor, his birth-place as fief to him. In the year nine hundred and ninety-nine, a royal order was issued to all provinces of Hindustan for abolition of taxes. An exact copy of it is given below.



CHAPTER 51

A COPY OF THE FARMAN OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY FOR ABOLITION OF ZAKAT

Accountants of the present and the future and managers of major and minor affairs of the protected dominions should know that the seventh year of the second epoch of accession to the throne in this period of happy organization is the commencement of blossoming of the spring of fortune and good luck and the time of the break of dawn of glory, a farman with preface of justice and a mandate with foundation of beneficence obtained manifestation of lightening and lustre to the effect that the greatest law and the most comprehensive regulation of permanent sovereignty of God, the Glorious and the Holy is, in accordance with eternal mature wisdom, the mover of chain of commotion of the created world and arranger of 'be and it is' of the circle of being and corruption. It has so ordained that the government of kingdoms and the administration of cities, that is, closeness of circumstances of residents and emigrants and coherence of welfare of tradesmen and merchants should be regulated and formulated with the help of just kings and watchmanship of bountiful monarchs. Firstly, means of tribute they are the pivot of organization of royal forces and regal armies who are the protectors of lives and riches and guardians of the faiths of people. Taxes on commodities are those which are levied on sale and purchase proceeds of commodities in markets and bazars. If they are weighed in the balance of moderation of men of honesty and integrity who are assayers of cash coins and worldly and divine things and valuers of personal and universal accidents and essences, all affairs, undoubtedly, will be accomplished according to our desires and all laudable actions will not pull towards crimes. Praise be to God, all energies of the equitable mind and the glorious heart are directed, from the commencement of just regime, to welfare of the ryots in general who are, in reality, spiritual sons and divine deposits. Thanks be to God, the sub-continent of Hindustan and other protected dominions are a watering-place for guests of luxury and bounty and an asylum for travellers of the seven climes due to radiant lights of His Majesty's justice. At this juncture, a royal order is issued out of amplitude of personal kindness and perfection of natural favours to the effect that all taxes are condoned and abolished from all kinds of cereals, corns, vegetables, foods, medicines, oil, salt, sugar, kinds of perfumes, varieties of linen and cotton, articles of wool, leather goods, copper utensils, gold, wood, fuel, reed, hay, other articles, things, goods and wares which are the pivot of all human beings and necessities of life of the high and the low except horses, elephants, camels, sheep, goats, weapons and silken cloth collected in all provinces of the empire in shape of stamp-tax, road toll, tax, one-hundredth part, little and more. Till now, the government



accountants levied these duties. They should be careful to see that the strong may not oppress the weak. Feet of tyranny of indiscreet superiors may not kick heads of inferiors sitting on dust. Now that, dread of magnificence and kingly splendour have settled in hearts of individuals and lights of justice and bounty have tied curtains (have fixed tents) in all parts and directions of the world and kingdoms, out of thanks to the Real Benefactor, we have done away with completely the revenues of all those things which increased our treasury and repleted coffers except on those seven items which have been made exceptions out of state policy. It is necessary that the fortunate princes, notable amirs, managers of the affairs of Subas, administrators of cities, Jagirdars of metropolis, amils of crownlands, fief-holders of places, and towns, guardians of roads and passages, protectors of paths, controllers of highways, zamindars of localities, and administrators of provinces should intelligently study this royal order and execute it dilligently with obedience.

During the regime of Khan-i-A'zam, desais, muqaddams and ryots of several paraganas lodged a complaint to His Majesty to the effect that the Nazims and Jagirdars appropriate revenues and taxes to themselves. Rajputs, Kolis and Muslims created disturbance because of their appropriation and mowed down standing crop of cultivators. Under these circumstances, ryots will be ruined and government revenue will suffer. A royal order was therefore issued to the effect that the Diwan of the subah should collect half the revenue with consultation of the desais and the muqaddams. Five per cent should be fixed on crown-mahal of revenue, government-land, jagirdars of His Majesty, provincial jagirdars as muqaddami charge. More than this should not be demanded by any other means. Land of the fourth part should be separately shown as belonging to the Kolis. No revenue should be charged on it. A reliable security should be taken for this purpose. Zamindars of entire villages and fertile places should bring horses for branding so that they might perform governmental duties under the Subedar when needed. Half the revenue should be charged on the purchaser for purchasing land as bechan. They acted according to this royal order and consequently, the subah began to prosper every day.

May it not remain hidden that the subah's affairs had deteriorated to the extent of ruin. Reference to this state of affairs has been frequently made in this book. This was due to certain mischief-mongers who were found to be discontented for absence of assessment of land revenue. This part of the country was, in ancient time, in possession of the Rajputs and the Kolis. During the regime of Gujarati Sultans, Muslims had gain ascendancy. They directed their energy to chastise, punish and expel them from the land. They had no alternative but to submit. They sought refuge in service and malguzari. It was agreed that produce of one-fourth part of watans and villages should be



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theirs for purpose of maintenance. It is technically known in Gujarat as Banth (chauth) and three parts of the produce should go to the government known as Talpad (Tripat). It was settled with the best zamindars who had most of the paraganas in their possession that they should serve the government and lead an army for an assignment of jagir and every one of them should be present as far as possible with a contingent of cavalry and infantry. In this way, the Kolis and Rajputs, so long as they held chauth in different villages they were vigilant as sentinels and patrols of the place. They appropriated their Banth (chauth). They gave something in season to the zamindar by way of salam. Some of the Rajputs and the Kolis acquired a little strength with the passage of time, created commotion in near and distant places by carrying away ryots' cattle or killing cultivators at the time of sowing operations. Ryots of those places had to helplessly please them by payment of a fixed sum in cash annually or grant of one or two cultivable fields. This practice is named as giras and udal. This practice became current in this province and it is increased very much now on account of weakness of the Nazims. In short, there seems to have been, in the province of Gujarat, shortage of places (houses) in the paraganas on account of which most of the Rajputs, Kolis and Muslims had no residences or giras and udal. As habits of rebelliousness, brigandage, theft and riot are kneaded in the malignant nature of these classes, they created disturbances a ways when they noticed a slight weakness in the control of a Nazim. Most of the Nazims, therefore, have built strong forts from ancient times in most of the places and established parties of sepoy's befitting every place known as thanas. Conditional jagir of every thana was granted by the court as an assignment of land by way of salary so that they should settle there permanently and not allow miscreants to rise. Now, thana-fortresses have been demolished gradually in most of the places due to want of military discipline. They themselves settled down as residents in most of the places. They take the tripat portion of the government in toto nay, they occupy most of the places by way of giras. The best zamindars who belonged to the category of jagirdars presented themselves for rendering service till the reign of His Majesty with station in paradise. Whenever, the Nazim of the Subah, at present leads an army, chauth-holders who utilize tripat, take by way of a present worthy of that place and security of their collection of revenue. The best zamindars who are negligent of service have withdrawn themselves to a corner. How can they help a Nazim in times of necessity? They have become so insecure that they cannot come out of a city-gate without an escort. What is the will of God? In short, His Majesty viewed the peshkash of Khan : A'zam consisting of famous elephants and precious goods of Gujarat in the year nine hundred and ninety-nine

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CHAPTER 52

COMMOTION CREATED BY SULTAN MUZAFFER NANNUH AT THE INSTIGATION OF JAM, ZAMINDAR OF NAWANAGAR AND HIS DEFEAT.

From amongst the events of this year was a commotion raised by Sultan Muzaffer Nannuh. Details of this are : When Khan-i-A'zam reached Gujarat Jam, the best zamindar of Saurath always waited for an opportunity in an ambush of revolt and war. He brought out Muzaffer, this time also, from a corner of oblivion and devoted himself to collection of war-seeking vagabonds and care for him. Daulat Khan, son of Amin Khan Ghorī, ruler of Saurath and Raja Khingar, zamindar of Kutch also accorded with him. Khan-i-A'zam striking hand of hope on the strong cord of daily increasing fortune, wore the belt of courage to extinguish fire of this revolt and destroy men of decline (misfortune). In spite of the fact that the brothers of Qalij Khan, who held Jagir at Surat Port and sons of Isma'il Quli Khan, who were from amongst the greatest fief-holders of the Subah, did not accompany him, he marched to quell their rebellion. When he reached Biramgam, Fateh Khan, son of Amin Khan Ghorī, Chandra Sen, zamindar of Halwad and Karan Parmal, zamindar of Morvi saw Khan-i-A'zam. He sent the pillar of Saltanat Nawrang Khan, Syed Qasim and Khwaja Sulaiman Bakhshi with an advanced force. This force halted at Morvi at a distance of twenty-five kurohs from the enemy, and negotiated for peace. This fact became the cause of pride and arrogance on the part of the enemy. They decided on war and set faces of misfortune towards the battle-field. Khan-i-A'zam got enraged at unpraiseworthy action. Even though he had not more than ten thousand cavalry and the enemy's forces went beyond thirty thousand, he arrayed his force without taking an account of their abundant forces. Muzaffer too arrayed his army and advanced forward with a multitude of Gujaratis and Rajputs with daring and boldness. At this time, it rained in cats and dogs. It rained incessantly for two complete days. The enemy were on an elevated plain while the royal army was on a low ground. Supply of provisions to the royal camp was reduced due to heavy rains. The soldiers got tired because of paucity of provisions and excess of rain. Khan-i-A'zam did not deem it advisable for warfare and marched towards Nawanager, the birth-place of Jam so that the supply of provisions may increase and the stone of dispersion may fall in commotion of the enemy. There was a prosperous place at a distance of four kurohs. He encamped here. A vast booty of cereals etc. fell into the hands of soldiers. The enemy's army lost stability. Many of them retired to their houses and families. Muzaffer encamped on a river-bank situated between two armies. Next day,



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both the sides arrayed their armies and attacked one another with manliness. They grappled with one another and gave justice to bravery and life sacrifice. The Rajputs dismounted from their horses seized skirts of one another and stood like the wall of Alexander. Having abandoned arrows and swords, they began to fight with knives and daggers. At this juncture, vanguard warriors routed the enemy's right wing and dispersed it. Khan-i A'zam waited for an opportunity with a flanking party of youths. He arrived at full speed and routed the enemy. Mahrawal, brother and two sons of Hasba fell at one place with five hundred Rajputs. Muzaffer and Jam took to path of flight with stupefaction and despair. Daulat Khan, being wounded, hastened to Junagadh. Khan-i A'zam gained a big victory. Two thousand soldiers of the enemy were slain on battle-field. Two hundred soldiers of the royal army were martyred and nearly five hundred individuals received wounds. They captured seven hundred horses and seized a vast booty in cash and kind. Khan-i A'zam, marched to Nawanagar after a victory. He obtained much booty. Sultan Muzaffer and Jam sought refuge in mountain ravines. Khan-i A'zam himself halted there and sent Nawrang Khan and Syed Qasim with a force for conquest of Junagadh. At this time, Dawlat Khan son of Amin Khan who had returned in a wounded state from battle field, surrendered. Residents of the fort sought word of security for their entry. In the meantime, Muzaffer himself went to them. The garrisoned persons thought differently. Khan-i A'zam marched with ease for conquest of the fort. Muzaffer did not deem it advisable to remain within the fort. He gave out that he was proceeding towards Ahmedabad. Khan-i A'zam sent his son with a force to pursue him while he himself remained for siege of the fort. He received a report here that Jam was proceeding to his place nearby the army. Khan-i A'zam led an expedition with designs against him. But he had gone further ahead. Khan-i A'zam did not occupy himself with conquest of Junagadh due to length of travel and hardships to the army that year. He returned to Ahmedabad while the amirs repaired to their fiefs for some time.

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CHAPTER 53

CONQUEST OF JUNAGADH FORT

In the year one thousand, Khan-i A'zam once again arrayed his forces and set out for conquest of Junagadh Fort and chastisement of the enemy. The son of Jam, Jalal Khan, Ghazi Khan and Malek Hasan came and saw him. Ghogha Port, Mangalor, Somnat etc with sixteen other ports fell into his hands without a war. Thence, he proceeded for the conquest of Junagadh Fort which was in possession of the grandsons of Amin Khan Ghor. He strengthened round-about places with trenches, stood with determination and appointed Nawrang Khan on an entrance of the road from where provisions and help came to the fort. Fire chanced to be blazed out in the fort. Provisions and other materials of the fort got consumed. Along with this, the cannons fired cannon-balls of one and five maunds in weight. Royal commanders, having made a citadel on a small mountain near the fort carried a cannon above the fort. A great tumult arose in the enemy when aim of the cannon was pointed towards inside of the fort. When the garrisoned were reduced to straits, they surrendered keys of the fort on promise (of security). Grandsons of Amin Khan came to Khan-i A'zam along with fifty eminent men for homage. That pillar of Sultanat pleased every one of them with a horse, a robe and a jagir according to his worth. A kingdom which was the seat of Sultans was anew conquered. When the fort of Junagadh was conquered, zamindars of that kingdom placed scarfs of obedience on shoulders. As the afore said fort of Saurath country was occupied by the royal forces, it was deemed proper to give a short account of that region and its name. May it not remain hidden, that the border of this country on west and south joins the sea. On the east, the district of Jhalawar joins the city of Ahmedabad at the distance of twenty kurohs. To the north, there is a border of the Subah of Thattha. Soil is black. There are mountains and stony regions. A slight drizzle makes the ground slippery which makes passing over it difficult. It is without fruit-bearing and other trees. But some of the mountains and places have mango-trees, rayan-trees, tamarind trees and forests of acacia trees. It is a mine of Kutchi horses. Most of the places are inhabited by different tribes of Rajputs and Kolis. They are armed horsemen with lances. They seize opportunities for pillage on their lightning movement horses and run away. Brigandage is inborn with them. They do not pay land revenue without leading an army. This region is divided into several districts every one is known by a name such as Halar, Kathiwar, Golwar and Babriwar. It contains ports, small as well as big rivers, great new forts, Hindu temples such as Dwarka, Somnat, Shatrunga etc and many others. Spring produce of cereals is more than that of autumn. Soil being strong needs no sweeping at the time of cultivation. Wheat-grains are sown after monsoon. As the soil is moist, it grows without watering. It gets moistened with the help



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of dew which falls too much there and thus the object is achieved. There is no danger to grazing animals who are few in number. Khat wheat which is very thin is from that region. It is a kingdom which is very fertile. Islamnagar is included in it. Sultan Ahmed, founder of Ahmedabad repeatedly led campaigns for its conquest but he failed. It was in the year eight hundred and seventy when Sultan Mahmud Begada conquered it from Rao Mandalik. He built city walls and named it Mustafabad. Details of it are in Mirat-i-Sikandar. It is so stated by authoritative Hindus of Saurashtra about naming it as Junagadh that the ancestors of Raja Mandalik, contemporary of Sultan Mahmud Begada, ruled, generation after generation, for nineteen hundred years over Saurashtra with Vanthali as its capital situated to a distance of five kurohs to the west of Junagadh. There was an extremely dreadful jungle. A poet speaks about it as under

Verses

*On account of innumerable trees
A bright day appeared like a dark night
That forest was so dark
The bright sun lost its way in it*

It was in the reign of one of the Mandaliks that a carrier of fire-wood one day, entered that forest with many contrivances and hardships. He slowly and slowly came to a spot where he saw relics of a fort and gates. He reported to the Raja about it on his return. The Raja got the trees cut down with guidance of the fuel carrier and saw a wonderfully strong fort at the foot of the western part of Girnar mountain. It looked like a small mountain with its top touching the sky. Its walls were carved out from rocks. A pinnacle was built over them. It contained three gates, one to the east and the other to the west. There was another door to the North within this gate which was a sort of entrance. There were two deep wells in the middle, one was called Nankohar and the other Angola. Besides there were two step wells with names- An and Thari. Raja Mandalik inquired from many of the time about name of its builder. All of them acknowledged their want of knowledge about it. They, therefore named the fort as Junagadh. In Gujarati language, jun means old and gadh a fort. From that day, it became the residence of rulers of that region for its stability.

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CHAPTER 54

CAPTIVITY OF MUZAFFER ALIAS NANNUH, THE LAST SULTAN OF GUJARAT WITH THE EFFORTS OF KHAN-I- A'ZAM AND HIS SUICIDE

Khan i A'zam, after his conquest of Junagadh, directed his energies to search of Mazaffer and to capture him. He received news at this time that, that unfortunate man had sought refuge with the zamindar of Haru where is the Dwarka Temple. He, therefore sent Nawrang Khan, Gojar Khan, Nizamuddin Ahmed and his son Muhammed Anwar with a worthy force to that side. Victorious warriors reached Dwarka and converted that temple, one of the great places of worship of unbelievers into an abode of Islam. They left a squadron there and proceeded further. On getting intelligence of this invasion, the zamindar sent Muzaffer with his family to a strong island in a boat. When a hard battle was fought, he followed him. Royal warriors reached him at full speed. He returned and stood. As the soil was broken and fragile, it was difficult to ride on horse back. They got down and grappled with the enemies till evening. Loyal warriors were in the midst of war when an arrow hit the fatal part of the unbeliever and he surrendered his life to the keepers of hell. Many of them fell slain on the ground. Muzaffer took refuge in the region of Baharah, zamindar of Kutch by a known path. Khan i-A'zam received this news at Junagadh, he sent his son 'Abdullah with a force to that direction. Jam joined 'Abdullah on the road along with his sons and relatives with great caution and self concertedness and entered into a pact with him with a show of loyalty. The zamindar of Kutch also sent his agents and behaved with humility and politeness. He agreed to send his son for attendance. Khan i A'zam paid no heed to his words and said that if he were steadfast in display of his loyalty, he should surrender Muzaffer to the royal officers. That short sighted fellow wished to pass a few more days in tricks after the fashion of zamindars. Khan i A'zam came to this view that he should give his mahals to Jam and establish a force for his help. By this plan, the state of his ambition will be destroyed. By way of compulsion, he sent word to the effect that if the paraganah of Morvi which was from ancient time included in his domain was given to him in reward of this service, he would surrender Muzaffer to him. Khan i A'zam agreed with pleasure and sent a party of soldiers to capture and bring Muzaffer to him. He escorted this party to the whereabouts of Muzaffer. He so showed off that Baharah was coming to see him. Muzaffer too came out from his resort for reception. Royal soldiers attacked him from all sides and captured him. That very night they rode off in all haste. At dawn, Muzaffer came down on a pretext of privacy and ablutions, went under shelter of a tree,



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took out a razor which he kept hidden inside his trousers, moved it on his throat and freed himself from commotion of life and died by the time they came to know about this incident. Khan-i-A'zam sent his head with Nizamuddin Ahmed to the Royal Court. This incident took place at Diharka, fifteen kurohs of this side of Kutch towards Morvi in the year one thousand Hijri. With the conquest of Junagadh fort and death of wandering Muzaffer, the region as far as the seacoast was conquered by Khan-i-A'zam's sword.

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CHAPTER 55

DEPARTURE OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM FOR HAJ TO THE HOLY HOUSE OF GOD, MAY GOD INCREASE ITS SANCTITY AND HONOUR

When news of Junagadh's conquest and death of Muzaffer reached the Royal court, a royal order of kindness was issued for summoning Khan-i-A'zam. He could not decide to go to the Royal Presence in person due to suspicion, inspite of such a great victory due to certain affairs mention of which is not proper. He made a pretext of march on Diu's conquest from the Firangis. First of all, he granted leave to Nawrang Khan, Gojar Khan, Khwaja Ashraf and other royal amirs who had accompanied him to proceed to their respective jagirs. He then sent letters to administrators of ports to forbid merchants to have any intercourse with the port of Diu. The object was to tire out the Firangis and exact a pledge from them. He so showed off to Jam and Baharah, the two prominent zamindars of the region that he desired to proceed to the Court by way of Sind. When he reached Pattan-Somnat, he imprisoned Mir 'Abdur Razzaq Bakhshi and Syed Bayazid Diwan on fear that they might rise in rebellion. He took a pledge and word from the sepoys that they should not withhold him from going. At this juncture, he received an agreement of the Firangis. In the year one thousand and one, he seated his wife, children, dependents and servants in Jahaz-i-Ilahi constructed by him at Bilawal Port. It was not monsoon and no one had daring to sail due to boisterous sea. He took about a hundred persons with him. He carried to the ship whatever in cash and kind was fit to be carried. Without carrying for governmental matters, he determined to go for hajj of the Holy House of God. He abandoned dues of state and amirship and boldly stepped forward on the highway of Divine Grace. The day on which he embarked the boat, all the army, retinue and forces stood in array and beat drums. That lion-hearted man disengaged himself from all and looked at them with an eye of warning and did not make forehead of determination full of wrinkles of distractedness. On that very day, the Bakhshi and the Diwan were released from prison. He apologised to them. When this news reached His Majesty, he was much displeased. His eldest son, Shamsuddin Husain was in attendance. He was ennobled to the mansab of one thousand. His second son, Shadman was distinguished with the mansab of five hundred. The Subah of Gujarat was put in charge of the Prince Sultan Murad.



CHAPTER 56

SUBEDARI OF SULTAN MURAD AND DEPUTYSHIP OF SURAJ SINGH EMERGENCE OF BAHADUR, SON OF MUZAFFER DIWANI OF BAYAZID

Before this, Sultan Murad was appointed to the Dekhan campaign. He halted in Malwa for the collection of army. When news of Khan-i A'zam's departure was received in the year one thousand and one, the Subah of Gujarat was granted as fief to the Prince. He was ordered to proceed from Malwa to Gujarat. Thence, he made reparations for the Dekhan campaign and proceeded with the army of Gujarat and the jagirdars of Malwa. Khan-i A'zam returned from visit to the House of Allah in the monsoon of the year one thousand and two and proceeded to the Presence by way of Gujarat. In the year one thousand and three when the Prince had marched to the Dekhan, Suraj Singh was elevated by His Majesty to Deputyship and defence of Ahmedabad. In the year one thousand and five, Bahadur, son of Muzaffer rose in revolt and suffered a defeat. When Muzaffer was slain by the sword of Royal Officers, he left two sons and two daughters. They were brought up by the zamindar. At this juncture, the jagirdars of Gujarat were appointed to serve in the Dekhan Campaign. His eldest son Bahadur came out from an ambush of opportunity and raised banners of disturbance and revolt. He collected a party of war seeking vagabonds and began to attack and pillage towns and villages. Raja Suraj Singh marched from Ahmedabad with designs to fight with him. Both the armies arrayed rows opposite to each other and fought. The war was not yet balanced when the enemy fled through blessings of the imperishable fortune. Bahadur took himself again to a corner of obscurity. In the year one thousand and eight, the fort of Asir which from the time of Sultan Bahadur Gujarati was entrusted to Ikhtiar Khan, Ulugh Khan Mirjan etc sons of Yaqut Sultan was included in the Royal domains. In the year one thousand and nine, Gujarat for the third time was granted to Khan-i-A'zam on the Prince's death in the Dekhan.



CHAPTER 57

SUBEDARI OF KHAN-I-AZAM MIRZA 'AZIZ KOKALTASH DEPUTYSHIP OF HIS SON SHAMSUDDIN HUSAIN DIWANI OF SYED BAYAZID RECALL OF SHAMSUDDIN HUSAIN AT THE REQUEST OF THE ABOVE KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF HIS SON SHADMAN DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY 'ARSH ASHYANI AKBER BADSHAH

Khan-i-A'zam was appointed by His Majesty a third time to the Subedari of Gujarat on the death of the Prince Sultan Murad in the year one thousand and nine Shamsuddin Husain, who was ennobled with the mansab of two thousand Zat was, under a royal order, appointed a Deputy of the Subah. His second son, Khurram was appointed the Faujdar of Saurath. As the province of Gujarat was granted as a fief in the year one thousand and eleven, to Khan-i-A'zam and his sons by the royal diwan in lieu of salary, his son Shadman, on recall of Shamsuddin Husain was appointed a Deputy of Ahmedabad and 'Abdullah for the defence of Junagadh at his (Khan-i-A'zam's) request, Mansab of Shadman with the original and the additional, was raised to one thousand and seven hundred Zat and five hundred sawar while 'Abdullah's mansab was one thousand Zat and seven hundred sawar. In this year, a sum of one lac of rupees from the revenue receipts of the Port of Khanbaya was assigned to be annually given as inam (present) to the Prince Salim. As ordained by divine decrees, His Majesty Akbar died on Wednesday, 12th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and fourteen.



CHAPTER 58

SALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY OF PARADISE-STATION NURUDDIN MUHAMMED JAHANGIR, BADSHAH- I-GHAZI, SUBEDARS AND DIWANS OF THE REGIME SUBEDARI OF QALIJ KHAN DIWANI OF SYED BAYAZID

In the Iqbalnama, Subedari of Gujarat is mentioned in the name of Qalij Khan who enjoyed the mansab of two thousand Zat in the first year of Jahangir's accession to the throne corresponding to one thousand and fourteen Hiri. He had not come to this Subah. He was, after some time, appointed to the Subedari of Lahore. Jahangir Regulations were promulgated, during this regime, in all Subahs of the Empire. They are twelve in number and written personally by His Majesty while describing events and circumstances of his life. Firstly, I totally abolished customs duties and road taxes. These duties and taxes during the regime of my father, His Late Majesty amounted to sixteen hundred mounds of gold in Hindi weight which is equivalent to sixteen thousand Iraqi maunds. I abolished them from God's creatures.

Verses

*With a courage such a name can be earned
In this way, he earned reputation in time
He, who earns a name by bestowing favours
Gets a good name from the high and the low
I heard that a beggar on the road
demanded gold from Rustam
He gave to the beggar from a hundred dinars,
Rustam said to him, "oh Old man of wisdom!
Generosity is not current in proportion to a name
There is no tranquillity in heart of a generous man
At the time of generosity, practise generosity in such a manner
As if a vernal cloud pours diamonds
Generosity and good nature are qualities of humanity
He who possesses both of them is a man
Fame is a relic in the world
Be generous that a name be left of thee in the world
Generosity is a memento in the world
Try to leave such a memento"*

Secondly, whenever a thief or a plunderer steals or robs a God's creature of his wealth, that wealth should be made good by persons of that place. If there is no population, I ordered that a town should be built so that it



may be populated so that no harm may accrue to God's creatures. I have enjoined upon the jagirdars to prosper a desolate place by building a masjid on the road, a lofty serai and a stream of water. Passengers may come and go with ease. If that land is included in my demesne, a crori of the place should construct a building out of its revenue. A crori is a revenue collector of the revenue office of the sarkar. Thirdly, none should open goods of merchants on the road without their permission. If merchants themselves sell goods of their own accord, they should be bought by any one. If they do not want to sell them, no one should molest them. Fourthly, a man dies. He owes nothing to the king. He has sons. None should interfere with his wealth even to the extent of a single hair. His sons should not be troubled. Any who had no sons and no heir, his inheritance should be utilised for purposes of masjids, construction of ponds and bridges so that rewards may accrue to the soul of that man. Fifthly, wine should neither be distilled nor sold. Even though I have issued this order but I am very much inclined to it. I started drinking wine from the age of sixteen years. In reality, whenever, desired young men and women were present with him and the atmosphere was pleasant along with other accompaniments such as a high and lofty building well furnished with trappings over doors, walls, ceiling, it would be silly to be without hilarity in such buildings. It would be a different condition and world to be with hilarity and tipsiness in embellished places in company of heart pleasing beauties. Which hilarity is better than the hilarity of wine. If a person forms a habit of opium, by God, it makes him away from humanity and manliness. If it is bang, it has no other quality except that it puffs, seizes and creates a false appetite. Filoniva (an intoxicating drug which is a mixture of opium, Lang etc.) is the cousin of opium. It is wine which makes one hilarious.

Fragment

*Arise, pour delightful water in a gold cup
Before the cup of head gets reduced to dust
Oh Lord! that self concerted devotee who saw no fault in himself
Cast smoke of his sigh in a mirror of understanding*

But, my affairs have reached such a pitch on account of excessive drinking that I daily drink twenty cups and at times more than twenty also. Every cup measures half a ser, eight cups of it are equivalent to one mound of 'Iraq. It has become so predominant over my mind that if I do not drink for an hour, my hands begin to shake. I had no power to sit. I knew that if I continued in this manner, my work will, with difficulty, be done. I tried to reduce it, I came to five from twenty cups within six months. Whenever I feast my mind, I increased one or two cups. At most times, when one or two hours are



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yet left from day, I commence drinking But now I should be in a conscious state due to state affairs I start drinking after night prayer I do not drink, under any circumstances, more than five cups Ceremoniousness does not allow more than that During this time it is limited to one time for digestive electuary of food This too is for one time for drinking wine at day As man is alive with food and drink, I cannot completely stop it It is otherwise in my mind and I hope to be eternally virtuous being graced with sincere repentance by the court of Divinity My great father was graced with sincere repentance at the age of forty five God the Great willing, I, too will be graced one day A deed, with which God is not pleased, the less a man tries to do it, becomes a cause of salvation in the next world May it not remain hidden that His Majesty in guise of praise of wine, if looked at with an eye of foresight and deliberation, has condemned it so much that abstention from it becomes necessary Sixthly, soldiers should not alight in any house Any one of my soldiers who comes anew in a city, if he hires a house so far so good otherwise, he should make arrangement for a house by pitching a tent outside the city Truly speaking, no harassment is worse than this to the people that the whole family is sitting in a house, he intrudes in the house and all at once there is a hue and cry He wishes to occupy a better place in the house Women and children get dis-appointed How long can they protect themselves? There may not be any place of protection because accommodation in the house may be insufficient Seventhly, ears and noses of people should not be cut It is punishment for theft It is better to kill him Other crimes should be punished with a thorny clasp or they should be frightened with an oath of 'the Word of God' Eighthly, the Barories and the jagirdars should not confiscate the land of ryots and make it their own and cultivate it Wherever there is a jagirdar of a paraganah, he should not issue order in another paraganah Oxen and men of the paraganah should not be brought with force Any one, who cultivates in a paraganah, should try to pay revenue Ninthly, any one, who takes opium in his leisure with human necessity and kills himself his death should not be avenged from another person sitting with him in the house Tenthly, administrators should build hospitals in big cities and appoint physicians A traveller who falls ill should be taken to a hospital His expenses of treatment should be borne by my sarkar He should be permitted to go with tranquillity by paying him expenses Eleventhly, meat should be forbidden to eat on eighteenth of Rabi I the date of my birth Animals should not be slaughtered annually on that day Meat should be forbidden on Thursday the day of my accession to the throne and also on Saturday As it is the day of the creation of the world, no animal should be made lifeless My father was not disposed to eat meat on that day For nearly fifteen years or more, he ate no meat at all (on that day) He had forbidden all to eat meat on those days Twelfthly, I



ordered that the mansab and jagir of all servants of my father should remain intact in the manner it was during his life Any one who is worthy of more, his jagir of ten, to twelve, ten to fifteen, ten to twenty, ten to thirty, ten to forty should be increased according to his status I increased it thus

CHAPTER 59

SUBEDARI OF SYED MURTUZA KHAN BUKHARI AND DIWANI OF SYED BAYAZID

It is known from the Iqbalnāma that a seal-ring prepared out of ruby of Badakhshan, whose collet and circular part were carved from one piece of ruby, of extremely pleasant colour and lustre and which weighed one misqal and fifteen ratis, was sent as peshkash from Gujarat to the Royal Presence on the occasion of Syed Murtuza Khan Bukhari's Subedari in the year one thousand and fifteen Hijri. It is a strange coincidence that I saw, at the time of writing about his Subedari the first part of commentary known as "Tafsir-i Murtazwi" which was written by Mulla Zinuddin Shirazi in his name in the year one thousand and sixteen. He founded a street famous as "Mohalla-i-Bukhara" adjacent to three gates which has no relics now. As the fort of Kadi, the ancient seat of Faujdar was in a ruined state, it was built anew by Syed Murtuza Khan in the year one thousand and eighteen. It exists even today. People of Gujarat complained of misconduct and rascality of Syed Murtuza Khan's brothers and also there was complete chaos in land assessment and administration. His Majesty, therefore, ordered Rai Gopi Nath, son of Raja Todarmal to proceed to the Subah to chastise and punish the rebellious persons. Raja Sur and other courtiers were appointed (to accompany him). He came to Surat by way of Malwa, took sums of money as peshkash from zamindars, established real order (in land assessment and administration) and captured Kalyan Bhai, zamindar of Bilpar (Bhilupur?) who had donned his head with a shield of prevention near Baroda. The Kolis of round-about places gathered together for war to avenge punishment of the zamindar. A hard battle took place. A large number of Rajputs who had accompanied Raja Sur were slain. It was a severe defeat of the royal army. Drums of Raja Sur remained in the battle-field which are pointed out even now. Rai Gopi Nath deemed it advisable to return to Ahmedabad. After some time, he made preparations, arrived forces and marched on Mandu. He performed exploits and captured the zamindar. He marched to Pattan, severely chastised the chief of Kolis of Kakrej and made him a captive. He carried all the three in chains and fetters with himself to the Royal Court. They remained, under a royal order, in prison for some time, at Gwalior Fort. They were then released on payment of a considerable sum and furnishing security for not creating disturbance.



CHAPTER 60

SUBEDARI OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM MIRZA 'AZIZ KOKALTASH DEPUTYSHIP OF JAHANGIR QULI KHAN, SON OF THE SAID KHAN AND DIWANI OF GHIYASUDDIN

On the recall of Murtuza Khan Bukhari, the Subedari of Gujarat was granted by the Royal Court to Khan-i A'zam. It was decided that he should remain in attendance and keep his son, Jahangir Quli Khan as his Deputy for defence of that province. Ghiyasuddin, on recall of Bayazid, was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah. In the year one thousand and eighteen, Malek 'Amber, the major domo of Nizam Shah, Ruler of Daulatabad roamed about in the Sarkar of Surat and Baroda with a cavalry of fifty thousand horse. He went away after plunder and pillage of towns and villages. A royal order, therefore, was issued to the Nazim of the Subah and the best rajas appointed in the Subah that the Nazim, amirs, royal fief holders of the Subah should obstruct his path at Ramnagar in the mahals of Surat with a cavalry of twenty five thousand horse in a manner as detailed. The royal forces stationed themselves there for four years. The Nazim of the Subah was with four thousand horse, the royal amirs with five thousand horse, the zamundars of Saler and Malher with three thousand horse, the zamindar of Ramnagar with one thousand horse, the zamindar of Nawanganar with twenty five hundred horse, the zamindar of Idar with two thousand horse, the zamindar of Rajpipla with two thousand horse, the zamindar of Dungenpur with two thousand horse, the zamindar of Banswara with two thousand horse, Prince of Kutch with two thousand and five hundred horse, the zamindar of Ab with three hundred horse, the zamindar of Mohan with three hundred horse, the zamindar of Mohan with three hundred and fifty horse. He did not intend to come this side again.



CHAPTER 61

SUBEDARI OF 'ABDULLAH KHAN BAHADUR FIROZ JANG AND DIWANI OF GHIYASUDDIN.

As the Dekhan Campaign was uppermost in the royal mind, His Majesty appointed, on recall of Khan-i-A'zam, Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang with the mansab of six thousand Zat and six thousand Sawar to the Subedari of Gujarat at the close of the year one thousand and twenty. He was granted a sum of four lacs of rupees for preparations of the soldiers and for the army appointed by His Majesty for his help. It was decided that he should march to the Dekhan in a worthy order and laudable organization by way of Nasik Trimbak. Ramdas Kachhwaha, who was a reliable attendant of His Late Majesty (Akber) was bestowed the title of Raja and favoured with a drum, a horse, an elephant and a robe, was permitted to go to his succour. A further sum of five lacs of rupees was sent for expenses of the army accompanying 'Abdullah Khan with Ruprai Khwas and Shaikh Anbiya. A code of etiquette was issued to all parts of the Empire. A copy of it is given below.



CHAPTER 62

A COPY OF THE FARMAN CONTAINING CODE OF ETIQUETTE.

It has been brought to the royal notice that some of the amirs on the frontiers behave in a manner in which they ought not to behave. A royal order is issued to the effect that they should not practise anything embodied in this farman and that those acts are meant specially for kings. Firstly, they should sit in the Jharukha and should not trouble the royal servants with chowki, pahera, and salam. They should not carry elephants to battle-fields. They should not blind people for punishment and cut their ears and noses. They should not bestow titles upon servants. They should not beat drums when they come out. Whenever they give horses and elephants to their servants and attendants, they should not order taslim (salaming) having placed covers and hooks on shoulders. They should not carry royal servants in front of them. They should not place seals on papers written to them etc. In short, 'Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang marched to the Dekhan in the year 1021, one thousand and twenty-one and returned with disappointment to Ahmedabad. Prince Shah Jahan was sent to the Dekhan campaign in the year one thousand and twenty-five. 'Abdullah Khan also was appointed. He went to the Royal Presence, after a victory, in attendance upon the Prince. Mian Khubullah, a unitarian and gnostic died during the Subedari of the said Khan. A person found the date of his death from the Hindi words 'Khub the'. His shrine is situated in the city before the Kharo Gate.

CHAPTER 63

SUBEDARI OF MUQARRAB KHAN, SON OF SHAIKH BAHADUR AND DIWANI OF MUHAMMED SAFI.

On the recall of 'Abdullah Khan, the Subedari of Gujarat was granted to Muqarrab Khan, who held the mansab of five thousand. As he failed to perform administrative duties and military service efficiently, he was recalled, after His Majesty's visit to the Subah and the Prince Shah Jahan was appointed to the Subedari.

Single Couplet

*What is seen in the world is
That work for every man and man for every work.*

Muhammed Safi who held the mansab of seven hundred Zat and three hundred sawar was appointed as Diwan of the Subah.



CHAPTER 64

HIS MAJESTY OF THE STATION OF PARADISE (JAHANGIR) VISITS GUJARAT BY WAY OF AN EXCURSION HUNTING ELEPHANTS IN VICINITY OF DOHAD, ILLNESS DUE TO PUTRID ATMOSPHERE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THIS YEAR GRANT OF THE SUBAH TO PRINCE KHURRAM TITLED , SHAH JAHAN ON THE DAY OF ENTRY OF HIS MAJESTY IN AHMEDABAD BIRTH OF AN AUSPICIOUS SON IN THE ROYAL NIGHT-CHAMBER CALLED SULTAN MUHAMMED AURANGZEB AT DOHAD AT THE TIME OF RETURN TO THE CAPITAL OF THE SUBAH DEPUTYSHIP OF RUSTAM KHAN DIWANI OF MUHAMMED SAFI

Royal mind was very much inclined and disposed to hunt elephants. He had also heard praise of Gujarat and Ahmedabad unceasingly. His Majesty decided to make a tour of Ahmedabad and enjoy sight-seeing of the sea. On return, when the atmosphere becomes hot, and the season for elephant hunt arrives, he should return hunting to the capital. His Majesty marched towards Gujarat from the capital at the close of the year one thousand and twenty-six. Under a royal order, the Prince Shah Jahan who was at Mandu came and joined him. First of all, he stayed in the Garden of Sultan Ahmed on the sea coast at Khanbayat. Having embarked on a boat, he went out on an excursion and recreation of the sea. After a stay of twelve days there, he marched to Ahmedabad. He stayed on the bank of Kanhariva talao (pond). Next, he visited the shrine of His Holiness Shah-i-'Alam, may his grave be sanctified and recited the Fatiha and then entered the city. The Subah was granted to Prince Shah Jahan on the same day. The world-conquering Prince appointed three squadrons under command of three best generals for destruction of zamindars and rebels of the province. The royal forces reprimanded mischievous elements very much and returned after exacting befitting peshkash from the girasdars and mawasdars. But the city of Ahmedabad was not liked as it ought to be. Next day, he visited the abode of Shah Wajihuddin al-'Alwi and performed dues of supplication. After some days, he paid a visit to the shrine of Ganjakhsh Shaikh Ahmed Khattu, may his tomb be sanctified at Sarkhej and recited Fatiha. At the time of Gujarat visit, Khair un Nisa Begum, daughter of Khan-i-Khanan requested His Majesty expressing her desire of giving a feast at the Garden constructed by Khan-i-Khanan on his victory over Muzaffer at Fatehpur (reference to it is made in a section on the Subedari of the said Khan) to get ennobled. Her request was acceded to. As it was autumn, all trees were barren of leaves and the garden-plants were leafless.



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Poem

*Every plant in a garden from top to root
Remained bare with leaflessness
Pouring off of trees from top
The ground was full of gold dirams*

That chaste lady flowed water for adornment of the orchard, decoration of the garden, arrangement of plants and embellishment of the avenue. She employed skilful artists and marvellous workmen. Leaves and flowers of every tree that grew in that garden were decorated with paper of variegated colours while its fruits were made out of wax with the same shape, body, tint and style. Various fruits such as orange, lemon, apple, pomegranate, peach etc. were fixed on respective trees. Similarly, various anemones, basil, colourful flowers of different hues and fragrance were embellished with leaves and branches of paper. In the midst of autumn, fruits and products of different varieties on plants and flowers of variegated hues on bushes displayed vernal glory. That garden in autumn appeared like spring with all its fresh blossom.

Couplet

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*Plants blossomed on fringes of the garden
Flowers looked like illuminated lamps*

His Majesty entered that delightful garden which breathed of joy in vernal garden due to its blossomed appearance. He forgot that it was autumn and extended his hand spontaneously to pluck a fruit and pick a flower. He was much pleased when he got acquainted with facts. He praised the artistic skill of artists and plan and discernment of the chaste lady. She was ennobled with an addition to her jagir and her presents. In the month of Safar of the year one thousand and twenty seven, His Majesty arrived at Dohad on the way to Akberabad. Jam, the zamindar of Nawanagar paid obeisance on the bank of Mahinadi through mediation of the Prince. He gave a peshkash of fifty hutchi horses. He encamped at Samara on 12th Rabi 'II. It was reported to him that there was a distance of one mile and a half from this place to the grazing-ground of elephants. Courier of imagination finds it difficult to cross high and deep road on account of thickness of the forest and throng of trees. He went to the hunting-place with a few royal attendants on Monday, 13th of the above month. Before this, a large number of footmen had surrounded that forest by way of a hunting ring and had arranged a plank above tree for the elephant catechising, lion hunting king to sit in a small place outside the jungle. Wooden seats were erected on round-about trees for amirs to sit. Two hundred elephants with



strong lassoes and many female elephants were kept ready. Two elephant-keepers of the Jharba tribe who are expert in elephant-hunt sat on each elephant. It was decided that the jungle-elephants should be driven from the other side of the jungle towards His Majesty so that he may enjoy the sight-seeing of chase to his heart's content. By chance, when persons came in from sides of the jungle, the order was broken due to thicket of tress and throng of plants and thus the arrangement of hunting-ring fell off. The jungle-elephants ran in confusion to every side. Twelve elephants-male and female were hunted in the Royal Presence. People got very much tired because of extreme heat and filthy air. His Majesty decided to spend summer and monsoon in Ahmedabad and that he should proceed to the capital after the monsoon was over. He started for Ahmedabad from Dohad with this intention. He arrived at Ahmedabad on 1st of Rabi'II. Due to filthy air, an epidemic broke out in Ahmedabad. There was no citizen and a camp-man who did not suffer from fever for two, three days. In the wake of these two, three day's fever, weakness and debility dominated to such an extent that it became difficult to move for days together. But the end was good. None suffered in life. By chance, His Majesty also suffered weakness for two, three days. At this juncture, Raja Baharah Zamindar of Kutch a prominent zamindar of Gujarat paid homage. He presented two hundred mohurs by way of nazar (present from an inferior to a superior) two thousand rupees by way of an offering and a hundred horses as peshkash. Jam and Baharah are from the same ancestor. They go up to ten generations. In point of army and reliability, Baharah is better than Jam. None of them came to pay homage to the Sultans of Gujarat. It is said that Sultan Mahmud had sent an army against him, the Sultan's army suffered a defeat. His age then was more than seventy. He used to say that he would live for ninety years. There was no languor in his senses and faculties. He was permitted to go after a favour of a royal horse, a male elephant with a female counterpart, a dagger, a sword, studded with jewels, four rings, one of red sapphire, one of emerald, one of green sapphire and one of yellow sapphire. It was reported to His Majesty at this time that the royal sentinels hunted one hundred and eighty-five male and female elephants in the neighbourhood of Dohad. Seventy-three are male elephants and one hundred and twelve are female elephants. The patrols of the Prince Shah Jahan captured twenty-six male and thirty-seven female elephants. His Majesty marched to the capital Akberabad on 22nd Ramzan. On 15th Zik'ad, an auspicious birth took place in the night-chamber of the Prince Shah Jahan at Dohad. He was named Sultan Muhammed Aurangzeb. A person found date of birth in the words "the world-shining sun". The Prince arranged festivities of this birth at Ujjain when he gave a worthy peshkash to his revered father. On the eve of departure



from Ahmedabad, Rustam Khan, a favourite of the Prince who enjoyed the honour of the mansab of five thousand from the Emperor was appointed Deputy in the Subah. The dome of Shah Ataulah was built by the said Khan. Date of its foundation can be obtained from the hemistich, "Tomb of the pure among Qutub (Poles) was founded." After that, Raja Vikramajit was appointed to this post. At the time of His Imperial Majesty's march from Mandu to the capital, certain unpleasant affairs took place on account of instigation of Nur Jahan Begum, an account of which is not proper. The said Raja was in attendance upon His Majesty when he went from Ahmedabad under his order. He left his brother Kanhardas at Ahmedabad for defence. He died near Delhi in a battle fought between royal and princely forces. 'Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung deserted the royal army and joined that of the Prince. This event took place in the year one thousand and thirty two. In this very year, Mirza Badi'uzzaman son of Mirza Shah Rukh who held jagir in the Sarkar of Pattan was slain by his brothers. One night, they attacked him unawares and murdered him. They were imprisoned out of retribution for this shameful and wicked deed which they committed in respect of the eldest brother who was in place of father. Mohallahs to the south of Khanpur Gate near the river Sabarmati famous as Haveli of Shah Jahan in Ahmedabad were apparently built under royal orders but now only relics of those buildings exist. Bagh i Shahi was founded by the Prince.



CHAPTER 65

SUBEDARI OF SULTAN DAWARBAKHS, SON OF THE PRINCE KHUSRAW. DIWANI OF MUHAMMED SAFI APPOINTMENT OF 'ABDULLAH KHAN BAHADUR FIROZ JUNG TO THE SUBEDARI OF GUJARAT BY THE WORLD-CONQUERING PRINCE SHAHJAHAN FROM MANDU ON HIS BEHALF. A SCUFFLE BETWEEN MUHAMMED SAFI DIWAN AND 'ABDULLAH KHAN. DEFEAT OF THE SAID KHAN. LAYING OUT OF A JANNAT-BAGH AT JETALPUR IN THE HAVELI PARAGANA OF AHMEDABAD. ELEVATION OF THE DIWAN WITH INCREASE AND TITLE OF SAIF KHAN APPOINTMENT OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM KUKAH AS TUTOR TO THE PRINCE. ARRIVAL AND DEATH OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM.

His Majesty got prejudiced against the Prince (Shah Jahan) due to Nur Jahan Begum's bagatelles against him. Prince Shah Jahan returned to Mandu after a scuffle with royal forces in the vicinity of Dihli. On recall of Prince Shah Jahan, Sultan Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusraw was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat in the year one thousand and thirty two. He was granted the mansab of eight thousand Zat, three thousand Sawar and a sum of two lacs of rupees in cash as expenses. Khan-i-A'zam Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltash, who from the time of His Majesty 'Arsh-Ashyani (Akber) was conversant with affairs of this region, was appointed his tutor. He was given a help of one lac of rupees. When the Prince (Shah Jahan) marched to Mandu after a scuffle near Dihli, he put the Subah of Gujarat in charge of 'Abdulla Khan Bahadur. He ordered to be brought to him Kanhardas, brother of Vikramajit who laid down his life in a scuffle with Muhammed Safi Khan Diwan of the Subah and the treasure, the jewel-studded throne prepared at the expense of five lacs of rupees, a plate of sword worth two lacs of rupees which were meant to be given as peshkash to his worthy father. 'Abdullah Khan Bahadur sent his domestic Wafadar as his Deputy. He entered Ahmedabad with a few destitute fellows, and occupied the city. Muhammed Safi, Diwan of the Subah was determined to be loyal to His Majesty. He devoted himself to care of the sepoys and collection of soldiers. A few days before, he came out of the city ahead of Kanhardas and encamped at the Kankariya tank. He then hastened to Mahmudabad. He so showed off that he was proceeding to royal attendance. Internally, he wrote letters to show loyalty to his Majesty to Naher Khan, Syed Diler Khan, Babu Khan Afghan and other royal servants who were in mahals of their respective jagirs. He then waited for an opportunity. Salah, the



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faujdar of Petlad guessed from his words that Muhammed Safi had something else in mind. Nay, Kanhardas also perceived it similarly. But when Muhammed Safi collected a considerable force, he observed conditions of care and caution. He could not move his hands and feet. Muhammed Saleh, an experienced soldier as he was, went ahead with the treasure with foresight on suspicion that perhaps Muhammed Safi becoming impolite may plunder the royal treasure. He conveyed nearly ten lacs of rupees to the Prince. Kanhardas also went with the jewel-studded sword plate. But he could not carry the jewel-studded throne on account of its heaviness. Muhammed Safi found the plain empty. He sent letters to those who were in accord with him and settled with them that every one of them should march in all haste with his squadron to enter the city at sunrise by the gate on the side of their roads. He himself reached environs of the city in the morning in company of Babu Khan Afghan from Kapadvanj with an expeditionary force. He halted a while in the garden of Malek Sha'ban till daybreak when he was able to distinguish a friend from an enemy. After broad day-light when he found the city gate open, he entered the fort of Ahmedabad by Sarangpur gate without waiting for his companions at city environs. In the meanwhile, Naheer Khan also entered the city by the Idar gate. The domestic of 'Abdullah Khan, who never imagined this occurrence sought refuge in confusion in the house of Shaikh Ahmed Haider, grandson of Shah Wajihuddin 'Alwi. The above mentioned persons busied themselves to strengthen turrets and citadel. They sent a force to the house of Muhammed Taqi, the royal diwan and Husain Beg Bakhshi and captured them. Shaikh Haider personally came and declared that the domestic of 'Abdullah Khan was in his house. He was immediately brought, enchained in hand and neck. Being thus satisfied with management of the city, he occupied himself with encouragement of the army and collection of forces. Whatever cash and kind he could get hold of, he distributed as provisions to old and new servants. He broke the jewel-studded throne the like of which could not be made for years and distributed its gold to new employees while he kept the jewels to himself. He collected a good force within a short time. When this news reached Mandu, 'Abdullah Khan obtained permission from attendance of the Prince and hastened at full speed with four, five hundred horse without caring for help and assistance. He arrived at Baroda from Mandu within twenty days. Muhammed Safi and Naheer Khan came out of the city and encamped on the bank of Khankariya tank. When 'Abdullah Khan got intelligence of the enemy's large army, he stayed a few days more at Baroda till he received succour. He marched after a few days and arrayed his army at Mahmudabad. The army (of Muhammed Safi) marched from Kankariya to Batwa. 'Abdullah Khan came to Barichah from Mahmudabad. Muhammed Safi and Naheer Khan encamped at the village of Palo. There remained a distance of three kurohs between



them. Next day, they arrayed their forces and marched to the battlefield. By chance, the place where 'Abdullah Khan had encamped was a thicket of thorny plants and narrow lanes and the ground was low and high. Hence, he could not maintain order in his forces. After a scuffle, Abdullah Khan, through freaks of fate, fled to Baroda. This event took place in the year one thousand and thirty two. A person found the date in a hemistich, "*Two clear victories were gained in one month*" He then went to Broach and spent three days there. On the fourth day, he went to Surat Port and stayed there for two months. He collected his dispersed men. He again collected an army and took himself to Burhanpur in attendance upon Shah Jahan. This news reached the capital. Muhammed Safi had not seen such a day in dream. He was raised from the mansab of seven hundred zat and three hundred sawar to that of three thousand (zat) and two thousand sawar. He was also honoured with the title of Saif Khan, grant of a banner and a drum. Naher Khan was ennobled with the mansab of three thousand Zat and two hundred Sawar. They laid out a garden 'Saif Bagh' at Jetalpur, the place of victory over 'Abdullah Khan and named it "Jit Bagh." He built a madrasah, a masjid and a dispensary during these days before the gate of the fort-citadel known as Madrasah-i-Saif Khan. Date of construction of these buildings is found from this couplet.

Couplet

*I sought the year of completion from the architect of destiny, who said
A masjid and a madrasah and a dispensary prosperous.*

The date is found also from "*God built a madrasah for the learned.*" In short, Sultan Dawar Bakhsh came to Gujarat and devoted himself to land assessment and administration of the Subah under the right direction of Khan-i-A'zam. Khan-i-A'zam died, as ordained by God, at the close of the year one thousand and two. He was buried at Sarkhej near the shrine of the chief of saints His Holiness Ganj-bakhsh Shaikh Ahmed Khattu. He was a man of noble qualities. His laudable personality was disposed to justice and equity. Whenever he was free from administrative duties, he read books on history, ethics and chronicles. At times, he used to compose verses. The following quatrain is his composition.

Quatrain

*Those who are in the lane of desire of self-conceited persons are different.
Those who are in the valley of love of afflicted persons are different.
Those who seek, other than the pleasure of the Beloved
Are different and the afflicted ones are different.*

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He was ignorant of Arabic language. He himself used to say, "I am an ignorant Arab in Arabic." It is his saying, "a man uttered some words, I regarded them associated with sincerity. When he showed exaggeration, I fell into a doubt. After that he swore, I found that he told a lie." This is his another saying. A man ought to have four wives: firstly, a Khurasani woman for household work, secondly, a woman of Transoxiana for flagellation, thirdly, an Iraqi woman for society, fourthly, a Hindi woman for sex purposes of the husband. Sultan Dawar Bakhsh was summoned to the Royal Presence in the year one thousand and thirty three.

CHAPTER 66

SUBEDARI OF KHAN JAHAN AS DEPUTY, DIWANI OF SAIF KHAN DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY OF PARADISE- STATION JAHANGIR BADSHAH-I GHAZI

* When Sultan Dawar Bakhsh, under a royal order, went to the Royal Presence, Khan Jahan who was for defence of the capital Agra came to Ahmedabad, under a royal order, in the year one thousand and thirty three. He occupied himself with government and defence of the Subah. He proceeded to the Royal Presence being appointed a wakil to Prince Parwiz in the year one thousand and thirty four. Saif Khan, Diwan of the Subah was appointed to the defence of the province till the arrival of the Nazim. In the beginning of one thousand and thirty five, Mahabat Khan took His Majesty without his will to Kabul. No subedar was appointed to the province due to anarchical state. In the year one thousand and thirty six, Prince Shah Jahan proceeded to Junair from Thatta fraudulently by way of Gujarat. Saif Khan continued to administer this region till death of His Majesty which took place on 27th of the month of Safar of the year one thousand and thirty seven.



CHAPTER 67

SULTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY FIRDAUS-ASHYANI ABUL MUZAFFER SHIHABUDDIN SHAH JAHAN BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, SAHIB-I-QIRAN-I-SANI. MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY TO THE CAPITAL OF AKBERABAD FROM JUNAIR BY WAY OF AHMEDABAD. ACCOMPANIMENT OF SAIF KHAN, SUBEDARS AND DIWANS WHO WERE APPOINTED TO THIS SIDE DURING HIS MAJESTY'S REGIME. SUBEDARI OF SHER KHAN TUR AND DIWANI OF KHWAJA-I-HAYAT.

Yaminuddaulah Asaf sent Banarsi, a courier with news of His Majesty Jahangir's death, with marks of seal, for want of time from Lahore to servants of His Majesty Shah Jahan. He went in all haste covering a long distance within a space of twenty days and reached Juniar where His Majesty was on Saturday, 19th Rabi 'I of the year one thousand and thirty-eight. On the way, he went to the residence of Mahabat Khan, who a few days ago had obtained honour of paying obeisance. He hastened to the Royal Presence and reports facts of the event. The seal of Yaminuddaulah was shown. Dues of mourning were performed as they are a common practice. He ordered the astrologers who were present with His Majesty to elect an hour for march to the capital. It was decided that the Royal cavalcade should march by way of Ahmedabad, Gujarat. He marched from Junair on Saturday, 23th of the month of Rabi 'I of the above year the elected day of the astrologers. A royal mandate was sent containing news of Banarasi's arrival, delivery of news and march of His Majesty by way of Ahmedabad to the capital. When His Majesty reached Gujarat frontier Nahir Khan Tur titled Sher Khan, one of the best appointees of the Subah arrived for display of his loyalty and information of absurd intentions of disloyal Saif Khan who then was for the defence of the Subah as mentioned above. The Subedari of Ahmedabad; therefore, was granted to Sher Khan. It was ordered that Saif Khan should be imprisoned by way of surveillance. The sister of Her Majesty was married to Saif Khan. She was the only blood-sister of the Queen and therefore, she loved her very much. Khidmat Parast Khan, a reliable slave and loyal servant was ordered to go to Ahmedabad to bring him to the Court and that he should not allow any harm and injury done to him. Had there been no such relation, Saif Khan would have received his punishment at Ahmedabad. The farman of Subedari for Sher Khan was sent with Khidmat Parast Khan. The Royal Cavalcade arrived at the bank of Narbada with double march and crossed at Baba Pyarah. Royal officers of the Gujarat Subah came to pay homage at every stage. He encamped outside the town of Sinor on the bank of Narbada on the last day of above month. On that very day, a petition of Sher Khan reached the royal court. He had reported in it that Yaminudda-



ulah Asaf Khan and loyal officers recited the Khutbah, after victory, in the above capital. This was known from the letters of Gujarati Hindus who were at Lahor. Drums of joy, on knowing these tidings, were beaten as ordered by His Majesty. When Khudmat Parast Khan reached vicinity of Ahmedabad, Sher Khan received the Royal Farman with due decorum. Saif Khan who then suffered from physical ailment, was entrusted to him. He took that ailing man to the Royal Court under surveillance. His Majesty pardoned his offence at the intercession of the Queen and released that prisoner, struck with fear and terror, from fetters of grief. At Surat, Mir Sharafuddin, who enjoyed the exalted, mansab of twenty five hundred Zat and twenty five hundred sawar evinced desire to accompany His Majesty. He was granted the favour of defence of the Surat fort. Sher Khan advanced for reception as far as Mahmudabad which is at a distance of twelve kurohs from Ahmedabad and joined the camp and obtained honour of homage. He presented a peshkash of worthy clothes of Ahmedabad. Mirza 'Isa Turkhan and Mirza Wali as well as other royal officers of the place also paid homage and received favours. He encamped at the Kankariya Tank outside city walls on 18th Rabi 'II of the above year. Sher Khan, the Subedar of Gujarat was favoured with a robe, a dagger, a jewel studded sword and in addition of two thousand Zat and twenty five hundred sawar with the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand sawar and a horse from the Royal stable with a gold saddle and an elephant. Khwaja Jan titled Khwaja Jahan was glorified with the mansab of two thousand (Zat) and six hundred sawar and appointed the Diwan of Gujarat. Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan was permitted to go to the government of Tattha with addition of two thousand (Zat) and seventeen hundred sawar with the mansab of four thousand Zat and twenty five hundred sawar. Mutaqid Khan with the mansab of four thousand (Zat) and two thousand sawar, Jamal Lohani with the mansab of fifteen hundred (Zat) and five hundred sawar and Syed Mubarak with the mansab of one thousand (Zat) and three hundred sawar were left in Ahmedabad. Syed Diler Khan with several detachments of horsemen was appointed in Ahmedabad. After a stay of week, he started for the capital on 25th of the above month. Sher Khan was granted leave of return. After His Majesty's arrival at the capital, he sat on the hereditary throne of sovereignty after a lapse of three and a half ghadi on Thursday, 12th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and thirty seven. The best of the noblest syeds Syed Jalal Bukhari, grandson of chief saint Shah 'Alam may his tomb be sanctified started from Ahmedabad to pay homage. He was honoured with a favour of a robe and a present of ten thousand rupees.



CHAPTER 68

FIXATION OF LUNAR MONTHS AND YEARS OF THE ROYAL ENTHRONEMENT

In the regime of His Majesty 'Arsh Ashyani, may God illumine his tomb, the Ilahi Era was founded on solar months, and years. It was mentioned in detail in a chapter on His Majesty's reign. After that, the years of enthronement of His Majesty Jannat-makani continued in the same manner. All the royal energies and regal intentions of the lord of seven climes, Khaqan of land and sea are directed towards giving currency to the true Muhammedi faith and splendour of the excellent Ahmadi path, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and all his descendants. He is not negligent even to a moment in paying regard to the orders and prohibitions of the bright creed inspite of manifold engagements of administrative duties. It became clear to the royal mind that thirty-two solar years, and six days, eight hours and three minutes are equivalent to thirty-three lunar years. It is evident that a fortunate, religious-minded wise man will not consider a period of thirty three years of clear religion equivalent to thirty two years. Hence, events, chronicles and records of the Royal Court will be maintained in lunar years and months of the Hijri era. Even though, His Majesty graced the throne of sovereignty on 12th Jamadi II, an order was issued that the auspicious year of enthronement should commence with the first of the above month. Royal mandates containing this account were issued to imperial provinces. May it not remain hidden that Fash years, inspite of fixation of lunar months and years, were mentioned in the body of rules and regulations in the copy of *Mirat-i Ahmadi* of the Subah of Ahmedabad. They have been adjusted in the manner they were received. God knows the best. In short, His Majesty had a view of the peshkash of Sher Khan, Nazim of the Subah of Ahmedabad in the year one thousand and thirty eight. It consisted of two elephants precious textiles of Ahmedabad. It was accepted. Khwaja Abul Hasan was permitted to go with amirs for conquest of the region of Nasik Trimbak and Sangamner. He was ordered to stay wherever he deemed proper until Sher Khan, Nazim of the Gujarat Subah, who was ordered to accompany him with the Gujarat army joined him. The said Khan started to join the Khwaja with the Gujarat army. Sher Khan joined the Khwaja on 26th Shawwal of the above year. Khwaja Abul Hasan sent him to storm the fort of Masura and neighbourhood of Chandor fort near Nasik Trimbak. He plundered and pillaged that region and returned with a vast booty. When Sher Khan was proceeding towards the Khwaja, he sent a servant to get the peshkash of five elephants which the zamundar of Bagiana had agreed to pay. He came to Khwaja Abul



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Hasan with the peshkash in the month of Holy Zilhajj of the said year which was sent to the Royal Court. In the year one thousand and thirty nine, a robe, an elephant and three thousand rupees in cash were granted to Syed Jalal Bukhari who had gone to the Royal Presence from Ahmedabad to congratulate His Majesty on his accession to the throne. The Syed returned to Ahmedabad the same year. In the year one thousand and forty, Jamal Khan the patrol, who under a royal order had gone to Sultanpur and Rajpipla in the Subah of Gujarat for elephant hunt captured one hundred and thirty elephants. He paid homage on 16th Jamadi I. His Majesty held a review of seventy male and female living elephants sent to the Court. Their price was fixed at one lac of rupees.

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CHAPTER 69

A GREAT FAMINE KNOWN AS SATTASIYAH (87TH) IN GUJARAT

An event of this year was scarcity of rain and a famine in all its intensity in Gujarat and the Dekhan. The year is known as Sattasiya among the populace of Gujarat. Inhabitants of this region were in sore difficulties due to scarcity of food and shortage of eatables. They gave life in exchange for a bread and yet no one bought it. They sold a camel for a chicken and yet it was not worth. A hand that always remained extended did not open except for begging a bread, feet that always covered the plain of wealth did not measure except the path of begging. A dog's flesh was cooked in place of a goat's meat and bones of carcasses mixed with flour were sold. The sellers were punished after it was found out. Ultimately, people began to eat one another's flesh due to dire necessity. Roads got blocked up for intercourse on account of innumerable deaths. No one moved out alone through fear of some persons meeting him and eating his flesh. Anyone, who after great hardship, obtained respite from promised death and found strength of walking in himself, went to villages and towns of other province. This region which is noted for fertility, not a city remained prosperous. This severe calamity rendered past peccadilloes and ancient famines, which appeared astonishing in previous ages, unbelievable. Manifestation of Divine mercy His Majesty ordered that the administrators of Burhanpur, Ahmedabad and Surat should establish cooking houses which are known as langar khana (bede houses) among the populace for entertainment of the poor, the destitute and the indigent. Every day as much soup and bread as were necessary for food of the helpless men were cooked. His Majesty heard that people of Ahmedabad suffered more intense hardship and adversity than those of other regions. He issued an order that the Diwan of the Subah should send fifty thousand rupees from the public treasury in cash for bringing foodstuff to the city. As scarcity of rain and dearness of foodgrains were the causes of ryots' distraction, large sums of money this year and the next year were remitted from the government land and the jagirs. It was heard from aged men of this region who heard from aged men who had obtained relief from this calamity that the mercy of God descended upon them next year. As there were no cattle, a he buffalo was brought from Champaner for seventy rupees as there was no stallion for buffaloes. Diyanat Rai, a scribe who belonged to the Gujarati Nagar caste and who was proficient in calculation and Hindi accounts of old and who was in attendance upon His Majesty, was appointed to keep records of crown lands. Sher Khan, Nazim of the Subah who commanded the detachments of Khwaja Abul Hasan in the campaign of Nasik Trimbak died this year.

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CHAPTER 70

SUBEDARI OF ISLAM KHAN DIWANI OF KHWAJA JAHAN DI PARTURL OF THE KHWAJA FOR HAJJ OF THE HOUSE OF GOD APPOINTMENT OF AQA AFZAL TITLED FAZIL KHAN TO THE DIWANI

When news of Sher Khan's death was reported, His Majesty appointed Islam Khan, the Hakim of the seat of Khilafat of Akberabad as Nazim of Gujarat. His mansab-original and additional, was fixed at five thousand Zat and four thousand Sawar do aspah, se aspah and a royal robe, a horse from the royal stable with gold accoutrement and an elephant from a royal ring were sent for him. He hastened as ordered and reached the Subah at close of the year one thousand and forty. He devoted himself to administrative work. His Majesty saw that every year some jewels, jewel studded weapons, nine Kutchi horses, several gold embroidered articles of 'Iraq and some textiles of Gujarat sent as peshkash to the Royal Court. He was granted an additional mansab of one thousand horse to the mansab of five thousand (zat) and five thousand do-aspah and se aspah. Sarfraz Khan Chaghatai, one of the military commanders of the Subah paid homage along with his sons. He was favoured with a robe of honour and was granted leave to proceed to Gujarat. In the year one thousand and forty one, Khwaja Jahan, the Diwan of the Subah requested permission for a visit to the Holy Houses which was acceded to. His Majesty had vowed on his enthronement to send five lacs of rupees to the destitute of the Holy Places. He, therefore, issued an order to the administrators of the Subah that they should give articles worth two lacs and forty thousand having bought in the markets of Ahmedabad and Surat Port to Khwaja Jahan known for honesty and old service so that he may, after their sale, distribute the profit and capital in co-operation with Hakim Mashhuz zaman, who too had obtained permission to visit the Ka'aba, among the destitutes of the Holy Place.



CHAPTER 71

DIWANI OF AQA AFZAL TITLED FAZIL KHAN AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF KHWAJA JAHAN

On the recall of Khwaja, the Diwani of the Subah was granted to Aqa Afzal titled Fazil Khan. He sent this year jewels, textiles 'Arab and 'Iraqi horses along with other extremely excellent presents which were collected by Mu'azz ul-Mulk, the administrator of Surat Port and Khanbhayat from those two ports to the Royal Presence. His Majesty also saw some jewels jewel studded articles, seventy Kutchi horses and textiles of Ahmedabad sent by Islam Khan, the Nazim of the Subah. Syed Diler Khan Barha, who held the mansab of four thousand (zat) and three thousand Sawar and was the Faujdar of Baroda, died in the year one thousand and forty two. Aqa Afzal titled Fazil Khan, the Diwan of the Subah was appointed Faujdar of Baroda. Ra'ayat Khan was appointed to the Diwani of Gujarat. No further information about the Subedari of Islam Khan was available.

CHAPTER 72

SUBEDARI OF BAQIR KHAN NAJM I SANI AND THE DIWANI OF RA'AYAT KHAN

In the month of Rajab of the year one thousand and forty two, Baqir Khan Najm i Sani who held the mansab of four thousand Zat and four thousand Sawar came from Orissa with his sons and paid homage. He gave one thousand ashrafis by way of nazr, jewels, jewel studded articles, gold articles, the total worth of which was two lacs by way of peshkash. On the recall of Islam Khan, he was appointed the Subedar of Gujarat with grant of a favour of an elephant, a robe of honour and a horse with a gold saddle. He started for the Subah with permission and devoted himself to administrative work. He sent that very year eighteen 'Iraqi horses, precious textiles and forty Kutchi horses by way of peshkash to the Royal Presence. Other events of his Subedari were not available.



CHAPTER 73

SUBEDARI OF SIPAHDAR KHAN AND THE DIWANI OF RA'AYAT KHAN.

On the recall of Baqir Khan Najm-i-Sani, Sipahdar Khan who held the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat with a favour of a royal robe, a horse with gold saddle and an elephant on New Year's day corresponding to 21st of the month of Blessed Ramzan of the year one thousand and forty-three. He obtained permission to proceed to the Subah, reached at close of the said year and devoted himself to management of administrative duties. On the New Year Day of the year one thousand and forty-four, he sent a gold-embroidered velvet pavilion prepared in the government workshop by skilful artists of Gujarat in various artistic designs, at an expense of one lac of rupees and gold-embroidered velvet canopies with gold and silver pillars to the Royal Presence. It was erected, on the New Year Day's festival, in front of the lofty portico of the Royal Palace. His Majesty sat, on the same New Year Day, on the Peacock Throne prepared at a cost of one crore of rupees equivalent to thirty-three thousand 'Iraqi tumans. It was in this year that His Majesty saw the gold-embroidered velvet pavilion (aspak) and gold-plated silver pillars prepared at the cost of one lac of rupees sent as peshkash by Sipahdar Khan, Nazim of the Subah.



CHAPTER 74

SUBEDARI OF SAIF KHAN AND DIWANI OF RA'AYAT KHAN.

On the recall of Sipahdar Khan, Saif Khan, who held the mansab of four thousand Zat and four thousand Sawar was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat on 15th of the victorious Safar of the year one thousand and forty-five. He was granted a favour of a horse with gold saddle and an elephant. Sultan Nazar, brother of Saif Khan and Yahya his son who held the mansab of one thousand Zat and three hundred Sawar-original and additional accompanied him. Hakim Masih-uz-zaman returned this year from visit of the Holy Places by way of Basra. He arrived at the Laheri Port and proceeded to the Royal Court and paid homage. He brought to His Majesty's sight forty 'Arab horses, bought by him at Basra and neighbouring places for giving as peshkash to His Majesty. It was accepted. From among those horses, the two-one a roan horse and another a tallow one-were of handsome appearance, beautiful colour, proportionate limbs combined with swiftiness and rapidity. They were included in the royal stable. The first was named 'Badshah-pasand' and the other 'Tamam-Ayar'. The Hakim, on the recall of Mui'zz-ul-Mulk was granted a favour of a robe, mansab of three thousand Zat and five hundred Sawar as before, an elephant, twenty-five thousand rupees in cash and government of the Sarkar of Surat Port. The Sarkar of Saurath was granted as a fief to Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan. It had become barren on account of inefficiency of the Hakims. He was elevated to the mansab of an addition of one thousand (zat), one thousand Sawar do-aspah which-original and additional-was that of five thousand Zat, four thousand sawar do-aspah, se-aspah. In the month of Zil-hajj of the same year, the Subah, on the recall of Saif Khan, was granted to A'zam Khan. Saif Khan died at Ahmedabad in the year one thousand and fifty Hijri. He was buried near Mirza Hazrat Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified whose disciple he was. It appears that he stayed in Ahmedabad, after his recall, till his death. A lofty building called Jama'at Khana to a high direction of the end of the said shrine with gilding of interior of the dome is Saif Khan's memento. Date of his death is found from words "Saif Khan murdah."



CHAPTER 75

SUBEDARI OF A'ZAM KHAN AND DIWANI OF RA'AYAT KHAN AND MIR SABIR

During Saif Khan's administration, Kahanji Koli Chanwal had plundered goods of merchants. Again, the rebels had raised their heads in disturbance and revolt. These events of Ahmedabad were reported to His Majesty. On the recall of Saif Khan, A'zam Khan, who held the mansab of six thousand Zat and six thousand Sawar, do as pah, se aspah, was appointed the Subedar of Ahmedabad with a favour of a royal robe, a horse with gold saddle and an elephant. He was granted leave to depart. When he reached Sayyedahpur in the Sarkar of Pattan at a distance of forty kurohs from Ahmedabad, the merchants lodged him a complaint. A'zam Khan, therefore, before his entry into Ahmedabad, marched to punish and chastise the said Koli and expelled him from his habitation. Kahanji, being awed by the army, fled to Jhawer in the paraganā of Kheralu with families. A'zam Khan marched thither. When Kahanji saw no way of escape, he personally came at night and presented himself. He pointed out the plundered goods, gave a security of not committing disturbance and presented a sum of ten thousand rupees as peshkash. As the Subah of Gujarat is a mine of mischievous persons of distracted heads and an abode of disturbing rebels, A'zam Khan devoted himself, without entering Ahmedabad, to destroy malevolent Kathis and Kolis, who through misguidance and stupidity caused harm to the ryots always by robbery and theft and made efforts to ruin and lay waste the province as well as to chastise other refractory elements of the region especially in the paraganā of Bhil near Mandu inhabited mostly by Kolis. He built two strong forts—A'zamabad and Khalilabad naming them after himself and his son. He built a strong fort and other edifices at Chora Ranpur in Kathiawar which is a crossing ground of Kathis between watans and mahals. He named it Shahpur. In the year one thousand and forty six, Aqa Fazl titled Fazil Khan, the former Diwan of the Subah, who at this time was the Faujdar of Baroda, was summoned by His Majesty. He was favoured with a robe, a horse of the royal stable with gold saddle and appointed to the Risalah (troop of horses) of the Prince Muhammed Aurangzeb Bahadur. In the year one thousand and forty seven, sixty thousand rupees were given to Hakim Abul Qasim titled Hakim ul-Mumalik who had obtained permission for a visit to the Holy Places out of a sum of five lacs of rupees set apart for charity among the poor of holy Mekka and Medina. An order was issued to the administrators of Gujarat Subah to purchase articles for the 'Arabs in consultation with the Hakim to be sent with him. It was done accordingly. Syed



Ilahdad was appointed for defence of fort of the Surat Port. In this year, a sum of ten thousand rupees was ordered by His Majesty to be paid to the best of the Prophet's family, Syed Jalal, son of Syed Muhammed Gujarati, a grandson of His Holiness Hazrat Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified while his sons were given garments, turbans and shawls. They were permitted to go to Gujarat. Six hundred ashrafis were sent with the aforesaid Syed to be distributed among the recluses of Gujarat. His Majesty saw the peshkash of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan consisting of fifteen Kutchi horses sent from Junagadh. A'zam Khan, Nazim of the Subah completed a palace adjacent to the gate of naqqarkhana (the place where drums are beaten) of the fort-citadel. Date of construction of this palace is found from the following couplet.

Couplet.

*When I sought the chronogram from the angel Gabriel
An announcement came " Place of goodness and obligation."*

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CHAPTER 76

DIWANI OF MIR MUHAMMED SABIR ON RECALL OF RA'AYAT KHAN

On the recall of Ra'ayat Khan, Mir Muhammed Sabir, the Balhshi and chronicler of the Subah, was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah. He was honoured with increase of the mansab. Mu'azz-ul-Mulk, on recall of Hakim Masih uz-zaman, was appointed to the government of Surat Port. Syed Jalal Bukhari, a grandson of His Holiness Hazrat Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified, started, under summons of His Majesty, to the Royal Court from Ahmedabad. He abstained from felicity of service but was honoured with a grant of five hundred ashrafis. In this very year, Prince Muhammed Shuja' Bahadur was betrothed to A'zam Khan's daughter of laudable qualities. A'zam Khan sent her with her mother and brothers Mir Khalil and Mir Ishaq to the Royal Court. She arrived at the Royal Presence on 20th Shawwal of the above year. The marriage was celebrated, under a royal order, in Bengal. It was also ordered that Mir Ishaq should go with his mother, after the auspicious marriage, to his father in Gujarat. Fruit of the plant of Prophethood. Syed Jalal Bukhari, who was with the Royal Presence was given a present of one thousand rupees on the festivity of New Year Day of that year. He was given three thousand rupees in addition on the night of the Prophet's birth day. Death of Sarfaraz Khan, Faujdar of Pattan was an event in Gujarat reported to his Majesty. His Majesty favoured his sons with addition in mansab and other kindnesses. In the year one thousand and forty-nine, Syed Jalal Bukhari was permitted to go to Gujarat with a grant of five thousand rupees as expenses for travelling. Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, Faujdar of Saurath was ennobled with an addition of one thousand hors* to the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar, do-aspah, se-aspah. His eldest son 'Inayatullah was granted the mansab of one thousand Zat and five hundred Sawar, original and additional. Two horses from the Royal Stable with gold saddles and an elephant from the Royal Ring were sent to A'zam Khan with his sons, Mir Khalil and Mir Ishaq who too were favoured with horses. His Majesty reviewed the peshkash of forty Kutchi horses sent from Junagadh by Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan this year. In the year one thousand and fifty, His Majesty saw the peshkash of A'zam Khan, the Nazim of the Subah consisting of jewels, textiles and thirty horses. A'zam Khan spent monsoon in distant places for establishment of order and punishment of mischief mongers. He chastised the malevolent factors of that part. He weakened the Kolis and made them miserable. He built strong forts wherever he thought proper and established thanas. He stayed long at the habitations of Kolis and destroyed their fields and plants. He cleared jungles of them. Jill now when the book is being



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written, the high and the low of Gujarat nickname him A'zam the Udhai. Udhai means white ants. These white ants destroy produce wherever they are seen. He also destroyed every place he visited. No miscreant had power from Jalor within jurisdiction of the Subah of Ahmedabad to the end of Kathiawar joining the frontiers of Jam and Bahara and the sea-coast, to oppress and harass the weak. Travellers and merchants travelled with safety and tranquillity.

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CHAPTER 77 .

MARCH OF A'ZAM KHAN AGAINST JAM, ZAMINDAR OF NAWANAGAR AND EXACTION OF PESHKASH AND DEMOLI- TION OF HIS MINT

During the government of A'zam Khan, the zamindar of Jam did not show obedience which the zamindars ought to show, A'zam Khan marched to chastise him. When he reached seven kurohs from Nawanagar, the place of residence of Jam, he got no opportunity for revolt and clutched the thread of obedience under guidance of farsighted reason. He acknowledged his past offences and by-gone crimes and started from Nawanagar to see the Khan. When he came to a distance of two kurohs from his camp, A'zam Khan sent a courier to him with a message that so long as he would not pay the stipulated peshkash, and discontinue the Nawanagar mint where he coins Mahmudis, his escape will not be possible. The Zamindar had no alternative except that of submission. He agreed to send one hundred Kutchi horses and pay three lacs of Mahmudis as peshkash and demolish the mint. He further agreed to expel the ryots of neighbouring places of Ahmedabad who lived in his kingdom and send them to their respective places. Whenever the Nazim of the Subah occupies himself with punishment and chastisement of giras and mawas, he should send his son with a squadron to the Subedar. He came to A'zam Khan after his peshkash was accepted. After being free from his affair, the Khan returned to Shahpur. May it not remain hidden that the mint discontinued for some time but till now Mahmudis are struck in the name of Sultan Muzaffer. On one side of modern coins, there is Jam's name in Hindi. It is also called Jam. It was called Changizi in Baroda. It was struck during the ascendancy of Changiz Khan Habashi. It is current in that region. Interest on transactions, ascertainment of peshkash and land revenue in the paraganahs are in it. Calculations till now in Ahmedabad for transaction in yellow oil are made in Mahmudis. A Mahmudi is four and a half mashas in weight. Sometimes, two and a half Mahmudis and sometimes three Mahmudis are counted as a rupee. A royal order was issued for establishment of a mint in Junagadh to melt Mahmudis. But it did not function as desired. Merchants for their facility and economy coined silver and gold pouring in from ports of Diu etc to Ahmedabad. His Majesty issued an order for its stoppage at the request of Mir Saber, the Diwan of the Subah and also in respect of control on means of brokerage of jewels. It was reported to His Majesty that jewels are sold to jewellers in provinces of the empire. A broker charged the seller as well as the purchaser one per cent as his brokerage. It becomes total gold. A royal order was issued to the effect that one rupee knowingly and deliberately is waived and one rupee is charged for



the revenue office on a real contract. An order in this connection was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that investigations should be made of Jewellers' records in the Subah of Gujarat, Ahmedabad, Surat Port and Khanbayet Port and recover it from date of arrival of this order. After deduction of a fraction, a sum of eighty nine rupees in a hundred remains with a jeweller. In this manner, a Shahjahani rupee should be levied on coral, amber and artificial pearl. His Majesty saw this year the peshkash of Mir Shams, the fief-holder of Baroda consisting of one elephant and nine horses. Jam Quli, on recall of Mu'zzul Mulk was appointed to the government of Surat port. Mu'zzul Mulk, before his recall, had sent a party, under a royal order, noted for horse knowledge, in government ships to Basra, Lahsa and other places which are the origins of swift horses. Wealthy merchants, also, who lived at the port of Surat and whose agents moved to various parts, had written to their men in Arabastan and other places to purchase good horses wherever they found. That party arrived at Surat port with seventyone Arab horses from the above places for one lac of rupees. There was a bay horse among them which belonged to 'Ali Pasha, Governor of Basra. It was from 'Amber's descent whose praise was heard by His Majesty. It was being bought for ten thousand rupees but 'Ali Pasha was not agreeable to it. At this time, 'Ali Akbar, a sodagar who at the instruction of Mu'zzul Mulk sent a reliable man who bought it for twelve thousand rupees. Mu'zzul Mulk sent the horses to the Court. His Majesty reviewed them on 8th Rajab of that year. He named that horse as 'Badshahpasand'. It was made the chief horse of the Royal Stable. Fifteen thousand rupees were given as its price. Even though A'zam Khan has established order by subduing the rebels and punishing the Koli mischief-mongers by building strong forts on elevated places specially on the bank of Vatrak, the resort of the rebellious Kohus near the city, yet he paid no heed to improve the condition of ryots. Many of them had fled and taken refuge under zamindars in distant places. This was referred to at A'zam Khan's campaign against Nawanagar. But people were afraid of lodging complaint against harassment to the just Court on account of the favour he enjoyed of His Majesty. The Subah turned from day to day, towards desolation. It is said that the best of the Prophet's family Syed Jalal Bukhari, during those days was with His Majesty, he reported, for the sake of God, some account of Gujarat's condition as it was his beloved native land. Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, the governor of Saurath country behaved in a landable manner with the ryots. He prospered that region which was verging towards ruin. He was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat.



CHAPTER 78

SUBEDARI OF MIRZA 'ISA TARKHAN DIWANI OF MIR SABIR AND MUIZZUL MULK.

It is heard from trusty aged men who narrated from their ancestors that no one was bold enough to complain against the tyranny of A'zam Khan looking to his status, rank and connection with the Prince Muhāmmad Shuja Bahadur. This fact was reported to His Majesty through the asylum of Syedship Syed Jalal Bukhari. On the recall of A'zam Khan, therefore, the Subah of Gujarat was placed in charge of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, who conducted government of the Saurath Sarkar on 4th of the Holy Moharram of the year one thousand and fifty two. The mansab of the Mirza which was two thousand (zat) and five hundred sawar became with original and additional the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar, two thousand sawar and five hundred sawar do-aspah, se-aspah. Administration of Saurath Sarkar was entrusted to 'Inayatullah, son of the above-mentioned. His mansab-original and additional was that of two hazari, fifteen hundred sawar, that of Muhammed Saleh, his second son was hazari, one thousand sawar. The brilliant-minded king of vigilant heart issued a special order, through fear that the intelligence of recall of A'zam Khan may not become a cause of more tyranny and oppression of ryots and subordinates on his part, to Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan along with a farman of summons to A'zam Khan. A copy of the Farman is here reproduced.



CHAPTER 79

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN TO A'ZAM KHAN

Asylum of chiefship and leadership, strength of nobility and purity, pillar of the powerful saltanat and arm of the Khilafat of vision, rider of the field of bravery and manliness, driver of the plain of prowess and wisdom, murshid obeying disciple of all sincerity, devoted servant of pure faith with distinction, worthy of royal favour, deserving of imperial attentions, alighting place of many kindnesses, descent of glorious bounties, Khan with marks of felicity, A'zam Khan ennobled with regal benignity should know that desolation of the province of Gujarat and ryots and heedlessness of the pillar of the state to it was continuously reported to His Majesty. He was repeatedly instructed to look after the interests of ryots and making them prosperous and expected that the prop of the state and the pillar of saltanat would act accordingly with obedience and that the pillar of saltanat would show regard to it. But he himself was not graced to do it. He made that province more desolate. He has brought affairs to such a pitch that if we do not engage to remedy them, further improvement will not be possible. Hence, taking pity on that province and its inhabitants, we granted the Subedari of that province to the asylum of chiefship, worthy of kindness and obligation, Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan who had prospered the ruined province of Saurath by upright conduct and care for the ryots in the beginning of autumn of Yunat II (Turkish year Year of the Horse). When the Mirza enters Ahmedabad, the Subah should be submitted to him while he himself should proceed to the Royal Court. Regarding it his duty, he should not oppose and recant. Written on 12th of the Holy Moharram of the year fifteenth of auspicious accession to the throne corresponding to one thousand and fifty-two. Under royal instructions, he (Mirza) was to enter Ahmedabad unawares, hand over the farman to A'zam Khan and send him with a worthy squadron to the Royal Court. He himself should devote to establishment of order and apply ointment of consolation and kindness to wounds of oppressed people of Gujarat. The Mirza, as ordered by His Majesty, left Junagadh with a worthy detachment of soldiers and reached Ahmedabad with double march. He proceeded to fort-citadel without rest, saw A'zam Khan and handed over the Royal farman. A'zam Khan had found the Subah not suitable to his temperament. He immediately accepted it with obedience, surrendered the Subah and started to pay homage. Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan engaged himself in affairs of the Subah and conciliation of ryots and settled collection of revenue in share of corn produce in the paraganas known technically in the province as Bhag Batai. The province began to prosper within a short time. During these days, His Majesty favoured Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan with a gift of an elephant from the Royal Stable and sent it with his son Muhammed Saleh,



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who enjoyed the Royal Presence Syed Jalal Bukhari got a present of five thousand rupees During this year, the afore-said Syed whose garment of lineage was ornamented with a fringe of nobility, cast a light of manifestation on righteousness accepting mind of His Majesty in a befitting manner His Majesty organized that noble Syed in the thread of servants of the threshold of rank and glory which was a place of the lights of fortune and he obtained a complete share of nearness of the royal carpet which is the object of fortunate men and goal of pious men with a marvel of acceptance of sun-like king who is the appreciator of worth Fortune which was inscribed in the volume of destiny in his name came to light At the request of the aforesaid Syed, his eldest son, Syed Ja'fer who was adorned with an ornament of excellence and rectitude was appointed a successor to the Chief of Saints His Holiness Shah 'Alam may, his grave be sanctified The dignified mansab of Judgship of the whole of Hindustan was granted to him He was glorified with a favour of a royal robe, mansab of four hazari seven hundred Sawar, a horse with gold accoutrement, an elephant from the Royal Stable and an award of thirty thousand rupees in cash

Couplet

*Existence of wise men is like gold
They have worth and price wherever they go.*

On the recall of Mir Muhammed Sabir Mu'izzul Mulk who held the mansab of hazari, one hundred Sawar was honoured with a robe, the post of Diwan of the Subah and a gift of a she elephant He was permitted to proceed to this side Mirza Dostkam son of Mu'tamid Khan arrived honoured with a favour of a robe of Bakhshigari of the Subah A robe, a horse from the Royal Stable with gold accoutrement were sent for Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan with him (Mirza Dostkani) It was in this year that Jam Quli, administrator of Surat Port went to the Royal Court with troops of Arab and 'Iraqi horses as well as some jewels and other rarities which he had bought for His Majesty at Surat Port They were presented before the Royal Sight His Majesty appreciated a bay Arab horse from amongst them It was named "Tamam 'Ayar" In the year one thousand fifty four, the best of the family of saintship, Syed Jalal Bukhari the Chief Judge, reported to His Majesty that Musawi Khan the dismissed Chief Judge gave means of livelihood and allowance to certain undeserving persons without being brought to the notice of His Majesty while others, in a garb of a Farman, occupy lands as grants for means of livelihood and allowances A Royal order was, therefore, issued to the Chief Judge to the effect that the revenue of one auxiliary season of the imperial provinces whether they are in the government lands or in



fields of amirs and mansabdars except charity-lands of well-known persons should be kept at a place of an arbitrator and surrendered after showing documents and claims to needy persons. Mandates of this nature were sent to all Nazims of the Subas. From among the auxiliaries of the Subah of Gujarat, Sabal Singh, son of Raja Suraj Singh was granted a mansab, with an addition of five hundred and two hundred Sawar which with the original and additional was of one thousand and five hundred Zat and one thousand and two hundred Sawar. Syed Ja'far, son of Syed Jalal the Chief Judge who had gone to the Royal Presence paid homage. He was favoured with a robe, an elephant and a reward of three thousand rupees and permitted to go to Gujarat. It was in this year that Mir Shamsuddin, Faujdar of Pattan was honoured with a grant of a drum. Inayatullah, Faujdar of Junagadh and Mirza Isa Tarkhan, Nazim of the Subah were favoured with a banner. The Sarkar of Surat Port was granted in in'am to the Queen. It had three crores of dams. Annually it becomes seven lacs and fifty thousand rupees; with the port it is one crore which in twelve months it is two lacs and fifty thousand rupees. Its income during this time was five lacs of rupees which in total is four crores of dams on account of arrival of a large number of merchants from all parts of land and sea.



CHAPTER 80

SUBEDARI OF MUHAMMED AURANGZEB BADSHAZADAH I- BAHADUR AND DIWANI OF MUI'ZZUL MULK

On the recall of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, the Subedari of Gujarat was granted to the crown of sovereignty and government Prince Aurangzeb Bahadur at Balam at the time of His Majesty's march for excursion and hunting to paradise like Kashmir on 29th Zilhajj of the year one thousand and fifty four. He was favoured with a royal robe of rarity, two horses from the Royal Stable with gold enamelled saddles and simple gold saddles and an elephant from the Royal Ring with silver accoutrement. He permitted him to go with a grant of two small elephants to his two sons, Muhammed Sultan and Muhammed Mu'azzam. The Prince marched and entered the city on Friday after prayers and recitation of the Khutbah on the first of Rabi' I of the year one thousand and fifty five. On the recall of Dostkam, Muhammed Tahir Asaf Khan arrived as the Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah. In the year one thousand and fifty six, the Prince had collected a large number of servants for establishment of order and chastisement of the rebels. He thus made preparations for organized administration. Expenses were more than income. This fact was reported to His Majesty. The mansab of the noble Prince was fixed at fifteen thousand Zat and ten thousand Sawar, seven thousand sawar do-aspah and se-aspah. Syed Jalal Bukhari the Chief Judge was elevated with an addition of five hundred sawar, to the mansab of six hazari, one thousand and five hundred sawar. It was, in this year, reported to His Majesty that Fildar Khan had gone with servants of the Prince for elephant hunt to Dohad and Champner. He hunted seventy three male and female elephants. During the Subedari of religious minded, noble Prince, vestiges of the Temple of Chintaman situated on the side of Saraspur built by Saudis jeweller, were removed under the Prince's order and a masjid was erected on its remains. It was named 'Quswat-ul-Islam'. It was from reports of aged men responsibility is on the narrator-that the murder of Syed Raju¹ famous now as Raju Shahid was committed at the Prince's order during his Subedari. Its short account is that Syed Raju arrived at Ahmedabad with a party of his companions. They became servants in the Prince's government. Although he was of the Hanafi sect in general and fundamental principles but their belief was that the Promised Mahdi had already come and gone. Believers of this sect are called Mahedwis. At this time, almost all the residents near Palanpur in the Sarkar of Pattan hold this faith. Most of the Afghans etc. in the Dekhan hold this belief. When this fact was brought to the notice of the Prince he ordered

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1 See P. 134 Supplement



their expulsion from the city. They encamped at Rustam Bagh near Shahi Bagh with an intention to go ahead. It was necessary in accordance with the religious decree of the Ulama of the age, to bring them to the highway of guidance, repentance and penitence as they were on the path of mis guidance, road of ignorance and cause of misleading of the common-folk. When it became impossible, a party of soldiers was sent to threaten them. They came out of the aforesaid Bagh and advaced for fight and opposition. They regarded death as the greatest salvation. They fought singly and died. Many soldiers of the royal army were slain in this battle. The Prince was recalled in the month of great Sha'ban when His Majesty resided at Kabul.



CHAPTER 81

SUBEDARI OF SHAYASTAH KHAN AND DIWANI OF MUI'ZZUL MULK AND HAFIZ NASIR.

When the royal mandate of summons was issued to the Prince of noble lineage, Shayastah Khan, the Subedar of Malwa was granted the Subedari of Gujarat on the first of great Sha'ban of the year one thousand and fifty-six. A thousand Sawar from his mansab of do aspah, se aspah which comes to the mansab of five thousand, five thousand sawar was granted to him. Shayastah Khan marched to Gujarat. He entered the city after travelling on 5th holy Shawwal of the above year and devoted himself to promotion of the affairs of Nizamat. During this time, 'Ali Akbar the merchant was honoured by paying homage. He brought six Arab horses for review before His Majesty. He is the son of Haji Kamal Ispahani, who had come to Hindustan for business at the twenty first year of His Majesty's accession to the throne and stayed at Khanbhayat Port. He conducted business with several ships. His ships used to sail to and from Basra and other ports. He was on terms of intimacy with 'Ali Pasha, governor of Basra. Mui'zzul Mulk had procured a horse from 'Amber's descent, facts of which were mentioned above, through him. Hence a royal order was, previously, issued to the effect that he should try to procure Arab horses fit for royal riding which will win royal favour for him. He procured this year Arab horses through good luck and brought them to the Royal Court. There was a bay horse which 'Ali Akbar had procured from the aforesaid Pasha with many efforts by sending precious presents. It was very much liked by His Majesty. It was named "La'l e-Be-baha". It became the chief horse in the Royal Stable. His Majesty remarked that such a horse was not included in the Royal Stable from the days of enthronement. Price of these six horses was settled at twenty five thousand rupees. Price of "La'l e-Be-baha" was fifteen thousand while that of other five horses was ten thousand. 'Ali Akbar, a merchant that he is and has knowledge of judging horses and jewels, and it is possible that he will be able to administer ports in an efficient manner, was granted a mansab of five hundred, three hundred Sawar and appointed to administer the ports of Surat and Khanbhayat. Syed Shukhan, a military commander of the Subah was elevated to the mansab of one thousand and 700 and nine hundred Sawar original and additional. The Faujdari of Baroda was granted to Sultan Yar and Asfandiyar, sons of Himmat Khan. The mansab of Sultan Yar was fixed at one thousand 700, one thousand Sawar—original and additional. Asfandiyar also was honoured with an addition to mansab. In the year one thousand and fifty seven, asylum of Syedship Syed Jalil Bukhari the Chief Judge of the Capital Lahore died. Syed Musa and Syed 'Ali, his sons who were with the deceased were treated with kindness,



their means of livelihood with fixed and were permitted to go to Gujarat where their elder brother lived as Sajjadah nashin and engage themselves in saying prayers on longevity of life of the Emperor and Empire Mirza Dostkam, son of Mu'tamid Khan who was favoured with the post of Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah and an addition to his mansab, continued as such With original and additional, Syed Hasan son of Syed Diler Khan, a military commander of the Subah was honoured with the mansab of one thousand Zat and nine hundred Sawar An elephant with silver accoutrements along with a she elephant sent by the Nazim were seen by His Majesty After some time, some jewels, jewel studded articles, two small elephants with long ears known as 'sea elephants' with silver trappings were seen by His Majesty as peshkash from Shayastah Khan It was reported to His Majesty this year that a Hindu in the midst of conversation killed 'Al Akbar Ispahani, the administrator of the aforesaid port and the port of Surat Mu'izzul Mulk, therefore, was relieved of his duties as the Diwan and appointed once again as the Port-officer of Surat and Kharabhayat Hafiz Muhammed Nasir, the manager of Syed Jalal's affairs, deceased Chief Judge was by good luck made a royal servant He was granted a favour of a robe, mansab of five hundred, one hundred sawar and the post of Diwan of Ahmedabad Subah In the month of Holy Moharram of the year one thousand and fifty eight, a chandelier of amber paste, seven hundred tolas in weight, was embellished with precious jewels Its every grain of diamond was worth one lac of rupees. A sum of two lacs and fifty thousand rupees in all was spent on that chandelier It was prepared for being sent to the illumined mausoleum of His Holiness the Prophet, *may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants* with Syed Ahmed Sa'eed It was submitted to the Royal Presence A royal order was issued to the effect that articles worth one lac and sixty thousand rupees, as before, which with profit looking to the former travel, had increased to ten, twenty, should be bought by administrators of Gujarat affairs and entrusted to him for distribution among the needy and deserving persons of Holy Madinat It was in this year that stone plaster of Bethrah produced in that region was brought to the Royal Presence for white engraving of buildings of the Capital of Shahjahanabad



CHAPTER 82

SUBEDARI OF THE PRINCE OF NOBLE FAMILY MUHAMMED DARA SHIKOH AND DEPUTYSHIP OF GHAI RAT KHAN AND THE DIWANI OF HAFIZ MUHAMMED NASIR AND MIR YAHYA.

Shayastah Khan, inspite of the mansab of five thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah and land-revenue of an annual sum of five lacs of rupees for provision of three thousand se-bandi sawar (Horsemen employed to collect revenue) from the Public Treasury of Ahmedabad, failed to chastise and punish the rebels and Kolis of the Subah in a manner he ought to have done. This fact was repeatedly mentioned in the Khan's petitions to His Majesty. Hence the above Subah was put in charge of the great star of the sky of Khilafat Muhammed Dara Shikoh on 1st of Jamadi II of the year one thousand and fifty-eight. Ten thousand sawars of that dignified Prince were turned into do-aspah se-aspah and he was honoured with the mansab of thirty thousand Zat and twenty thousand Sawar all do-aspah, se-aspah. Baqi Beg was included in the mansab of that fortunate Prince with one thousand Zat and four hundred Sawar. Before this the Prince administered the Subah of Ilahabad. He arrived as summoned from the above Subah and paid homage. He was awarded a robe, deputyship of the Subah of Gujarat on behalf of the Prince and a mansab of two thousand Zat, five hundred Sawar original and additional, a title of Ghairat Khan, a horse and an elephant. He was permitted to go. On the recall of Shah Nawaz Khan, the government of the Subah of Malwa, was entrusted to Shayastah Khan. It was ordered that Shayastah Khan should proceed there, after Ghairat Khan's arrival in Gujarat. Ghairat Khan started as ordered by His Majesty. When he reached frontiers of the Subah the zamindar of Sirohi met him. He accepted a peshkash of one hundred mohar and fifteen thousand rupees. He got up and went away for certain matters which were not done as suited him. In future, no zamindar of Sirohi came till now to see any Nazim. In short, the said Khan entered Ahmedabad, after travelling, on the day of Hindu Dasera, 8th of the month of holy Ramzan of the above year. Shayastah Khan went to the province of his charge Ahmed S'eed, who in the 1st Moharram had started for conveying amber-scented, jewel studded chandelier to the holy mausoleum of His Holiness the Prophet, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants.



now became the royal servant favoured with an addition of one thousand to mansab of three thousand, one thousand Sawar, a banner and a drum. Firasat Khan, who previously was superintendent of the palace, submitted a petition for permission to visit the Holy Places, may God increase their holiness and honour. The religious-minded king permitted him with a favour of a robe and a present of five hundred mohars. An order was issued to the administrators of Ahmedabad that they should purchase articles worth one lac and fifty thousand rupees for the Arabs which probably fetch ten, twenty times price in the Holy Places by the time he arrives. It was settled that articles worth fifty thousand which with profits amount to one lac of rupees should be given to the Sharif of Mekka, Zaid, son of Sharif Muhsin while goods of fifty thousand rupees should be distributed among the Syeds, scholars, pious men and recluses of holy Mekka. Merchandise of remaining fifty thousand rupees should be given to the poor, destitute and indigent of the holy Medina. His Majesty saw the nine Kutchi horses sent as peshkash by Ghurat Khan. Syed Muhiyuddin, an envoy of Sultan Muhammed Khan, ruler of Rum arrived with a letter at Surat port. This fact was reported to His Majesty through a petition of an Arab administrator. A robe and a farman were sent with a mace-bearer to Syed Muhiyuddin. A mandate was sent to the Port Officer of Surat that ten thousand rupees should be given to him from the Public Treasury of Surat and sent to the Court. In the year one thousand and sixty-one, Ghurat Khan was honoured with an addition of five hundred Sawar to the mansab of three thousand, fifteen hundred sawar. Two thousand rupees were given to Syed Hasan, younger brother of Syed Jalul Bukhari, deceased Chief Judge who had gone from Ahmedabad to the Royal Court.



CHAPTER 82

SUBEDARI OF THE PRINCE OF NOBLE FAMILY MUHAMMED DARA SHIKOH AND DEPUTYSHIP OF GHAIROT KHAN AND THE DIWANI OF HAIZ MUHAMMAD NASIR AND MIR YAHYA

Shayastah Khan, inspite of the mansab of five thousand Sawar do aspah, se aspah and land revenue of an annual sum of five lacs of rupees for provision of three thousand se-bandi sawar (Horsemen employed to collect revenue) from the Public Treasury of Ahmedabad, failed to chastise and punish the rebels and Kolis of the Subah in a manner he ought to have done. This fact was repeatedly mentioned in the Khan's petitions to His Majesty. Hence the above Subah was put in charge of the great star of the sky of Khilafat Muhammed Dara Shikoh on 1st of Jamadi II of the year one thousand and fifty eight. Ten thousand sawars of that dignified Prince were turned into do aspah se aspah and he was honoured with the mansab of thirty thousand Zat and twenty thousand Sawar all do aspah, se aspah. Baqi Beg was included in the mansab of that fortunate Prince with one thousand Zat and four hundred Sawar. Before this the Prince administered the Subah of Ilahabad. He arrived as summoned from the above Subah and paid homage. He was awarded a robe, deputyship of the Subah of Gujarat on behalf of the Prince and a mansab of two thousand Zat, five hundred Sawar original and additional, a title of Ghairat Khan, a horse and an elephant. He was permitted to go. On the recall of Shah Nawaz Khan, the government of the Subah of Malwa, was entrusted to Shayastah Khan. It was ordered that Shayastah Khan should proceed there, after Ghairat Khan's arrival in Gujarat. Ghairat Khan started as ordered by His Majesty. When he reached frontiers of the Subah the zamindar of Sirohi met him. He accepted a peshkash of one hundred mohar and fifteen thousand rupees. He got up and went away for certain matters which were not done as suited him. In future, no zamindar of Sirohi came till now to see any Nazim. In short, the said Khan entered Ahmedabad, after travelling, on the day of Hindu Dasera, 8th of the month of holy Ramzan of the above year. Shayastah Khan went to the province of his charge. Ahmed Saeed, who in the last Moharram had started for conveying amber scented, jewel studded chandelier to the holy mausoleum of His Holiness the Prophet, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants returned to Surat this year for the ship being wrecked. In the year one thousand and sixty, Syed 'Ali, son of Syed Jalal the Chief Judge who had gone to the Royal Presence was appointed the Daroghah (Superintendent) of jewelry, jewel studded articles with a favour of a robe. Ghairat Khan, the Prince's Deputy who held the mansab of two thousand dakheli Sawar,



CHAPTER 84

SUBEDARI OF SHAYASTAH KHAN A SECOND TIME AND THE DIWANI OF MIR YAHYA

The noble Prince was appointed to the Kandahar campaign, as stationing of an army in Kabul was indispensable. The Subah of Multan, in place of the Subah of Gujarat where he had an army, was granted to him. In place of fiefs in Gujarat, he was granted jagir in the Subah of Multan in lieu of salary. On the 17th of holy Sha'ban of the year one thousand and sixty, the Subedari of Ahmedabad was entrusted to Shayastah Khan, who governed the Dekhan. Mandates were issued in respect of this. The aforesaid Khan, travelled with continuous marches under royal orders and came to the city at close of the above year. He earnestly devoted himself to promotion of the Suba's affairs. During this time, His Majesty learnt through a petition of a chronicler of the Surat Port that a certain man named Ghulam Raza arrived from Bandar-i-'Abbas with seven 'Iraqi horses. He has brought a letter from the Ruler of Iran addressed to the guardians of paths and roads to the effect that Ghulam Raza, a servant of Ilahvardi Khan has brought some horses for him and that no one should molest him. He sent this letter along with his petition to the Royal Court. It was guessed that Ilahvardi Khan must have sent some presents with a letter to Ilahvardi, Palace Superintendent of the Ruler of Iran with him. Such a letter should be taken from him and shown to him saying that sending of gifts and a letter to a stranger is not proper without royal permission. He was punished with a change in mansab and jagir. He denied that Ghulam Raza was his former servant. A mandate was issued to the administrators of Surat Port that horses and all other known goods of Ghulam Raza, who became the source of such daring, should be confiscated. He should be sent in chains and fetters so that he may be punished proportionate to his offence. Sultan Yar, brother of Asfandiyar Kukah titled Himmat Khan was appointed the Faujdar of Baroda. In the year one thousand and sixty-three, His Majesty learnt that the fort of Shayastah Khan, the Nazim of Subah that the fort of needed repairs. Twenty thousand rupees were spent on repair. be sanctioned by the Diwan of Subah. In this year corresponding to the seventh year of enthronement, a code of actions-Datur-ul- from the Royal Court in respect of amirs and mansabdars (salary) in cash in place of jagir, to all provinces of the empire deduced here in its original form.



CHAPTER 83

DIWANI OF MIR YAHYA ON THE RECALL OF HAFIZ MUHAMMED NASIR

On the recall of Hafiz Muhammed Nasir, Mir Yahya was appointed the Diwan and the Daroghah of Karkara Khana (Department of taxes) of Ahmedabad on 16th Shawwal of the above year. He was granted a robe and increase in mansab. He was permitted to go. Muhammed Saleh, son of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, on the recall of his father to the Royal Presence was appointed to the government of Saurath Sarkar. Ghairat Khan was raised, with addition of five hundred sawar, to the mansab of three thousand, two thousand sawar. Syed Muhiyuddin, the envoy of the King of Rum was permitted, after attendance, to go from the Royal Presence. He accompanied Haji Sa'eed Ahmed, who had come back to the Surat Port for wreckage of the ship in which he had sailed, for conveying amber perfumed jewel studded chandelier. A mandate was issued to the administrators of Surat Port that they should buy goods worth one lac of rupees for the Arabs and entrust them to him so that he may distribute, as before, among deserving persons of the Holy Places. In the year one thousand and sixty two, Syed 'Ali, son of Syed Jalal deceased was honoured with the mansab, original and additional, of two thousand, four hundred sawar while Hafiz Muhammed Sabir was favoured with a robe and on recall of Mir 'Arab, charge of Port officership of Surat with an addition to the mansab. Mir Shams (uddin) was appointed the Faujdar and Fief-holder of Pattan.



CHAPTER 84

SUBEDARI OF SHAYASTAH KHAN A SECOND TIME AND THE DIWANI OF MIR YAHYA

The noble Prince was appointed to the Kandahar campaign, as stationing of an army in Kabul was indispensable. The Subah of Multan, in place of the Subah of Gujarat where he had an army, was granted to him. In place of fiefs in Gujarat, he was granted jagir in the Subah of Multan in lieu of salary. On the 17th of holy Sha'ban of the year one thousand and sixty, the Subedari of Ahmedabad was entrusted to Shayastah Khan, who governed the Dekhan. Mandates were issued in respect of this. The aforesaid Khan, travelled with continuous marches under royal orders and came to the city at close of the above year. He earnestly devoted himself to promotion of the Suba's affairs. During this time, His Majesty learnt through a petition of a chronicler of the Surat Port that a certain man named Ghulam Raza arrived from Bandar-i-'Abbas with seven 'Iraqi horses. He has brought a letter from the Ruler of Iran addressed to the guardians of paths and roads to the effect that Ghulam Raza, a servant of Ilahvardi Khan has brought some horses for him and that no one should molest him. He sent this letter along with his petition to the Royal Court. It was guessed that Ilahvardi Khan must have sent some presents with a letter to Ilahvardi, Palace Superintendent of the Ruler of Iran with him. Such a letter should be taken from him and shown to him saying that sending of gifts and a letter to a stranger is not proper without royal permission. He was punished with a change in mansab and jagir. He denied that Ghulam Raza was his former servant. A mandate was issued to the administrators of Surat Port that horses and all other known goods of Ghulam Raza, who became the source of such daring, should be confiscated. He should be sent in chains and fetters so that he may be punished proportionate to his offence. Sultan Yar, brother of Asfandiyar Kulah titled Himmat Khan was appointed the Faujdar of Baroda. In the year one thousand and sixty-three, His Majesty learnt through the petition of Shayastah Khan, the Nazim of Subah that the fort of Ahmedabad city needed repairs. Twenty thousand rupees were spent on repairs which should be sanctioned by the Diwan of Subah. In this year corresponding to twenty-seventh year of enthronement, a code of actions Datur ul 'Amal was issued from the Royal Court in respect of amirs and mansabdars who received (salary) in cash in place of jagir, to all provinces of the empire. It is reproduced here in its original form.



CHAPTER 85

DASTUR-UL 'AMAL

Reference is made to a memorandum issued on Tuesday of the month of holy Shaban of the twenty-seventh year of enthronement of His Majesty corresponding to the year one thousand and sixty-three of the Hijri era equivalent to the month of Tir of the Ilahi, in the form of a pamphlet of the trustworthy of the exalted state, the reliable of the excellent saltanat, the qualified for excellent favour, the worthy of glorious desires, the master of temporal perfections the embodiment of spiritual virtues, the organizer of orderly course of the state and finance, the finder of paths of luck and fortune, the treasurer of kingly secrets, the knower of brilliant mind of His Majesty-the shadow of Holy God, the perfect one in welfare of the elite and the common, the place of kindness and obligation, the eminent of the state, the pivot of affairs, the very learned man the very intelligent Sa'dullah Khan Bahadur and indited by Muhammed Hashim Quli to the effect that it is reported to His Majesty that amirs and mansabdars receive their salaries in cash in lieu of jagir. Their followers receive, after deduction of difference, cash salaries of seven Sawars per one branded horse. A Jagirdar of eight months seven months and six months receives thirty rupees as salary and that of the five months twenty-six rupees. A royal order is, therefore issued to the effect that stipulation of thirty rupees as salary for eight months, seven months and six months for one year per horse and its fixation at twenty six rupees in five months and four months are not reasonable. Cash salary is not more in respect of eight months while it is not less in respect of four months. Hence it is decided that the fifth part, in accordance with former regulations of branding thirty rupees per horse in eight months twenty seven and a half rupees in seven months, twenty five rupees in six months, twenty two rupees and a half in five months twenty rupees in four months as salary should be paid from the first day of solar month of Miher to the end of Asfandarmad of this year. Salaries of previous months should be paid according to former regulations. Rate of salary of military detachments in the Subahs of Qandahar remains the fifth part as before from the first of Farwardin of the twenty-sixth year of ascension to the throne. This rule must be put in force. Branding rate is in accordance with the fourth part for others such as the attendants of the royal stirrup and military detachments of other Subahs. Salary per sawar should be defrayed as stated above. If one cash recipient has not branded his horse from the first of Farwardin month for a long time under the fourth regulation, the followers should be paid according to the fifth part and difference in salary should be deducted from fifth to fourth from beginning of the above month. Increment in case of do aspah horses should not be sanctioned. The cash tankhwah of Ali Mardan Khan and



amir-ul-umara should be continued as before as per regulation of ten men his Horsemen who receive a share from jagir are dropped from demand of salary and too other cash recipients. In case of amir-ul-umara, it is deducted from his tankhwah. Bakhshis should count horsemen, who receive a share of jagir in addition to the proportion of cash-recipients of the amir-ul-umara over and above his present detachment. It should be so recorded. Regulation of branding in connection with followers of all amirs and mansabdars except for military detachments of Kandahar is the same as above from first of Farwardin of 26th year of ascension. Again it was ordered that cash recipients of five horsemen should brand one horse as the fourth part. He should be given one-fourth supply of provision less. Two and a half sawars are a fourth part of ten sawars. If he brands three horses, he should be given salary for two and a half sawars. Provision for half a sawar should be regarded as additional. If he brands two horses, provision of half a sawar should be deducted. Fourth part of fifteen horses is one-fourth less in four. If he brands four horses, he should be paid for three and three fourth sawars. If he brands three horses, one sawar should be deducted. In this manner, if reduction in the fourth part is half, one horse should be branded. The same procedure is to be adopted in respect of more than half. If it is one-fourth, a horse should not be branded. It should not be taken as provision in respect of tankhwah of jagir also. Branding in respect of the followers of zamindars should be recognized as fixed on half as before. A mandate was also issued in respect of Ahadis (single troopers). If any one of them brands a horse other than a Turkish pony or an Arab horse, the amount should be deducted from Ahadis salary from first of Farwardin of the 26th year of ascension as stated below. An Arab horse should not be branded in provinces. Horses of the Dekhan, Ahmedabad, Bengal, Orissa and Thattar should be branded. On the recall of Umar Draz, Hafiz Muhammad Nasir, Port-Officer of Surat was appointed as Faujdar of Surat on 5th Rabi 'II of that year. He was appointed for establishment expenses. He should annually take eighty thousand rupees in cash, half from the sarkar of the emperor and half from the sarkar of Queen Durrin Begum. Hummat Khan was appointed as Faujdar of Dholka with an increase in his mansab. The Sharif of Mekkah had sent a petition with 'Ali Chelepi along with a girdle of the House of God and two Arab horses to the Royal Court. His arrival at Surat port was reported to His Majesty. Officers at Surat paid him, under a royal order, a present of two thousand rupees. He then proceeded to the Royal Presence. His Majesty beheld the peshkash of Shariyati Khan, the Nazim of the Subah consisting of a few jewels, jewel-studded articles and two elephants. On the recall of Dildar Beg, Syed Shaikhani, son-in-law of Syed Diler Khan was appointed the Faujdar and field holder of the pargana of Tharid in the Sarkar of Patan with an addition of five hundred, one hundred sawar to mansab of fifteen hundred and one thousand sawar. Shaikh Abdus Samad 'Amir-ul-umara



appointed the Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah while Mir Muhammed Amin was appointed the Amin for Branding. Two horses from the Royal Stable, one 'Iraqi with gold accoutrements and the other Turki were sent to Shayastali Khan, the Nazim of the Subah with Shaikh Abdus Samad 'Ali Chelepi, envoy of the Sharif of Mekka also was permitted to go. His Majesty beheld ten horses nine Arab and one 'Iraqi bought by Hafiz Muhammed Nasir, the Port officer of Surat and sent to the Royal Court. His Majesty liked very much an arab bay horse and an Iraqi piebald horse. The first was named "Sarbuland" and the other "Shah-pasand". Hummat Khan, the Faujdar of Dholka was raised to the mansab of one thousand and five hundred with an addition of five hundred Zat. As the Kolis of the paragana of Chanwal raised heads in revolt and carried desolation to villages of the paragana of Haveli of Ahmedabad, paragana of Dholka and paragana of Kadi and Jhalawar etc., Shayastali Khan marched to that side, expelled Kahani, ring-leader of insurgents and gave zamindari of the place to Jagmal Girasia of Sanand, in the paragana of Dholka. His Majesty learnt from a petition submitted by Hafiz Muhammed Nasir, the Port officer of Surat that Sultan Muhammed Khan, Ruler of Rum has sent Zulqadr Aqa, whose brother Saleh Pasha was the Chief Minister of his father Sultan Ibrahim as an envoy with a letter. He arrived at Surat Port on 29th Safar of the year one thousand and sixty four. A farman was issued to Hafiz Muhammed Nasir that a sum of twelve thousand rupees in cash should be given to him from the Public Treasury of Surat. It was reported to His Majesty that the aforesaid envoy under an order of his king intends to reach the Royal Court with as much speed as possible. Syed Ja'far, son of Syed Jalal Bukhari deceased the successor of His Holiness Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified who after death of his father had not paid homage to His Majesty, hastened from Gujarat to the Royal Presence. A sum of five thousand rupees was given to him. On the recall of Muhammed Saleh, son of Mirza Isa Tarkhan Shamsuddin who held the mansab of fifteen hundred (zat), fifteen hundred sawar and Qutbuddin, who held the mansab of fifteen hundred (zat) and fourteen hundred sawar, sons of Nazar Bahadur Kheshagi, were appointed the Faujdar of Junagadh and fief holders of certain mahals.



CHAPTER 86

SUBEDARI OF THE NOBLE PRINCE MUHAMMED MURAD BAKHSH AND DIWANI OF RAHMAT KHAN.

As Prince of the noble descent, Muhammed Murad Bakhsh came to the Royal Presence as summoned from the Subah of Malwa, he paid homage to His Majesty on the 1st of Rabi 'II of the year one thousand and sixty-four and made a present of one thousand mohars. He was favoured with a royal robe and in the recall of Shayastah Khan, who wanted the Subedari of Malwa, he was appointed the Subedar of Gujarat. He cherished him with three thousand zat over the mansab of fifteen thousand, fifteen thousand Sawar, five thousand sawar were do-aspah, se-aspah. Besides fifteen crores as salary, a mansab of one crore dam was granted as present and thus the total came to sixteen crores. Besides one lac of rupees which was given to him at the time of summoning from Malwa from Malwa's public treasury, one lac of rupees from the treasury of the Royal Stirrup was given to him. He ordered that one lac of rupees from the treasury of the Queen and two lacs of rupees should be paid to him from treasury after his reaching Ahmedabad. It was also decided that a jagir worth eleven crores of dam should be assigned to him as personal salary (tankhwah). He should take the remaining five crores of dam in cash under deed of ten months from the Public Treasury from the Port of Surat. Diyanat Khan was appointed a Diwan of the noble Prince



CHAPTER 87

DIWANI OF RAHMAT KHAN ON THE RECALL OF MIR YAHYA

Rahmat Khan who held the mansab of fifteen hundred Zat and four hundred Sawar was appointed, on the recall of Mir Yahya, the Diwan of the Subah and the Daroghah of Karkarag Khana of Ahmedabad. Dostkam, son of Mu'tamid Khan was appointed the Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah and addition of the mansab Syed Jafar, son of Syed Jalal Bukhari deceased sajjadalmashin of His Holiness Hazrat Shah Alam, may his grave be sanctified was favoured with five thousand, a robe, and an elephant while Syed Ahmed, brother of Syed Jalal one thousand rupees, and a she elephant, a robe and were permitted to go to Ahmedabad their native place. Mujahid Jalori was appointed the Faujdar and fief holder of Pattan. Mir Shams son of Syed Diler Khan was transferred to the Sarkar of Godhra as Faujdar and fief holder as before with a mansab of one thousand and five hundred, one thousand and five hundred sawar. When the Prince arrived at the confines of Jhabua its zamindar paid homage and gave a peshkash of fifteen thousand rupees in cash and seven horses. He followed the Prince and entered Ahmedabad on 17th of holy Sha'ban of the year. He stayed in Ahmedabad for seven months. He was permitted to go, after he was, at the request of Qutbuddin Khan, given a present of an elephant and ten camels. Kahanji, Zamindar of Chawal presented himself through Syed Shaikh Khan, gave a reliable security for not rising in rebellion and fixed a peshkash of a sum of ten thousand rupees. He prospered in his place. At this juncture, His Majesty learnt that the poor men of Holy Mekka, may God increase its holiness and honour, spent life in hardship due to shortage and high price of foodgrains. As the branches of desires and wishes of people of the world are green and verdant always with droppings of clouds of presents of sea liberal King, he honoured Khwaja Zabita with a favour of a robe and permitted him to go to the Holy Places on 16th Jama'ul II of the year one thousand and sixty four. A mandate was issued to the administrators of Surat Fort that they should buy, till his arrival, goods worth one lac of rupees for the Arabs and keep them ready. The aforesaid Khwaja was ordered that he should give one third of goods to the Sharif of Makka, the other one third to pious men and scholars of the Holy place and the remaining one-third to recluses of Holy Medina. Kalim Mehrabdar prepared, under a royal order, a prayer carpet in the workshop of Multan according to the measurements of the masjid of Holy Medina and submitted to the Royal Court. It was sent with him. It was in this year that Dildost son of Sarfari Khan was appointed a thanadar, under the Prince's order, of Vijapur in the jurisdiction of Pattan Sarkar with an increase of five hundred sawar to the mansab of one thousand



and five hundred, one thousand sawar. In the month of victorious Safar of the year one thousand and sixty five Syed Shaikhani was appointed the Faujdar of Piprod and Sadhra. His Majesty saw twelve Arab and Kutchi horses sent by the Prince as peshkash to His Majesty. On the day of Weight Festival, according to lunar calculation in this year, His Majesty raised aloft a tent of velvet embroidered with gold in complete needle work measuring forty three durr (feet ?) in length and thirty two in width prepared in Ahmedabad workshop at a cost of fifty thousand rupees. Syed Sadqah who was sent to Surat by His Majesty so that he should go to Arabistan to purchase worthy horses for His Majesty, arrived at the Royal Court from Surat Port. He brought two Arab horses one of them was a bay horse. He reported that the Governor of Basrah sent these two horses at a price of nearly twelve thousand rupees. The bay horse was fit for royal riding. His Majesty favoured him with a robe, addition to the mansab and ten thousand rupees. The horse was included in the Royal Stable and named it "deh hazaar". It was in this year that Syed Ali, son of deceased Syed Jalal the Chief Judge was favoured with a royal robe with an increase of five hundred, one hundred Sawar in his mansab of two thousand five hundred, five hundred Sawar, title of Rizvi Khan, post of Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah of Ahmedabad, on the recall of Dostkam, Aminship of that side, an Iraqi horse and an elephant. He was permitted to go. His Majesty also sent two Iraqi horses from the Royal Stable with saddles enamelled with gold and simple gold for the noble Prince with him. Five hundred mohars from the Royal treasury were given to him, half of which for his elder brother Syed Jafar, the Sayyidah-nashin and the other half to be distributed among the destitute. On the recall of Dyanat Khan, Dostkam was appointed to the Diwan of the noble Prince's Sarkar. The aforesaid Khan had introduced many innovations in mahals of the appraisers of cattle when he was a diwan. Aurang Khan was appointed to military detachment with a grant of a robe. Hirji Bohra was one of the eminent wealthy men of Surat port. Satidas was noted for abundant goods among the jewellers of Gujarat. He was famous among Surat merchants for immense wealth. He sent Arab horses to the Royal Presence by way of Peshkash. His Majesty approved of a roan horse amongst them. It was named 'Nizar-i-Mubarak'. He was favoured with a gift of an elephant from the Court of favour. A sum of one lac of rupees was given this year from the Treasury of Ahmedabad to the noble Prince as a present. Again two horses, one an Arab horse with a saddle of gold enamel and another Iraqi with a saddle of simple gold, from the Royal Stable were sent to him. In the year one thousand sixty-six, as Hafiz Nisar failed to perform his duties well at the ports of Surat and Khanbharat, the port of Khanbharat was put in charge of Abdul Latif, the younger brother of Mirza-ul-Mulk. Muhammad Amin, on the recall of Hafiz Muhammad Nisar, was appointed with increased mansab as the Diwan of Surat.



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Faujdar and Port-officer of Surat Rahmat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah, of Ahmedabad was ennobled with an increase of five hundred Zat to the mansab of fifteen hundred, four hundred Sawar. The Prince was given a present of one lac of rupees from the treasury of Surat port. As forceful seizure, dishonesty and untruthfulness of Muhammed Amin, Port Officer of Surat had reached His Majesty, an order was issued for transfer of his mansab, and jagir as well as for imprisonment as an example to others. Whatever he had possessed by way of forceful confiscation and dishonesty, were taken back from him. On the 11th of the holy Sha'ban of that year, Muhammed Qasim was appointed the Faujdar and Rawshanzamir was given the post of Bakhshi and Chronicler of Surat Port as well as the posts of Diwan and Amin. Both of them were favoured with increase in mansab. On the recall of Rawshanzamir, 'Abdul 'Aziz was appointed the Bakhshi and Chronicler of Surat Port. Sultan Yar, Thanadar of Belparan was glorified with an addition of five hundred sawar to the mansab of one thousand and five hundred and five hundred sawar. On the recall of Dostkam, 'Ali Naqi was appointed to the Diwan of the Prince's Sarkar on 25th of Ziq'ad of the above year. As the noble Prince had no issue through the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, His Majesty sent the daughter of Amir Khan, who was worthy of marriage with the Prince to Ahmedabad for the Prince to marry. He sent jewels, jewel-studded articles, gold utensils and silver wares and other things the worth of all was one lac of rupees by way of dowry. The Prince was honoured with an addition of two thousand horse do-aspah, se-aspah to the mansab of fifteen thousand, twelve thousand Sawar, eight thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah. He was given a present of one lac of rupees-twenty thousand from the treasury of stirrup and eighty thousand rupees from the treasury of Surat Port. A mandate of favour about above kindnesses, a special robe, two Arab horses of the Royal Stable with gold-enamelled saddles and simple gold was sent with Syed 'Ali, son of Malek 'Amber and Saleh Beg, mace-bearer. The Sarkar of Junagadh was assigned as an additional salary. The noble Prince occupied himself to regulate it after arrival of these favours with conditions of reception and performance of decorum. As Shamsuddin and Qutbuddin the fief-holders of Junagadh quarrelled among themselves, Qutbuddin was appointed the faujdar and fief holder of Pattan. Shamsuddin received an order that he should proceed to the Prince Muhammed Aurangzib Bahadur in the Dekhan. On the recall of Rizi Khan, Mir Muhammed Ispahani was appointed as Bakhshi and Chronicler of the Subah with a favour of a robe and a horse. Syed Mansur, son of Syed Khan Jahan was included at the Prince's request among the military commanders of Gujarat with a mansab of one thousand four hundred sawar. In the year one thousand and sixty-seven, His Majesty saw the peshkash sent by the Prince consisting of jewels, precious textiles, twenty-eight 'Arab and Kutchi horses, eighteen Gujarati oxen and other articles.

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CHAPTER 88

RECEIPT OF NEWS OF ILLNESS OF HIS MAJESTY SAHIB QIRAN-I-SANI ENTHRONEMENT OF THE PRINCE MUHAMMED MURAD BAKHSH WITH THE TITLE OF MIRWAJ-UD-DIN IMPRESSION OF COINS AND RECITATION OF KHUTBAH IN HIS NAME DEPARTURE TO THE CAPITAL AKBERABAD BEGINNING OF DISTURBANCE.

On the night of 7th holy Zilhajj of this year, His Majesty suddenly suffered from an uncongenial ailment. Auspicious temperament of His Majesty deviated from the limit of moderation. This dreadful news and length of duration spread in the empire. Administrative matters of Hindustan became disorderly due to long distance, disturbance of mischievous elements, blockade of correspondence by the eldest Prince Dara Shikoh, imprisonment of Vakils (agents), failure of receiving true news about condition of His Majesty to distant and near places. This affair caused disturbance and gave rise to revolts. Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh, the Subedar of Gujarat hoisted banners of independence and sat on the throne on receipt of unpleasant news without investigating true condition and acting with short-sightedness. He titled himself as Mirwaj-ud-din, assumed the name of Sultan, struck coins and recited Khutbah in his name. He sent a battalion of army to Surat Port which at that time was a fief of Her Majesty the Queen and occupied the fort with force and domination with its riches and materials belonging to the Sarkar of the crown-land and the deputy of the place. He extended hand of oppression and molestation to wealth and property of people and committed unworthy deeds. He captured and imprisoned 'Abdul Latif son of Islam Khan who was a worthy domestic of the Royal Court, Port Officer and directed its affairs under royal orders along with other administrative officers. He caused affronts and harms to them in various ways. He slayed with his own hands 'Ali Naqi, his Diwan who was a well-known royal servant and who worked as Diwan with efficiency without any offence and fault on his part but on mere suspicion of discord and doubt of accord for his utterance of valuable words out of his welfare. He openly beat the drum of refractoriness. Prince Muhammed Dara Shikoh, after hearing this disturbance, reported to His Majesty and decided that Murad Bakhsh should be recalled from the Subah of Gujarat and appointed the Subedar of Berar. If he obeyed the order and went there, his offences would be connived at and he would be forgiven. In case of absence of obedience and submission, he should be severely punished, imprisoned and summoned to the Royal Presence. Prince Muhammed Aurangzeb Bahadur had an intention of a sick-visit to His Majesty and a talk of certain matters mention of which is not proper. He reached with



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an equipped army from the Dekhan to the Royal Presence. Muhammed Dara Shikoh, on receipt of information about designs of the Princes issued farmans one after the other from the Royal Presence for their return. But it proved of no avail. Hence, Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Zamindar of Jodhpur was appointed Subedar of Malwa in consultation with Muhammed Dara Shikoh on 22nd Rabi 'I of the year one thousand and sixty-eight. He was permitted to go there. Similarly, Qasim Khan was permitted to go being appointed as Subedar of Ahmedabad on the last date of Jamadi I of the above year. It was decided that both the Subedars should halt at Ujjain and take care that if Murad Bakhsh vacated Ahmedabad with submission, so far so good, otherwise, he should be expelled from Ahmedabad in co operation with the Maharaja. Mohammed Murad Bakhsh took fifty lacs of rupres from residents of Ahmedabad city as orally heard from people of Gujarat for his preparations with intention of sovereignty. He had started with Rahmat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah, and appointed mansabdars and faujdars in the Subah. Prince Muhammed Aurangzeb Bahadur, who had started for a sick visit to his worthy father, thought of joining Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh after crossing the river Narabda. Both met on the way. When they reached Ujjain, Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan, who were thorns on their way, fled after an engagement. Both the Princes marched to the capital of Akberabad. As other events are not connected with the Subah of Gujarat, reference is made for their knowledge to the 'Alamgirnama. A sum of five lacs and fifty thousand, out of the amount seized by Muhammed Murad Bakhsh from residents of Ahmedabad, was taken from sons and brothers of Sandas jeweller, a favourite of the Court, and a devoted man of service to the noble Princes. He was then in service of His Majesty. He had assigned the same sum to be paid in the name of his eunuch Mu'tamid Khan who was left as Deputy with his family in Ahmedabad after Muhammed Dara Shikoh's defeat and four days before his imprisonment. He gave the farman with a particular seal in his name. By chance, its original copy fell into my hands. It is reproduced here.

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CHAPTER 89

A COPY OF THE MANDATE WITH A PARTICULAR SEAL OF PRINCE MUHAMMED MURAD BAKHSH IN RESPECT OF TANKHWAH FOR AN AMOUNT OF FIVE LACS AND FIFTY THOUSAND RUPEES TO MU'TAMID KHAN

Asylum of amirship and superintendancy, seat of elevation and honour, a sincere, respectable confidante, Mu'tamid Khan, being exalted and distinguished with endless favours should know that Satidas Sahu became extremely felicitous in attaining to the fortune of service. An order is issued by way of favours to him that I borrowed a sum from his son Manek Chand and his brothers in the abode of accession, Ahmedabad by way of a loan. Its details follow. It should be paid from the revenues, recovered in autumn season of Yunat II, from the following paraganahs. As Manek Chand rendered excellent services and Satidas obtained felicity of the Royal Presence by loyalty and devotion, an order is, therefore, issued that he should try in this respect that he and his brothers get back the loan soon. The order should be obeyed with all necessary urgency. Written on 1st Shawwal of the first year of auspicious enthronement. Details of the order for the loan of Manek Chand and others to be paid out of the produce of autumn season of the Yunat II. One lac and fifty thousand rupees from Surat, one lac of rupees from Khanbayat, one lac from the paraganah of Petlad, seventy-five thousand from the paraganah of Dholka, fifty thousand rupees from the paraganah of Broach, forty-five thousand rupees from the paraganah of Biramgam, thirty thousand from salt-region. It was settled by His Royal Highness that Manek Chand's loan should be first paid as he is always serviceable. Other merchants should then be paid. Manek Chand is to be paid four lacs and twenty-two thousand, Rabidas partner of Satidas, forty thousand rupees, Sanmal and others eighty-one thousand rupees.



CHAPTER 90

SALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY KHULD-MAKAN ABUL MUZAFFER MUHIYUDDIN MUHAMMED AURANGZEB BAHADUR 'ALAMGIR BADSHAH-I-GHAZI

After defeat of Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan, His Majesty Khuld makan and Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh marched forward from Ujjain, the former with an intention of a sick-visit to his worthy father and the latter with an idea of sovereignty, to the Capital Akberabad where His Majesty (Shahjahan) was . They reached the capital on 9th Sha'ban of the year one thousand and sixty eight Hijri . Muhammed Dara Shikoh offered resistance at Dholpur and was defeated on 7th of the holy Ramazan . Muhammed Murad Bakhsh was imprisoned on 4th of the holy Shawwal . His Majesty (Aurangzeb) marched on Shahjahanabad in pursuit of Dara Shikoh . On the way, he encamped at Bagh i-A'zzabad . He acceded to the throne of saltanant on Friday 1st of holy Ziq'ad of that year, after fifteen ghadis and two palas, the auspicious time elected by the the astrologers . He postponed assumption of the title, recitation of the Khutbah, impression of coins and celebration of festivity to second julus (ascension) . He chased Dara Shikoh . It is said that the date of auspicious ascension was stated by the tongue of revelation as from the words "I am the world shining sun "

When Rahmat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah of Ahmedabad and other officers of the Subah whom Muhammed Murad Bakhsh had, willy nilly, taken with himself paid homage to His Majesty, Rahmat Khan was favoured with a robe, and a mansab of two thousand, six hundred horse and appointed as before the diwan of the Subah of Gujarat . Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi was granted a robe and the mansab of three thousand, three thousand Sawar, do-aspah, se aspah and appointed as Faujdar of the Saurath Sarkar . Dildost, son of Sarfraz Khan was awarded a robe and a title of Sardar Khan while his younger brother Dildar Beg was favoured with a robe, title of Dildar Khan and appointment as Faujdar of Pattan Sarkar . Syed Hasan, son of Syed Diler Khan was awarded the title of Khan . Every one of them was shown a favour with a worthy addition . Satidas Sahu the jeweller, who was the best and most eminent Sahu of Gujarat was honoured with an award of a robe . A farman with basis of felicity was sent with him in respect of conciliation and consolation to ryots, nobles and all residents of cities with the Princely Seal as the particular seal was postponed to be prepared at the time of second ascension . He was further asked to see the Diwan etc and convey tidings of security and safety to all residents . A copy of the original farman is reproduced realpatidar.com



• CHAPTER 92

SUBEDARI OF MIRZA SHAH NAWAZ KHAN SAFAWI DIWANI OF RAHMAT KHAN ARRIVAL OF MUHAMMED DARA SHIKOH AT AHMEDABAD HIS DEPARTURE TO AJMER FOR OPPOSITION TO HIS MAJESTY APPOINTMENT OF SYED AHMED BUKHARI TO THE SUBEDARI ON HIS BEHALF

Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan was imprisoned under a royal order in the fort of Burhanpur for certain matters and state policy from the time of His Majesty's march from Aurangabad to Akberabad till now. He was shown kindness and mercy. He was released, through Imperial favour, from captivity of fault and curtain of shame. He was entrusted with the Subedari of Gujarat with a favour of a royal robe, old mansab with an addition of one thousand, one thousand sawar do aspah, se aspah which with original and additional came to six thousand, six thousand sawar of which five thousand were do aspah, se aspah through an order on 8th of holy Moharram of the year one thousand and sixty nine. He hastened under a royal order to the respective Subah and entered Ahmedabad on 17th, Rabi 'I of the above year. He had not yet settled when he received intelligence of Muhammad Dara Shikoh's march towards Ahmedabad from Tattha. He came to confines of a desert, that is a desert situated on the way to Kutch. During this year, there was scarcity of rain and so the ponds on the way were waterless. Wells at several places did not supply sufficient water for the army. Most of his soldiers were on the point of dying at two three stages. Many animals died. At any rate, he entered the desert. The above mentioned desert is a saltish plain situated at a distance of forty kurohs from sea coast. Sweet water is absolutely unobtainable in the whole of this distance. At all places, there are waves of a mirage in place of water. As the sea is nearby, there is a kind of mud at most places of this land. Below that mud, water is found which goes down and down. In the Hindi language, it is called duldal. It is not possible for a few horsemen to go abreast of one another on the road. Length of that desert terminates at a place Lunah included in the province of Kutch. It is here that a road bifurcates towards Gujarat and the other towards Junagadh. In short, Muhammed Dara Shikoh was under the impression that the province of Gujarat would be without an army and a commander who could resist and repel him. He, therefore, stepped forth on the desert with an intention to go to Gujarat, under guidance and help of some of zamindars by way of sea coast which is unfrequented and difficult to cross. When he reached Kutch, the land marcher of the place hastened for his reception through ignorance (unwisdom) and met him. Muhammed Dara Shikoh behaved with him with courtesy.



and generosity through duplicity and demanded his daughter in marriage for his son, Sipir Shikoh. The Zamindar was deceived by his graceful conciliation and coaxing mildness. He gave passage to Muhammed Dara Shikoh through his province. He then proceeded towards Gujarat with nearly three thousand men left with him. Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan, the Subedar who had newly come to the Subah found no power of resistance in himself. Again due to an untoward incident which happened with him in Burhanpur on the occasion of the royal march, face of his loyalty had a scratch and the ruror of his faith was polluted with sensual injuries. He had, then, not such an army as to prevent his entry into Ahmedabad. He came out of Ahmedabad with Rahmat Khan, Diwan of the Subah and all auxiliaries for reception. He met him at Sarkhej. Dara Shikoh entered the city without prevention and molestation on 23rd Rabi 'II of the above year. He lifted head of fearlessness and extended hand of seizure and molestation to wealth and articles of work shops of Prince Murad Bakhsh that existed. He nearly seized ten lacs of rupees from his wealth and opened doors of extravagance and dissipation. He began collecting an army. Having deceived the auxiliaries of the Subah, townsfolk etc with justice, generosity, conciliation and largesse, he engaged in giving mansabs and titles. He desired to go to the income-yielding port of Surat. Aminai Gujarati who, in times of His Majesty, governed it for some time, was then in Ahmedabad. He appointed him as a governor on his behalf. A royal servant Sadiq Muhammed Khan was the Port Officer. He dismissed himself without an effort for defence and retired. Aminai, governor of Dara Shikoh, extended hand of usurpation to wealth of the revenue office. In short, Muhammed Dara Shikoh, spent one month and seven days in Ahmedabad and collected an arrayed force and worthy army of twenty-two thousand horsemen. He obtained an excellent arsenal of cannons. He came out of Ahmedabad on 1st of Jamadi II. He took Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi with all servants and dependants of sons, relatives, wife of Muhammed Murad Bakhsh who were here and many best auxiliaries of the Subah such as Rahmat Khan, Diwan of the Subah, Muhammed Beg Turkoman who was awarded the title of Qizilbash Khan etc. He appointed Syed Ahmed, brother of Syed Bilal Bukhari (Jalal ?) as the Subedar of Ahmedabad. He left none of his servants and started towards Ajmer with an intention to offer resistance to His Majesty.



CHAPTER 93

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJA JASWANT SINGH DIWANI OF RAHMAT KHAN AND MAKARAMAT KHAN. SECOND ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY AFTER DEFEAT OF MUHAMMED DARA SHIKOH HIS ARRIVAL AT AHMEDABAD PREVENTION OF SARDARKHAN TO HIS ENTRY OF AHMEDABAD IMPRISONMENT OF SYED AHMED BUKHARI

For certain affairs details of which are written in the Alamgirnama and the mention of which is not proper here, Maharaja Jaswant Singh was disgraced. A farman of mercy, before the occurrence of war with Muhammed Dara Shikoh was issued, through intervention of Mirza Raja, based on good news of forgiveness and pardon for his former offences and faults. A special robe was sent to him. He was ennobled with his previous mansab which was that of seven thousand, seven thousand Sawar of which five thousand Sawar were do-aspah, se aspah. Regal beneficence so claimed that one who is, for some time, kept apart from favour of the Royal Presence, comes out from disgrace of a deed and shame of a fault. Hence, the Subedari of Gujarat was entrusted to him on the 1st of Rajab of the year one thousand and sixty-nine. A royal order was issued that he should proceed to the Subah for management of its affairs and that he should send his son Kunwar Prithwi Singh to the Royal Presence. In short, when Muhammed Dara Shikoh was defeated in the battle of Ajmer, he fled to Gujarat within eight days. Amirs and other auxiliaries of the Subah, on hearing about his defeat, despaired of him. They settled among themselves that if Muhammed Dara Shikoh intended to enter the city, he should be given no passage. Hence Sardar Khan, a royal servant who from old times was an auxiliary in the Subah, co-operated, through good fortune, with others, arrested and imprisoned Syed Ahmed Bukhari whom Dara Shikoh had appointed as the governor of Gujarat. He engaged himself in fortifying the city and managing the fort and prepared for preventing him to enter the city. Muhammed Dara Shikoh, on getting intelligence about it, despaired of occupying the city and went to the paraganah of Kadi situated at a distance of twenty kurohs from the city. He then took refuge with Kahanji Chanwal and sought his help and assistance. Kahanji accompanied him with his followers, reached him to confines of Kutch and returned. In the meantime, one of his servants, Gul Muhammed whom he had appointed as the governor of Surat, joined and accompanied him with fifty horsemen and two hundred foot musketeers. When he reached Kutch, its Raja who at the time of his arrival in Gujarat had gone to a long distance to receive him by rendering many services and accompanying him and betrothed his own daughter with his son, behaved with him as a



stranger. He found him unsuitable. He did not stay there for more than two days and proceeded to Bhakker. Sardar Khan reported all the facts and his own efforts in this respect to the Royal Court. An order containing his praise and enlogy is reproduced in original here.

CHAPTER 94

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN TO SARDAR KHAN IN REPLY TO HIS PETITION.

Seat of valour and prowess, domestic worthy of obligation, Sardar Khan being honoured and glorified with kingly favour should know that a petition which he submitted to the Royal Court was perused by His Majesty. It was reported in it that Dara Shikoh suffered a crushing defeat at Ajmer and is wandering in a desert of disappointment. We learnt about your keeping a squadron, strengthening the fort of Ahmedabad, designs for war, march to Viramgam, performance of essentials of carefulness and dues of conscientiousness in preservation and defence of the of the fort. It became a cause of payment of homage in the Royal Court. We have ordered the best among noble rajas, cream of the valiant royal riders, worthy of unending favours Raja Jaswant Singh that he should reach Ahmedabad with an excellent squadron. We expect you to render services to the empire in company of that best grandee. Your good services and loyalty will ennoble you with royal favours. His Majesty approved of your laudable action of imprisoning Aminai worthy of punishment along with his son, who had accompanied that unfortunate man as far as Syedpur and then returned to Ahmedabad and the latter (Dara) intended to go to Surat. His eldest son 'Askari who was at Surat should be found out and imprisoned. These facts should be made known to the Raja and they should be sent in chains and fetters with a mansabdar who is a military commander of the Ahmedabad Subah to the Royal Court. His Majesty also learnt that Syed Hawn, through ill-luck, inspite of being summoned, did not side and accompany you by way of rendering services to us. The mansab and jagir of the said Syed are



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confiscated for this offence. The paraganah of Baroda, due to his dismissal, is granted to Fattah Khan with qualities of valour and worthy of favour. The aforesaid man will soon come there. His Majesty learnt about 'Abid Sher Babi's coming to Ahmedabad from the mahal of his jagir for services to us. We came to know about Saifullah Bakhshi. We have appointed, on his recall, the asylum of Syedship and nobility Razwi Khan as Bakhshi. After arrival of the said person, he should be sent to the Royal Presence. Urgency should be shown in this respect. Dated 5th Sha'ban of the year 1069, one thousand and sixty nine Hijri.

Maharajah Jaswant Singh who was appointed to the Subedari entered Ahmedabad on 17th Rabi 'I of that year. He engaged himself in administrative work. Rahmat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah, Muhammed Beg Turkoman and other auxiliaries of the Subah of Gujarat whom Dara Shikoh had forcibly taken with him, joined service of His Majesty after his defeat. His Majesty treated them with mercy and favoured them with a robe with permission to work in the Subah as before. Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi who had kept himself aloof from companionship of Dara Shikoh with farsightedness, was favoured with a robe and a horse. As appointment to the great office of Vazirship was postponed to second enthronement, orders were issued with the seal of Raja Raghunathdas who was an administrator of diwani affairs. An order bearing the seal of the said Raja was issued to the Diwan of the Subah with regard to prohibition of cultivation of bhang etc. It is here reproduced

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CHAPTER 96

SECOND ACCESSION TO THE THRONE FIXATION OF TITLE OF HIS MAJESTY A ROYAL ORDER FOR ABOLITION OF TAX ON FOODSTUFF DIWANI OF MAKARAMAT KHAN

The auspicious second enthronement comprising the fixation of title and impression of coins took place in the fort citadel of the capital of Shahjahanabad on the blessed day of Saturday, 24th Ramazan of the above year. The date of royal accession to the throne was ordered by His Majesty to be based on lunar months and years. An order was issued that the year of auspicious royal enthronement should be counted from the first day of the month of holy Ramazan. A royal order was issued to the Chief Qazi of the empire that he should compose an eloquent Khutbah ornamented with the auspicious name and blessed titles and recite it. The Chief Qazi drew His Majesty's attention to the fact that it was not allowed in the holy religion to recite the Khutbah in the name of the son during the life time of his highly dignified father. His Majesty, under these circumstances, got worried. The asylum of saintship, 'Abdul Wahhab Gujarati Pattani who was exalted with the mansab of issuing religious decrees in the empire learnt about it. He represented to His Majesty that if he is beneficently instructed, he will convince the Chief Qazi to recite the holy Khutbah in the name of His Majesty. He was ordered that it would be an occasion for payment of homage. The Shaikh declared after refutation of theological problems, rational arguments and narrative proofs that His Majesty (Shah Jahan) has become very weak. He has lost his consciousness. He has lost control over administrative machinery of the empire such as organization of affairs, welfare and comforts of people who are the wonderful deposits of the Almighty Creator. Recitation of the Khutbah, under these circumstances, in the name of the son who is worthy of Saltanat and Khilafat as permissible and allowable in the holy religion. He quoted many reliable traditions in this respect before the Chief Qazi, other 'Ulma and scholars. He convinced all of them. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab was ordered by the Court of Khilafat and world government to recite the Khutbah in the auspicious name of His Majesty. He was elevated to the rank of Qazi-ul Quzat (Chief Qazi). The following impression was made on an ashrafi

Couplet

Shah Aurangzeb 'Alamgir struck coins like the bright sun in the world

A rupee was made current in place of a bright full moon mohar. Syed Ja'far, the eldest son of Syed Jalal Bukhari (deceased) who was a ^{realpatidar.com} sajjadah nashin, in place of his father, at the shrine of His Holiness Shah 'Alam



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may his grave be sanctified was favoured with a robe. Makaramat Khan was appointed this year to the Diwan of the Subah. May it not remain hidden that the account of dismissed Diwan Rahmat Khan was not obtained more than this that he was dismissed from service or that he died. An order was issued in the month of holy Zilhajj to all Subas of the empire of Hindustan to the effect that all road-tolls, tax on food-stuff, cereals, all eatable and drinkable things, exaction of which, before this, was settled and practised in all government revenue offices. They were included in the category of taxes and paid to the Public Treasury. It was counted as means of tankhwah of jagirdars in places of estates, fiefs of amirs and mansabs and confines of zamindaris. Abundant treasures were obtained by these means. Every year, a sum of twenty-five lacs of rupees was collected in the revenue office of the Sarkar. All these taxes are abolished. The accountant of fancy and auditor of imagination will fail to calculate and enumerate the amount of road-tax abolished in all the provinces of the empire. Orders and mandates were issued to all officers of the Subah, Sarkars, Faujdars, and Karoris of all parts of the empire to the effect that they should desist from exaction of these taxes abolished by His Majesty. Macebearers, horsemen and ahadis (soldiers) were appointed by His Majesty to deliver these orders to all Subas.

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CHAPTER 97

APPOINTMENT OF CENSORS IN THE EMPIRE

All the energies of the emperor of Islam and chief of the asylum of religion are directed to abolition of prohibited deeds and wanton pastimes. Object and purpose of saltanat, kingship, Khilafat and government are always to give currency to the Commandments of God and the holy religion of His Holiness the asylum of Messengership, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants. His Majesty, during these days, desired that a scholar of the Royal Court qualified with religiosity, Islamicism, theology and knowledge of religious problems should be appointed to the post of superintendence of moral conduct so that people may be prevented from and reprimanded for doing forbidden things and committing unlawful deeds especially drinking of wine, taking bhang, ale, other intoxicants, committing shameful deeds, and adultery and keep them away as far as possible from wicked deeds and obscene words. His Majesty appointed Mulla 'Iwaz Wajih, who was foremost among the learned men of Turan to this post. Many mansabdars and ahadis were appointed to help and assist him in this work. If, some fearless and insolent fellows become refractory by way of ignorance, folly, malevolence and malignity from prevention and prohibition, and come forward to fight and quarrel, they may chastise and punish those misguided persons. A royal order was issued to the Nazirs, and governors of all Subas and various parts of the empire to the effect that they should, thus, close doors of malignant deeds, intoxicants and prevent committal of unlawful deeds and forbidden actions and truly perform duties of superintendence. Signs of religion of the Prophet and vestiges of rules of the chosen Messenger which had suffered degeneration, assumed full splendour within a short time. A royal order was issued for prohibition of intoxicants.



CHAPTER 98

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN.

Present and future administrators of the Subah of Ahmedabad such as the great amirs, eminent governors, jagirdars, thanadars, officers of the Diwani, associates and companions of royal affairs, revenue-collectors etc. common people of cities, metropolises and all inhabitants of various parts being ennobled with royal favours should know that the lofty ambition and pure intention of His Majesty are devoted to this that the principles of brilliant religion should be current and regulations of bright creed may prevail always among the people so that the benefits of obedience may join and act on them in this world and the next and they may be guarded and protected in first and last growth against harms of committing sins. A royal order was issued to the effect that none in the empire should drink intoxicants and eat unlawful things such as wine, bhang, dilbehra which are a cause of loss of reason and an occasion of weakness of understanding. He should not waste his precious time in gambling which is a habit of fools and an occupation of vain fellows. If a slave or a concubine of a person has fled away or some one had induced him or her away, the administrators of royal affairs should find them out and restore them to their rightful owners. Nothing should at all be taken from the owner for this service. Similarly, if a loan of a man is taken from a debtor and given to his creditor, nothing should at all be coveted from him. These should be published and circulated in every city, village, paraganah and town. They should avoid and abstain from violating it which in reality is a violation of God's order. If any one acts contrary to these orders, he should be reprimanded proportionate to his offence so that others may not commit that offence. No imposture and indifference should be allowed in this respect otherwise they will be accomplices of the offenders and they will be produced in the plain of investigation.

Many occurrences and events happened during these two years as mentioned in previous pages. Certain disorders took place in the provinces of Hindustan. Life of residents and ryots was in a state of disturbance. During a period of disorder and disturbance due to riots and rebellions of rebels of every locality, cultivation and agriculture suffered, administrative machinery became weak and revenue was not adequately recovered. There was ruin and devastation. Consequently, prices of food-stuff and cereals had soared high. This was specially in Gujarat. His Majesty intended to remedy this state of affairs. Tax on corn and other articles of food and drink was levied in many cities on the roads of provinces of the empire and jurisdiction of revenue offices or land-tax and custom-duties on many other things had continued on a per-

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manent basis in certain provinces Royal orders and mandates with emphasis on execution were issued to the administrators of every Subah, Sarkar, Faujdars and Karoris of different parts to the effect that exaction of abolished taxes should be immediately discontinued Mace-bearers and ahadis were appointed to deliver these orders to all Subas An appreciable difference was noticed in price of foodstuff Rizwi Khan Bukhari evinced a desire of leading a retired life in the year one thousand and seventy He was granted an annuity of twelve thousand rupees Raja Jaswant Singh was deprived of the title of Maharajah on account of certain faults and previous offences, he was treated this year with favour and kindness and the same title was again awarded to him Syed Ja'far, son of Syed Jalal Bukhari and his son, Syed Muhammed brother of deceased Syed Jalal paid homage and congratulation at the time of enthronement They were favoured with robes of honour They enjoyed the Royal Presence for several months Syed Ja'far Sajjadah-nashin was favoured with an elephant, a robe and a present of ten thousand rupees, his son Syed Muhammed with a robe, a she elephant and a present of one thousand rupees, Syed Hasan, brother of Syed Jalal with a robe and a she-elephant They were granted permission to return to their native place of Ahmedabad Syed Muhammed Saleh Bukhari, the sajjadah nashin of His Holiness Hazrat Qutb-i-'Alam was granted leave to depart with a favour of a robe, a she-elephant and a present of two hundred mōhar ashrafi One of the events in the year one thousand and seventy one, at Surat Port was that Husain Pasha, governor of Basrah sent a petition, under influence of good luck and felicity, expressing his sincere desires and faithful sentiments with congratulations on the occasion of His Majesty's enthronement along with a peshkash of Arab horses with Qasim Aqa They were sent to the Royal Court He (Qasim Aqa) arrived at Surat Port A royal mandate was issued to Mustafa Khan, the Port officer to the effect that Qasim Aqa should be paid four thousand of rupees as expense from the treasury and sent to the Royal Court In the month of holy Shawwal, a gaudy robe, a horse with gold accoutrements were granted as a favour to Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi, the Faujdar of Saurath A robe was sent to Tamaji, the zamindar of Kutch Sardar Khan, an auxiliary of the Subah was summoned to the Royal Presence He paid homage He presented a peshkash of an elephant and some panthers which are of the region along with other things He was appointed as the Faujdar of Broach Sarkar A royal order was issued in the year one thousand and seventy-two to Maharajah Jaswant Singh, the Nazim of the Sabah of Ahmedabad to the effect that he should march with all his soldiers to the help of amir ul umura who was stationed in the Dekhan to repel Shiva Maratha Qutbuddin Khan, the Faujdar of Junagadh, who had come to Ahmedabad was to administer the Suba's affairs till the arrival of another Subedar He



reached Ahmedabad, under a royal order, on 17th of holy Moharram of the year 1072 one thousand and, sevenry-two and occupied himself with administrative work. His Majesty saw this year the peshkash sent by Mustafa Khan, the Port-officer of Surat consisting of eleven 'Arab horses and five Georgian slaves.

CHAPTER 99

SUBEDARI OF MAHABAT KHAN. DIWANI OF MAKRAMAT KHAN AND HAJI SHAFI 'KHAN.

On the recall of Maharajah Jaswant Singh, the Subedari of Gujarat was granted to Mahabat Khan on 16th holy Zilhajj of the year 1072, one thousand and seventy-two. He was favoured with a special robe, an 'Arab horse with gold accoutrements, a big elephant with silver trappings and gold-embroidered cover. Two thousand horsemen from among his followers were made do-aspah, se-aspah and thus his mansab with original and additional was of six-thousand, five thousand Sawar of which three thousand Sawar were do-aspah, se-aspah. He was granted leave to go. He reached Ahmedabad on Sunday, 17th of Rabi 'I of the year one thousand and seventy-three and engaged himself in the establishment of order and administrative work. Sardar Khan, the Faujdar of Broach was transferred as the Faujdar of Idar. Sher Singh the Faujdar of Idar's work was satisfactory in the paraganah. Since long, Sardar Khan had a desire to be a military commander of the Subah of Ahmedabad. He achieved his desire. He was ordered that any rebel of the paraganah of Idar who becomes a source of immoderation and commits disturbance without farsightedness should be punished for his misdeed and that he should not leave a single trace of mischief-makers.



CHAPTER 100

CONQUEST OF NAWANAGAR BY QUTBUDDIN KHAN KHESHGI, FAUJDAR OF JUNAGADH IT WAS NAMED ISLAMNAGAR BY HIS MAJESTY.

Ranmal, the former zamindar of Nawanagar, who had made a ring of obedience and servitude of the threshold of world conquering lord as an ornament for ear of his life, was steadfast on path of submission and loyalty and obeyed royal orders with advisability and experience by paying peshkash, died. His Majesty granted the zamindari to his son Satrsal (Chhatrasal). He succeeded his father in accordance with the royal mandate and usual usages of the zamindars. He became the leader of his tribe and the Raja of that land. Rai Singh, the condemned brother of Ranmal, who was a wicked person and a proud perfidious man being excited by jealousy and envy, displayed hostility towards his nephew. He was on the point of removing and destroying him. As he had combined valour and prowess with duplicity and crookedness, he persuaded people to desert his nephew and won them over to his side. He collected five, six thousand cavalry and infantry by subtle policy, ignorance and deceit and raised aloft the banner of ascendancy. He killed Govardhanram Rathor who was grand-father of Satrsal's mother and the major domo of the state. He imprisoned Satrsal, with his special servants, attendants and his mother. He occupied the zamindari of the region and sat in his place. He made all the zamindars of Kutch also in accord with himself. He thus strengthened himself with their help and unanimity. Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi, the Faujdar of Saurath had stayed in that land for administrative management. When the reporters conveyed news to him that Rai Singh's son, Tamachar and his brother Jasa of wicked end had collected three thousand horse and foot and created disturbance in the district of Balar. Qutbuddin Khan appointed his son Muhammed to repel and destroy those infamous fellows. They fled away to Kutch on hearing about the march of royal army against them. Muhammed chased them on wings of haste and engaged them in a war. A severe battle was fought. One hundred and fifty men of the party of unbelief, hypocrisy and rebellion fell on dust of destruction in that scuffle. The remainder escaped with one foot and a half life. Several Muslim warriors got martyred. When Qutbuddin cleared that region of the thorns of mischief of those wicked irreligious men, he devoted himself to the establishment of order of that region and returned to Junagadh. When a report of this brilliant victory reached His Majesty, Qutbuddin was showered with royal favours. The city of Jam, under a farman of the Emperor of Islam, was named Islamnagar. At the close of this year, Mir Buzurg was honoured with the office of Sadarat (judgship) of the Subah.



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of Ahmedabad. Ja'far Khan was entrusted with the service of glorious worth of the chief ministership by His Majesty on 2nd of victorious Safar of the year 1074, one thousand and seventy-four.

CHAPTER 101

APPEARANCE OF A DISTRACTED FELLOW STYLING HIMSELF AS DARA SHIKOH. PUNISHMENT METED OUT TO HIM.

His Majesty heard about an event which took place in the Subah of Ahmedabad. A destitute man of distracted fortune, belonging to the Balooch tribe claimed himself to be Dara Shikoh in the vicinity of Viramgam and Chol (a desert) through promptings of vain mania and instigation of the demon of vanity. Some war-steeking, malevolent roughs of infamy gathered around him and raised dust of disturbance. The Kolis, who always have the wind of revolt and passion of rebellion in their heads, made that base person a handle of revolt and created disorder. Mahabat Khan, the Nazim of the Subah engaged himself to repel him. He broke asunder the party of mischief-makers, who had collected around that ignoramus fellow, and who had risen in revolt. He inflicted severe punishment on the Kolis and made them miserable. That traceless man of dark fortune was made to roam about from that region. He remodelled Kajnah of the revenue jurisdiction of Khanbhayat and Belpar of the revenue paragana of Petlad for establishment of order in the thana. He appointed Syed Mahmud Khan to it. At this juncture, a royal order was issued to Mahabat Khan that Dud Koli of Chanwal should be punished. He appointed Sher Babi with a force of five hundred horse for the purpose. It met with approval and approbation. He should be on guard. He should appoint two hundred more horse as auxiliary.

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CHAPTER 102

SHIVAJI MARATHA'S PLUNDER OF SURAT PORT MARCH OF THE NAZIM OF THE SUBAH TO THAT SIDE

Shivaji Maratha who raised head in disturbance in the Dekhan excited dust of disorder, and came this time to Surat Port. The city in those days had no fortifications, he caused much ruin and great loss to its merchants and residents. He returned after carrying plunder and pillage to distant and nearby places. This became the cause of great consternation and panic. The Nazim of the Subah, therefore, marched with an army. Some of the Faujdars accompanied him for service along with a party of zamindars—Jagmal Garasia of Sanand with the Faujdar of Dholka with one hundred horsemen, Shadmal, zamindar of Idar with Syed Hasan Faujdar with two hundred horsemen, Syed 'Abid with two hundred horsemen zamindars of the paraganah of Kadi, Raja of Dungarpur with one thousand horsemen, Sabal Singh etc zamindars of Vadliwan etc Jhalawar with five hundred horsemen, Lal Kalyan, zamindar of Mandu with two hundred horsemen, zamindar of Hol of the paragana of Ahmednagar fifty horsemen Prithwi Raj zamindar of Halderdars with one hundred horsemen, zamindar of Lunawara with five hundred horsemen, zamindar of Belpir with three hundred horsemen. In short, Mahabat stationed himself for three months at the port. He collected nearly a peshkash of three lacs of rupees from the local zamindars and returned. Inayat Khan, the port-officer of Surat built the fort. May it not remain hidden that a ten years account of Gujarat Subah is written with certainty except that which was obtained from external sources. I have not seen a book giving information about the remaining events which happened in the regime of His Majesty. A royal order was issued for continuation of certain regulations and orders subsequently were issued in this respect. Whatever I have heard from reliable sources as well as known through orders to the Diwani Office are here written as stated in this book previously. Qutbuddin Khan, Faujdar of Junagadh was appointed to accompany the army of Maharaja Jaswant Singh engaged in the Dekhan campaign. The Faujdari of Junagadh was granted to Sardar Khan. Many residents of Surat Sarkar had gone this year with complaints to the Royal Presence. A royal order, therefore, was issued to the said Khan to follow the bright rules of the Prophet and administer justice for giving ease and convenience to ryots and inhabitants of Junagadh. Its copy is given below.



CHAPTER 103

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN

Seat of valour and prowess, a domestic worthy of obligation Sardar Khan being hopeful of royal favours should know that all attention of truth recognizing mind and whole ambition of the basis of justice are directed to this that ryots and common-folk should enjoy the cradle of peace and security and offer prayers for permanent continuity of the kingdom during the time of eternal khilafat and period of daily increasing saltanat We, in person, attend to administer justice to the oppressed and the afflicted for revival of the usages of justice and equity and destruction of foundation of tyranny and oppression The oppressed and the harassed get daily audience in the court of radiant presence, and get royal justice and equity A royal order, is, therefore, issued that that worthy of obligation should not leave a moment undevoted in following the bright prophetic regulations and signs of lofty justice in giving ease and convenience to ryots, residents of cities, towns, villages of the Saurath Sarkar and administering justice to the complainants He should, at the same time, not allow oppression and tyranny of the strong over the weak He should decide and settle cases and petitions concerning religious matters with accord of the Qazi, the Mufti and the Mir i 'Adl (judge) in accordance with the bright holy religion He should promote whatever is concerned with the Diwan office and revenue regulations according to claims, calculation, fixed and current rules and regulations so that all residents and ryots may get justice on the spot, attain to their objects and may not choose exile from their beloved native place and travel long distances for approach to His Majesty to seek justice They should regard it an emphasis in this respect and should not deviate from it Dated 4th of the month of Jamadi I of the seventh year of auspicious enthronement. An order was issued to Makaramat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah for abolition of certain new taxes imposed during the regime of Diyanat Khan, the Diwan of Murad Bakhsh when he was the Subedar A royal order was issued to all the Subas of the empire to appoint teachers in every Subah and that students from readers of Mizan to Kashashaf should be given stipends in consultation with the Sadar of the Subah, verified with seal of the teachers from the Subah's treasury. Three teachers in Ahmedabad, Pattan and Surat and forty-five students in addition were appointed in the Subah of Ahmedabad



CHAPTER 104

FIXATION OF CASH REVENUE ACCORDING TO RATIO OF ONE TO FORTY AND TWO TO FORTY

A royal order was issued on 4th Shawwal, one thousand and seventy five in respect of revenue of land customs which in subas, cities, and paraganas of the empire and jurisdiction of revenue offices collected by government. Difference in levy of taxation was also reported to His Majesty. As all the attention of truth recognizing mind and all intentions based on justice are directed to welfare and tranquillity of common folk and ryots who are the marvellous deposits of the Creator in general and regard of strong faith and mirror of conditions of the Muslims in particular, a royal order was issued to the effect that the Nazims of affairs and trustees of matters of the subas should collect at every place, from 1st of the month of Shawwal 8th year of royal accession, octroi of one fortieth from a Muslim and two-fourtieth from a Hindu according to the price of the article. Articles whose price is less than fifty two and a half rupees, should not be taxed. At the time of outgoings of merchants with goods and merchandise from cities and towns, nothing should be charged at the office of outgoing where he has exemption of tolls. No tax should be levied on slave dealing, hay and straw. A carriage, a litter, a camel litter and a horse etc. carried by a porter and ridden by wives and children of mansabdars, soldiers, saunterers and travellers should be taxed. Camels, horses, oxen etc. porters of mansabdars, sepoy and other men should not be stopped. A memorandum was received in this respect from the Court by the Diwan of the Subah Makaramat Khan. A royal farman in respect of prohibited taxes was sent to present and future administrators. A copy of it is here reproduced.



CHAPTER 105

A COPY OF ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF PROHIBITED TAXES.

From 22nd of the month of Jamadi I of the 8th year of Ascension, the present and future administrators of affairs and matters of the Subah of Ahmedabad being hopeful of royal favours should know that it is reported to His Majesty that agents of the officers, Kanungos, deshpandes, footmen of the chabutra in the city of Ahmedabad and its puras (dependencies), towns and paraganas under the said Subah take a sum contrary to rules and a fixed sum by way of innovation from residents, and merchants as detailed below. It becomes a cause of dispersion and distraction to those persons. Similarly, some of the residents of the above places have rebuilt the temples demolished before the Royal Ascension, under royal orders, installed idols in them and worshi them. They do unreligious work. A royal order is therefore, issued that facts about these matters should be collected and reported to His Majesty. They should bear in mind that hence-forth, agents of officers, kanungos, deshpandes, footmen above-mentioned should not take prohibited taxes from merchants and other residents of the above places. Residents of those places should not dare do irreligious deeds. Demolished temples which have been repaired should be pulled down It should be regarded urgent and emphatic.



CHAPTER 106

DETAILS OF THE ROYAL FARMAN

First, in respect of additional income of the city of Ahmedabad, suburbs and towns *Second*, if a resident of the city had a tree in the compound of his hereditary house, he wants to cut it for damage to house etc, the tax-gatherers should not allow him to cut it or its branch without charging some fee from him *Third*, tax-gatherers and other officers use force in transactions of sale and purchase They do not purchase well *Fourth*, administrators charge a professional tax on districts of the Subah of Ahmedabad. *Fifth*, if any one wants to learn the art of embroidery, gold threading, button-making coarse cloth-making, needle-making or embroidery, the administrators of the department of art should charge him something after he has learnt it. *Sixth*, kanungos and bailiffs should levy a fee of two and a half rupees per hundred on a person who buys a house in the city, its environs and most of the paraganas of the Subah of Ahmedabad *Seventh*, an indigent cotton-dresser and an oil presser who wants to ply his trade at another place, he should be allowed to do so on his payment of one and a half rupees *Eighth*, sheth, kanungo and desais in the chabutra of every chakla in the city should point out ways of additional taxes They too should share in the payment of additional taxes *Ninth*, oxen for carts and carrying loads when taken out of the city are made to graze bought grass and jawar straw, should be charged once one tanka as grazing fee *Tenth*, at most places, one bundle and five sers of firewood should be taken per cart of hay and straw and four badams per head-load *Eleventh*, Hindus close their shops on days of Pachushan, last day of the month and eleventh day they should be enjoined to keep open their shops always and enter into transactions of sale and purchase *Twelve*, many labourers and tradesmen are subjected to great harm due to the evil practice of forced labour in the city and the paraganas of the Subah of Ahmedabad *Thirteen*, administrators, sheths, desais of many paraganas of the Subah do not allow other persons to purchase new foodgrains on its first arrival. They purchase first They give rotten and wasteful corn with force to merchants and realize per force from them the price of new stuff *Fourteen*, persons known as adhwaja ply carts on hire. A man buys an ox at Burhanpur or some other place and pays a tax there, he brings it to Ahmedabad, he should pay a purchase-tax in Ahmedabad If he refuses to pay it, he should be fined *Fifteen*, officers and wealthy persons grow every kind of vegetable and fruit in their own gardens as well as of government ownership They sell them to vegetable-dealers with increased price of ten, twenty times and realize money by force *Sixteen*, first they take a purchase tax on a cow or a buffalo and again they take one rupee and a half



per cow and buffalo at the time of slaughtering it. Similarly, they take, having settled a definite thing in paraganas of the Subah. Hence, meat is dear in a Subah. *Seventeen*, thirty rupees per annum from porters of jars of yellow and bitter oil at Saraspur. *Eighteen*, Faujdars and Karoris per force take from ten to fifty rupees from the time of Ghairat Khan as kacheri fee from men of the paraganas on the shore of Sabarmati and Vatrak. *Nineteen*, the Chief masjid is situated near the gate within the town of Ahmednagar. There is no administrator and so they remain in the town by paying money to the Kolis. For the last one year the Kolis do not allow Muslims to recite their Friday prayers in the masjid. Arrangements should be made not to trouble the Muslims so that they should recite their Friday prayers with a tranquil mind in the masjid. *Twenty*, temples were demolished in Ahmedabad and other paraganas before the Royal Ascension, they are repaired and idol worship continues. Action should be taken on what has been stated in the body of the Farman. *Twentyone*, Hindus have given currency to false customs in cities and paraganas, they light lamps on the night of Diwali and use obscene language during Holidays. They light Holi in every chakla and bazar. They throw into Holi fire firewood of any one they get hold of either with force or with theft. They should arrange that diwali lamps are not lighted in bazars and that fire-wood of any one should not be stolen or seized with force and thrown into fire of Holi. They should not use obscene language. *Twenty two*, artists draw figures of animate objects. Horses and elephants are moulded out of mud on 'Id day, Shab-i-Barat and anniversary days and sold in bazars. They should arrange that none should mould an animate object out of mud. *Twenty three*, some persons have monopolised sale and purchase of rice in Ahmedabad, suburbs and paraganas of the above Subah. None can purchase it without their advice. Hence, rice is dear in Gujarat. *Twenty four* gate keepers of the gate of Ahmedabad and suburbs prevent carts, ox load and herd load of persons from incoming and out going. They do not allow them unless they pay something. *Twenty five*, a farman was issued as a reply to the request of Qutbuddin Khan in respect of rose flowers. The government officers do not buy roses. They allow them to be sold everywhere. Hence their sale is forbidden for them except for government officers. This farman issued at the request of Qutbuddin Khan should be acted upon. *Twenty six*, men and women visit shrines of saints on their anniversary days, Friday nights and nights of last days of the months. This fact is a cause of disturbance. It should be arranged that none should crowd at the tombs. *Twenty seven*, a helpless man wants to sell his dilapidated house in the town of Dholka. The Kotwal of the town takes three tankas in a rupee which fetches one thousand bricks. *Twenty eight*, some one buys a cow or a buffalo for birth day celebration or a feast. Its sales tax is collected in the chabutra of Kotwali. It was previously ordered that one-fourth of the



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current present price from a Muslim and two-fortieth from a Hindu should be taken as sales tax. They should not trouble people on any other account. They should act according to what is stated in the order. Further, no tax should be levied on articles whose price is less than fifty rupees. More than that should be taxed. *Twenty-nine*, foreigners and ryots bring every kind of animals for sale in Ahmedabad and suburbs. Twice they take something from them *firstly*, on charge of arrival, *secondly*, at the time of selling. If the animal is not sold, he wants to go back. They charge him something on his return. *Thirdly*, they take four or five rupees per cart of bananas and sugar-cane at Pattan. They also take mangoes, bananas and sugar cane four in hundred. *Thirty-one*, chhitu gos take two rupees in the chabutara per cart at the time of departure whether it is loaded with corn or any other goods. *Thirty-two*, they charge four Muradi tankas per sheep and half a rupee per cow and a rupee per buffalo at Pattan. It is not a quadruped grazing out. They take it per force even though the number has not reached its legal limit. It is decided according to the royal order that the limit of quadrupeds should be in accordance with religion. *Thirty-three*, an order was issued for setting aside the thresholds, lances of Dawal kingdom and removal of prostitutes from the bazars of Ahmedabad city and suburbs, and appointment of Imams (leaders of prayers). In order to execute the order, thresholds, lances of Dawal kingdom, sitting of prostitutes in bazars and suburbs should be removed. Imams and muezins were formerly appointed in the masjids of Bohras of bad religion. They should now be appointed so that prayers at five times may be recited according to the mode of Ahl-i-Sunnat. *Thirty-four*, food stuff at every place is fully collected due to dearness. It, then became cheap. The jagirdars and administrators, bearing in mind the large stocks, make assessment in an arbitrary manner. If they make a settlement of half a share they total up two hundred and fifty maunds in place of hundred maunds and charge revenue of both. He worked very hard for the whole year to pay twenty five maunds of food stuff more by means of labour, they make them cultivate by beating and striking. They should exact according to the agreement of a half a share and should not demand more. *Thirty-five*, affairs of Khanbhayat Port have reached such a pitch due to a large number of kanungos that many merchants have left the port and gone over to Surat. People of round about places of the port have gone to distant places. They come to Ahmedabad for sale and purchase. Before this, it was ordered that there should be two chaudharies and two kanungos who should behave well and honestly with ryots. They should act according to the royal order. *Thirty-six*, Muslims of Prantj, Modasi, Harsol, Vadnagar, Visalnagar own mango trees. Administrators of the places estimate ten thirty as load of trees fix price in coins or that they pay the cash money of every two trees as revenue and for the remainder, they are again in torture. If those trees at times



yield less fruits, they charge revenue as before. Hindus who own gardens in those cities, are free from taxation. It was settled according to the royal order that they should trouble them in case of a fault in the garden whether the produce of the garden or its expenditure is less than equal. If the produce is more than expense, a fifth part from Hindus and a sixth part from Muslims should be taken in proportion to increase. They should act according to the royal order. More than that should not be demanded. If income of the property is less than fifty and (two) and a half rupees, no tax should be charged under a royal order. People take themselves to jealousy and misunderstanding for abolition of taxes for the sake of worldly trash. The accountants, therefore, left off fixing the revenue on finding out this fact. They settled its income as necessary expenses for the cloth market and charity to deserving persons. Whenever the expenses increased, price of goods on which tax should be levied was included in the account-book and treasury. Again, an order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the Firangis and the Dutch should not be molested for taxation in Ahmedabad. Taxes from them should be collected at Surat port. An order was issued this year to the Diwan of the Subah in respect of restitution of expenditure to the revenue collectors. Whatever is personal to the Amil, the whole in cash on the responsibility of the dependents after exemption of the fourth part, three parts should be taken. Those amils who remained for a time in captivity and prison, demands of their responsibility were not recovered. Their condition should be ascertained. It was in this year that the Dekhani Maratha appeared in Surat in his wanderings. He returned after plunder and pillage of many places and desolating them. His Majesty Shah Jahan died on Monday night 26th of venerable Rajab of the year one thousand and seventy-six. Makaramat Khan, the Diwan died. At the close of the above year, the Diwan of the Subah of Gujarat was ganted to Haji Shafi 'Khan. His Majesty heard about an event which took place at Surat port. Mir 'Aziz Badakhshi who was appointed to convey articles of present to holy Mekka and sacred Medina, may God increase their sanctity and honour died in that holy place.



CHAPTER 107

FIXATION OF DAM TO THE WEIGHT OF FOURTEEN MASHAS

Due to shortage of copper, the bankers of the city of Ahmedabad made iron coins current and sold them at high prices. Mahabat Khan collected a large quantity of copper from round about places, lessened something in weight in comparison to the former black coin, coined it and gave currency to it. He gave a certificate to the superintendent of the mint to the effect that the black coins are abolished. When the superintendent of the mint reported this matter to the Diwan of the Subah he said that he would not give up accepting tax in black coins without the authority of His Majesty. The Nazim of the Subah replied, "if this certificate is accepted in the Royal Court, so far so good, otherwise, I will remit the taxes for year to the Public Treasury." When the statement of Sadr was reported as an event to His Majesty, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that a dam was made equivalent to fourteen mashas. It was made current in form of coins. Taxes of one year were condoned.



CHAPTER 108

ABOLITION OF ONE FORTIETH TAX FROM MUSLIMS

As His Majesty's energies were directed to the welfare of life and security of wealth of the Muslims, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that one fortieth tax imposed on goods of merchandise of the Muslims and collected by the Government is abandoned and abolished from 25th Ziq'ad of the year one thousand and seventy seven corresponding to tenth year of Royal Ascension to the throne. They should not be molested for its exaction. Nothing should be coveted at all in this respect. A duty of two fortieth should be continued to be exacted from goods of merchandise of Hindus. Great care should be taken to see that these persons should not mix up their goods with those of the Muslims for evasion of duty. Sardar Khan, the Faujdar of Junagadh was also assigned the Faujdari of Islamnagar and so he was elevated to the addition of five hundred Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah. It was reported to His Majesty through a petition of the Nazim of the Subah Mahabat Khan that the party of mansabdars appointed as military commanders of the Subah of Ahmedabad consist of twenty thousand Sawar according to regulations but in hours of need, the number does not come up to one thousand. In the opinion of His Majesty, it was attributed to negligence, incapacity on the part of the Bakhshi, the Darogah of Daghi and muster or inspection of the Subah. The Bakhshi and the chroniclers were recalled. His place was taken by Mir Ja'far. A mandate was sent to the Nazim of the Subah that Qasim Darogah should be enjoined for branding and muster that he should make utmost efforts in inspecting the followers according to regulations and that he should force the military commanders that every one of them should maintain his squadron according to regulations. An order was issued to Haji Shafi' Khan, the Diwan of the Subah that he should inspect annually the branding registers and muster-rolls of followers and mansabdars. Any one who maintained his squadron less than that justified by regulations, his jagir should be transferred and the matter recorded. A petition of the Nazim of the Subah was submitted to His Majesty about the dilapidated condition of the city fort through passage of time and that its rebuilding was essential. The Diwan of the Subah was ordered to make an estimate of rebuilding it and to send it with his seal. He should act in the manner ordered. As most of the regulations formulated by His Majesty (Aurangzeb) are still in force, some regulations are repeated for public benefit.



CHAPTER 109

A COPY OF A MEMORANDUM OF COURT EVENTS IN RESPECT OF CONFISCATION OF MANSABDARS' PROPERTY.

A pamphlet of asylum of Syedship and chiefship, seat of ministership and elevation, worthy of favours and obligations, capable of immense kindness Iftekhhar Khan, through the asylum of syedship and ministership, seat of efficiency Mir 'Imaduddin and the least servant of the Royal Court the chronicler Kamran Beg written on Tuesday, 21st of Safar of the ninth year of Royal Ascension corresponding to one thousand and seventy seven Hijri, corresponding to 12th of Shahriwar month of Ilahi era is written to the effect that a royal order is issued that whenever a royal servant died without an heir, there is no claim of government on him His wealth and property should be entrusted to the custodian of Bait-ul-Mal (Public Treasury) If there is a claim of government on him, the government should recover the claim and the remainder should be entrusted to the Bait-ul Mal If he had left an heir and there is a claim of government on him, his property should be confiscated to the government three days after his death If his property was more than the government claim, the amount of the claim should be recovered, the remainder should be given to the heir after affirmation of his being an heir If the government claim is more than worth of his property, the whole property should be seized for realization of dues If he has left no due of Government, his property should be given to his heirs after identification There should be no molestation An order to this effect was circulated to the Diwanis of the empire with an injunction that they should confiscate the property in accordance with the memorandum The administrators of buildings, gardens and other work shops of the city of Ahmedabad submitted a petition to His Majesty that the wages of labourers etc were paid before this in coins, each coin weighing twenty-one mashas This practice was done away with from the 1st of Shawwal of the above year Aurangzeb's coin weighing fourteen mashas was settled to be current The labourers refuse to accept the present coins in lieu of the former coins saying that it has the difference of ten fifteen When His Majesty learnt about it, he ordered the Diwan of the Subah that 1½ Tanka in place of ten fifteen should be paid to them daily From that day the tanka of three coins became current in Gujarat Mahabat Khan, being recalled on Thursday, 8th Shawwal of the above year, proceeded to the Royal Court



CHAPTER 110

SUBEDARI OF BAHADUR KHAN ALIAS KHAN JAHAN KUKAH. DIWANI OF HAJI SHAFI KHAN AND KHWAJA MUHAMMED HASHIM

Bahadur Khan alias Khan Jahan Bahadur was the Subedar of Ilahabad on 5th Rabi 'II of the year one thousand and seventy-eight. On the recall of Mahabat Khan, he was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat. A royal mandate was issued to him that he should start for Gujarat after the arrival of Ilahvardi Khan at Ilahabad. He reached Ahmedabad on Sunday, 12th Shawwal of the year and devoted himself to administrative duties. On the recall of Haji Muhammed Shafi, Khwajah Muhammed Hashim was appointed to the Diwani in the year 1079, one thousand and seventy nine. An order was issued this year in respect of tax (land-rent) on ryots in accordance with religion. Its copy is given below.

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CHAPTER III

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF LAND - REVENUE.

With qualities of efficiency, Muhammed Hashim being hopeful of royal favours should know that all energies of His Majesty, through blessings of divine grace and help of the Lord of the earth and the skies great are His benefits and public are His bounties, are directed in accordance with the holy verse "Verily God orders with justice and obligation" and his lofty-mindedness is turned to promotion of usages and regulation of affairs in keeping with the religion of the best among human beings, may best benedictions and salutations of God be on him, his descendants and companions with this truth in mind "With justice, the skies and the earth are established" We have before our illumined mind prayers, respect of commandments of the Nourisher, kindness and mercy to the great and the small A just royal order is issued during these days, to the present and future administrators of affairs of the empire of Hindustan concerning land-revenue to be collected according to the regulation decided in the most illumined religion and brightest Hanafi sect Details of it are mentioned in the body of this mandate as based on accurate traditions with perfect reliability Revenue should be collected accordingly. A new royal order should not be annually demanded Opposition to and deviation from it should be considered as misfortune in this and the next world *First* you should behave with courtesy with the ryots, inquire about their condition, and make efforts with prudence and practical wisdom so that they may try for increased agricultural production with pleasantness and gladness by cultivating whatever is fit for cultivation *Second*, they should acquaint themselves as far as possible with condition of every cultivator from the commencement of the year as to who has withdrawn himself from cultivation inspite of the fact that he has ability to cultivate They should persuade and encourage him If they need patronage in certain affairs, patronize them If it is found out after investigation that he has kept himself aloof from cultivation inspite of ability for it, he should be dealt with urgency and threat as well as imprisonment and beating Cultivators should be informed of the regular land-revenue by saying that so much will be recovered from them as land-revenue and that whether they want to cultivate it or not If you find out that the cultivators have no means to prepare themselves for cultivation, they should be paid takavi loans. *Third*, if cultivators are helpless and destitute to make preparation for cultivation or they fled leaving the land uncultivated, that land should be given with intention to let on hire or cultivation to some one else. Amount of land revenue should be taken from hire in case of



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by its exaction Otherwise the previous revenue should be lessened Whatever is within his power to pay, should be fixed If there is scope for more, more should be taken *Seven*, change of regular revenue into regular divided revenue If the ryots are willing for it, it should be done otherwise not *Eight*, Time of asking payment of regular revenue is the ripeness of every kind of corn Every article to the extent it ripens, the share of revenue should be equivalent to that article *Nine*, if some unforeseen calamity takes place in limited part of cultivation, he should be given concession due to calamity when it is completely ripe He should be so treated in taking the remaining revenue that half a share is safely received by the ryots *Ten*, anyone who leaves his land uncultivated inspite of his ability and absence of impediment, no revenue should be taken For instance, water runs over it or there is no rain or some natural calamity occurs before harvesting so that he is not able to get foodstuff in hand or so much time is not left that before another year sets in, he can cultivate it a second time Revenue should not be taken If a calamity occurs after cutting it whether it is possible harm such as food of animals or some time is left for resowing, revenue should be taken *Eleven*, if the owner of land cultivates it himself but dies before paying the regular revenue, it should be paid by his heirs If the deceased was able to cultivate it but died, so much has not been realized that year when he was on point of dying, revenue should be taken in whole *Twelve*, if the owner gives his land on hire to a tenant or gives it on lease the tenant or the lessee cultivates it, the regular revenue should be taken from the owner If they turn it into a garden, revenue should be taken from the tenant or the lessee If the revenue-land is usurped by some one, he denies it, if the owner has no witnesses and if the usurper has cultivated it, revenue should be taken from the usurper If it is not tilled, it should be taken from none If the usurper is certain the owner has witnesses, revenue should be taken from the owner In case of a mortgage, it should be as in the case of an usurper, if a mortgagee without permission of the mortgager tills it *Thirteen*, if a man sells his land for which revenue is given which he cultivates in the middle of a year, if it is for season (crop is produced in one season), the purchaser occupies it There is some time left in the year for him if he can cultivate it and there is none to prevent him from so doing, revenue should be taken from the purchaser or also from the seller If it is two seasoned, one season was reaped by the seller while the other by the purchaser The revenue which is fixed should be taken half from each If there is cultivation in the land, which has reached the stage of reaping, its revenue should be taken from the seller whether it is of one-season or two seasons should be inquired into *Fourteen*, if some one builds a house on his land he should pay the revenue as before Similarly, if he has planted trees not yielding fruits



CHAPTER 112

ARRIVAL OF YAQUT KHAN HABASHI, QILE'DAR OF DANDA RAJPURI IN ROYAL SERVICE

Shivaji Maratha attacked and plundered many great cities. He thus acquired great power so much so that none from amongst the zamindars of the Dekhan had boldness to offer resistance to him. He thought of conquering the fort of Danda Rajpuri in the Bijapur State. Danda Rajpuri is a fort high and elevated, situated above a mountain. It is very strong and firm situated in the sea. It is said that it was built by Parasram whom the Hindus regard as an avatar. In short, as ships of Surat port etc from Hindustan sail by the foot of this mountain to Arabia, Firangistan and other ports, Shivaji molested them to bring them under his control. With this vain idea, he marched against the aforesaid fort. Yaqut Khan Habashi, who on behalf of the Ruler of Bijapur was imprisoned for defence of the fort kept the mischief-mongers at bay from coming near and round the fort by discharge of cannons and muskets. When the Dekhanis found themselves unable to conquer the fort, they embarked ships climbed up another mountain in the sea opposite to the fort, constructed a very strong battery of big pieces of stone, carried cannons above it and began to pull it down. This lasted for two years. Ultimately, the garrisoned persons were reduced to great straits. They were on the point of dying. Yaqut Khan, under these circumstances, sent a message of peace (negotiated peace) with Mirza Raja who was appointed by the Royal Court for the Dekhancampaign and sought his help and succour. He corroborated his pledge and promise with certain conditions such as, 'I, from today, accept service of His Majesty and become one of the Royal servants. But I should not be troubled to see the Subedar of the Dekhan. A sum of one lac and fifty thousand rupees be granted to me as expenses for maintaining an establishment of an arsenal for military defence of the fort annually from the treasury of Surat port. I will not permit the enemy's ships to cross this side. I will pilot the royal ships and those of merchants safely and securely.' Mirza Raja forwarded the petition containing the above facts to the Royal Court. It was accepted and sanctioned. From that time till now, every successor of him in Danda Rajpuri is called Yaqut Khan. He took that sum from the Port-officer of Surat. His agent has now gained ascendancy and occupies the fort. Administrators are powerless to speak. Something of it will be related at its proper place. God the Great willing. In short, Mirza Raja, after accepting Yaqut Khan's requests, reached Danda Rajpuri to his help and succour. He threw a stone in the unanimity of the Dekhanis with worthy exertions and practical wisdom. He liberated the fort from their peril.



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CHAPTER 113

ARRIVAL OF DILER KHAN IN GUJARAT HIS APPOINTMENT AS FAUJDAR OF SAURATH

Diler Khan, the Rohila of the Uzai tribe was foremost of the age in valour and intrepidity. He was attached to the military command in the Dekhan campaign in the stirrup of the noble Prince Muhammed Mue'zzam Bahadur Shah in companionship with Maharaja Jaswant Singh. He left the Prince for certain reasons, mention of which is not proper and reached Ujjain. He stayed there to change fatigues and tedium of travels to rest. By chance, the Nazim of the Subah of Ahmedabad, Bahadur Khan, on his appointment, passed by this side. On hearing intelligence of Diler Khan, he went to Ujjain and brought him with himself to Ahmedabad. He reported to His Majesty about loyalty and uprightness of Diler Khan and animadversion of the Prince at the instigation of certain self interested persons. He also submitted a proposal for him to the Royal Presence, on the recall of Sardar Khan, to the post of the Faujdar and the fief holder of the Saurath Sarkar. He sent him to Saurath. The petition of Bahadur Khan, Nazim of the Subah and the proposal of Faujdari (for Diler Khan) received the Royal assent and approbation. Sardar Khan, on the recall of Jher Singh, was appointed as the Faujdar and fief-holder of the paragana of Idar. The Thane-dar of Hyderabad, Syed Haider had reported this year to His Majesty that he killed the ring leader of rebels of the place. He hoped that a fortress should be built there. The Diwan of the Subah was ordered to prepare an estimate and submit it to His Majesty. The ryots of Kotri of the Deesa paragana submitted a petition through the administrators of the High Court of justice to His Majesty that the Faujdar of Palanpur, Kamal Jiloni takes by force a sum annually by way of grazing of oxen and food of horses. A mandate was issued to the Diwan of the Subah for its investigation. As oxen etc is included within prohibited taxes by His Majesty, he should be prevented from collecting it after investigation and evidence thereof. A petition was submitted by Qazi ul Quzat 'Abdul Wahhab for repairs of Adalej step-well of the paragana of Haveli of Ahmedabad for the benefit of travellers, comers goers and animals of the place. Two thousand rupees were the estimate of repairs. An order was issued to the treasury of the Subah of Tankhwa and to the Diwan of the Subah in this respect. It was reported to His Majesty that the judges of the Subah of Ahmedabad sit for two days per week in the court of justice. They present themselves before the Subedar for two days Tuesday and Wednesday. They enjoy three days as hol days. A royal order was, therefore, issued that such a practice is not prevalent in the Imperial Court as well as in the Subas. How is it that



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it exists there? Khwaja Muhammed Hashim, the Diwan of the Subah should insist that the judges should attend the court of justice on Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, they should present themselves before the Subah's Nazim on Wednesday, Friday should be observed as a holiday. They should remain in the court from ghadi of the day decline of the sun to decide cases according to principle of religion. They should retire to their houses in the afternoon. A memorandum was issued from the court in respect of duties to be collected from the cattle market, on cattle with condition of limit set by religion, reason, maturity, absence of possession, one-fortieth from a Muslim, two fortieth from a Hindu four fortieth from a warrior once in a lunar year at one place. It was decided that whenever a horseman and a footman are sent by the Amils for collection of legal money, protection of food stuff or for execution of other orders the said persons should go to the places for management of their affairs. The horseman should take one and half a ser of flour, one quarter ser of pulse, two dams of ghee, three sers of grain for horse and one pack of hay while a footman should take three-four quarters of flour, one eighth ser of pulse two dams of ghee per day. Nothing more than this should be taken. Whatever is thus taken from ryots, should be deducted by Karoris from goods for taxation a close of the season at the time of balance. Articles of food should be weighed in Shahjahani weights. It was reported to His Majesty that potters, diggers, carpenters and other wage earners of Ahmedabad building complain against less wages they receive from the government. A royal order was therefore, issued with the seal of Istikhar Khan Saman to the Diwan of the Subah that their wages should be paid in ready money as is usual concerning other buildings in the city. Diler Khan, who was appointed the Faujdar of Junagadh at the request of Bahadur Khan was summoned to the Royal Court. He started for the Royal Court. Sardar Khan was appointed as before as the Faujdar and fief holder of Saurath. Bahadur Khan was appointed the Commander in the Dekhan campaign in the year one thousand and eighty one. Bahadur Khan had re-built during his Subedari Panahpur outside the Daryapur Gate which was in a desolate state and no vestige of it had remained and named it Muhammed panah. He built a balcony palace facing north near the Bhadra fort where now the Nazim of the Subah sits. A mandate was issued to Qutbuddin Khan the Faujdar and fief-holder of Baroda that he should mind the protection, defence and administration of the Subah till the appointment of the Nazim of the Subah. Land-customs of Ahmedabad city which were the tankhwah in the Jagir of Nazims were included in the government revenue. An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to manage land customs.

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CHAPTER 114

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJA JASWANT SINGH A SECOND TIME DIWANI OF KHWAJA MUHAMMED HASHIM AND SHAIKH NIZAMUDDIN

On the recall of Bahadur Khan, Maharaja Jaswant Singh who under a royal order stayed at Burhanpur from the Dekhan campaign was appointed the Subedar of Gujarat a second time Maharaja Jaswant Singh started as ordered for Gujarat, reached Ahmedabad in the month of Rabi' II of the year one thousand and eighty-one and devoted himself to administrative work. He was granted the paragana of Petlad and Dhandhuka, adjoining the above Subah in exchange of the jagir of Paragana of Chakla Hisar. As the Maharaja owed a large sum to the government, it was settled that he should pay two lacs of rupees annually in instalment to the Public Treasury. The Wakil of the Maharaja requested the Royal Presence in this connection that the income of the paraganas granted in exchange of the paraganas of Chakla Hisar is less. Maintenance of five thousand horsemen for establishment of order in the Subah will not be possible when a sum of two lacs of rupees is to be annually paid in instalment. It was, therefore that he should pay fifty thousand rupees in the autumn of Tankuz II and spring of Sach Qan II. He should make future payments to be decided later on. An order was issued in this respect with the seal of Vazir-ul-Mumalik Asad Khan to the Diwan of the Subah, Muhammed Hashim. Students used to get stipends etc in accordance with the Court's sanction from the Public Treasury and the office of land-customs. They requested the Court that they got their stipends in coins each weighing twenty one mashras but now the coin weighs fourteen mashras and so the accountants wish for a certificate for payment in those coins. A royal order was issued that they should be paid according to regulation in calculation of ten fifteen, that is, they should be given three dams in present coins in place of two dams of former coins. In the year 1082, one thousand and eighty two, a royal order was issued in respect of decisions of court which imprison people on occasions. It was sent to the Diwan of the Subah, Muhammed Hashim. Its copy is reproduced her.



CHAPTER 115

A COPY OF FARMAN WITH PREFACE OF JUSTICE CONTAINING THIRTY-THREE SECTIONS

It was written on 25th of the month of Safar, may God end it with goodness and victory of the 16th year of Royal Ascension to the throne. Administrators of affairs of the Subah of Ahmedabad being hopeful of royal favours should know that it is reported to His Majesty that delay is caused in investigating affairs of persons who are imprisoned in the Subah on occasions (for certain offences). Their cases are not decided and settled so that innocent persons may be free from captivity and an offender may get punishment. All the energies of His Majesty are directed that none from among human beings who are marvellous deposits of the Knowing King should suffer bias and regret. None should remain in captivity on no account. A royal order is issued that action should be taken in respect of these persons in accordance with sections mentioned in body of this farman so that none may suffer captivity without a reason. Oppression and tyranny may not be practised on any one. Great emphasis is laid on this. They should deem it their own responsibility. A great inquiry and investigation will be held in case of acting contrary to it. *First* a person in whose case theft is legally proved before the Qazi either on admission or proof should be imprisoned in accordance with law so that he may repent of theft. *Second* if theft prevails in the city, and a thief is caught during this time, he should not be put to death or executed on gallows after his guilt is proved, for, perhaps he may have committed theft for the first time. *Third*, if a person once commits theft of less than the fixed limit or to the extent of that limit so that he is not liable to punishment but he is proved by law to be a thief, he should be punished. If he repeatedly commits theft, he should be kept in prison custody after punishment (flogging) till he repents. If he is not rebuffed by stripes and imprisonment and commits theft again, he should be permanently kept in prison and should be killed out of punishment. Stolen wealth should be given back to its owner after legal proof if he is present otherwise it should be preserved in the Bait ul Mal (public treasury). *Four*, if a man committed theft twice and he was punished also, he again commits it and his theft is proved by law. It may be a small amount. He repeatedly commits it. He should be kept in jail after flogging till he repents. If he is not rebuffed with this and goes on committing theft, he should be permanently kept in prison. *Five*, a grave digger who dug somebody's grave and is caught, he should be flogged after his guilt is proved and then released. If he has made it his profession, he should be punished by externment or by cutting his hands. Whatever the Nazim of the Subah decides, should be done in accord with the judges. If he commits it a second time and is caught, he



should be severely flogged. Yet he commits it, he should be permanently imprisoned after it is proved. Goods should be sent to the Qazi to act according to religious law. *Six*, if a person is proved to be a robber under law with admission or proof, the Qazi should punish him in his presence according to law. Punishment should be worthy of the crime. If his crime does not deserve death or some other punishment, the Nazim as well as the judges do not opine for death, he should only be punished. *Seven*, if a thief is caught, the stolen wealth is pointed out with some one and it is found with it. After investigation it is proved that he is an abettor of thieves. If the latter has committed guilt for the first time, he should be flogged. If it is his profession, he should be imprisoned after flogging till he repents. If he does not improve with flogging and imprisonment and commits it again, he should be permanently kept in prison. Goods should be returned after proof to the owner if he is present there otherwise they should be preserved in Bait-ul-Mal. In case they come to know that he purchased goods from the thief without knowing that they were stolen goods, he should be released. If a plaintiff proves them to be his goods, they should be given to him otherwise those goods should be flung aside. *Eight*, confirmed mischief-mongers who commit dacoity and cause injury to wealth and life, should be punished after the guilt is proved. *Nine*, Girasias and zamindars who are mischievous, rebellious and confirmed offenders should be killed for public benefit. They should be punished on evidence against them. *Ten*, a strangulator whose strangulation is proved, should be flogged and kept in prison till he repents. If he gets habituated to this misdeed which is proved against him or he is notorious among people for this misdeed and the Nazim of the Subah knows about it or vestiges of strangulation and property of people are found with him, the Nazim of the Subah and the judges probably believe that the misdeed was committed by him, he should be punished. *Eleven*, a person who is accused with theft, robbery, strangulation, murder or harm to people and is caught; the Nazim of the Subah and the judges know that he mostly committed this mis-deed, he should be punished till he repents. If somebody had a claim of theft or similar to it, he should be produced before the Qazi. *Twelve*, mischief-mongers who carry away goods from houses of persons ablaze with fire by thronging together or make persons unconscious by giving them dhatura, bhang, nutmeg or similar things to eat and rob them. They should be severely punished after the guilt is proved against them with imprisonment till they repent. If he is arrested twice or thrice for this misdeed and released after repentance, yet he commits it, should be punished. If somebody claims goods as his own, he should be produced before the Qazi. When legally proved, compensation for burnt goods or seized goods should be given to the rightful claimants. *Thirteen*, if some persons rose in rebellion and began preparations for collection of arms but they chose a place and yet not engaged in a warfare should be arrested and imprisoned till repentance. If they are



engaged in a warfare at a particular spot, they should be opposed and destroyed. Their wounded and discomfited in battle should be killed, so long as they are not dispersed. If they get dispersed, hands should be kept off the afflicted and the defeated. Any one who is arrested from them before their dispersion should be killed or imprisoned. Whatever wealth and goods are seized from them, they should be given back to them after their repentance of this deed. *Fourteen*, anyone who prepares counterfeit gold, should be released for first offence after reproof and reprimand. If it is his profession he should be flogged after proof and imprisoned till he repents. If he again commits it and does not improve himself, he should be permanently imprisoned. *Fifteen*, a person, having bought alloyed gold, sells it as unalloyed he should be flogged as before. If he does not improve by flogging, he should be imprisoned till he repents. *Sixteen*, a person has alloyed gold in his possession. After an inquiry, it is found that he is neither a maker of alloyed gold nor its seller, he should be released by breaking his alloyed gold. After investigation, he is probably found out to be either a maker or a seller of alloyed gold he should be flogged and released. *Seventeen*, a man may have extorted money from people through deceit of alchemy, he should be punished after his guilt is proved. He should be imprisoned till he repents. Money which he has extorted on a pretence of alchemy should be returned to the owner with legal proof if he is present there. If he is not present, it should be deposited in the Bait ul Mal. *Eighteen*, if some one poisons another person deceitfully and he dies, he should be punished and imprisoned when guilt is proved till he shows signs of repentance. *Nineteen*, a person who entices away the wife, son or daughter of another person by fraud and deceit, he should be imprisoned when the guilt is proved till he surrenders wife to her husband and the son and daughter to their guardian. Or he dies in prison. If it is found out that the wife or the son or the daughter is dead, he should be most severely punished and then released or paraded through the city or exterminated. Again, a bawd who makes the wife or daughter of another man lead a vicious life and takes to houses of persons for shameful deed, she should be punished when legally proved and imprisoned till she shows signs of repentance. *Twenty*, a gambler should be flogged after inquiry and proof. If he has made gambling his profession, he should be flogged and imprisoned till repentance. If he again commits that misdeed, he should be permanently imprisoned. Money which he has earned through gambling should be given back after legal proof to its owner if he is present there. Otherwise it should be deposited in the Bait ul-Mal. *Twenty-one*, if some one sells wine or ce in a city or village of Islam, he should be severely flogged on legal proof. If he repeatedly commits this misdeed and does not abstain from it, he should be flogged and imprisoned till he repents. *Twenty-two*, a person who employs a distiller of wine and sells distilled wine, he should be flogged with stripes and imprisoned, if he is a common man, otherwise his



case should be reported to the court Distiller of wine should be severely reprimanded and punished *Twenty - three*, a seller of bhang, ale and similar intoxicants should be flogged when proved If he has made it a profession he should be flogged and imprisoned till he repents *Twenty - four*, if a person drowns another person in water or throws him into a well or pushes him down from a terrace and he dies There is a legal proof for the same, the man should be flogged and imprisoned He should be made to give blood-money as sanctioned by religion If he has committed this misdeed more than once, he should be punished *Twenty five*, a wicked man who enters a house of another man for mischief should be severely flogged with legal proof and imprisoned till he recovers commonsense and does not commit a misdeed *Twenty-six*, a person slanders others unnecessarily before officers and causes him to waste his money, when proved he should be punished if he has made it his profession, otherwise he should be flogged and kept in prison until he repents Money which he wasted, should be paid to him as damage when proved *Twenty-seven*, if a Zimmi¹ or a Zimmi woman (Zimmi is non-Muslim who is afforded protection in a Muslim Country) employs a Muslim or a Muslim woman as a slave or a concubine or a Zimmi marries a Muslim woman or a Muslim marries a Zimmi woman of the Book they should be produced before a Qazi so that they should act according to bright religion *Twenty eight*, sodomites, adulterers and luts (sodomites), drinkers of wine, all intoxicants apostates, refractory fellows who d sobey and slaves who have deserted their owners, debtors, mahajans should turn to the bright religion and act according to the orders of the Qazi *Twenty-nine*, murderers, whose murder of a person is proved by religion and which is commonly certain should be imprisoned Their cases should be reported to His Majesty *Thirty*, if a person castrates a son of another person he should be flogged after legal proof and imprisoned till he repents and shows penitence If the guardian of a child complains, the Qazi should be approached *Thirty one*, a chief of innovators, who invites people to innovation and innovation spreads, should be punished when proved *Thirty-two*, prisoners who are sent by the Faujdars to the Subedar, the Subedar should immediately, on their arrival, inquire the causes of their imprisonment individually If the cause of their imprisonment was a financial matter concerning the revenue office, they should be surrendered to the administrators of taxation-department, he should insist on disposal of their cases as early as possible, otherwise they should act according to one of the sections of this farman Once in a month, cases of prisoners of Kutchera and chabutra of the Kotwal ect should be taken. Those who are innocent, should be released Administrators should be enjoined to decide other cases immediately. *Thirty-three*, a person who is sent to the Chabutra of

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1 I non Muslim living under the protection of a Muslim ruler or state



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the Kotwal by the administrators or a plaintiff brings him or he is brought by Kotwal's men, the Kotwal should personally inquire into his case. If he is innocent, he should be protected in the chabutra and released. If some one has a legal suit against him, he should be advised to go to a court of justice. If the revenue office has a financial matter to deal with him or his case is to be dealt with one of the sections embodied in this farman, the Subedar should be informed about it and action should be taken as proposed by the Subedar with his certificate. If a Qazi sends some one, he should be imprisoned with the signature of the Qazi on the document. If the Qazi had fixed a period, he should be sent after an expiry of that period to the judges, who should let him off otherwise he should be daily sent to them to decide the case early. May it not remain hidden that much written material is destroyed in the copy of the farman due to its being very old and worm-eaten. There were clerical mistakes. It was corrected as far as possible and included in the book.

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CHAPTER 116

A CŌPY ŌF AN ORDER TO THE DIWAN OF THE SUBAH.

May the asylum of ministership and the seat of efficiency, Khwaja Muhammed Hashim be protected. It is reported to His Majesty that persons who are imprisoned for certain offences in the Subah of Ahmedabad, administrators practise delay in investigation of their affairs and do not decide and dispose them off so that an innocent man may be released from prison and an offender may be punished. A farman is, therefore, issued to the administrators of affairs of the said Subah in respect of above persons to deal with them in accordance with sections embodied in the farman so that none will be in prison without a cause and none may suffer tyranny and oppression. It is necessary that the asylum of ministership should act in execution of this farman in consultation with the Nazim of the Subah. Facts should always be reported. It should be regarded as an injunction. Mir Khan, an eminent amir is deprived of his mansab out of displeasure. All means of his amirship, chiefship such as elephants, horses, attendants, banner and a drum are confiscated by the government. An order was issued to permit him to visit the Holy Places. When he reached Jalor, a royal order was issued at the petition of Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan to the effect that he should live at Ahmedabad. None of the royal mansabdars of the Subah should see him. It was in this year that Tamachi, a relative of Jam, zamindar of Halar whom Qutbuddin Khan formerly had expelled and occupied Nawanagar which was renamed by the Royal Court as Islamnagar and the Diwan, faujdar, and superintendent of the mandi for collection of revenue of 5 p. c. were separately appointed by the Royal Presence, approached the Maharaja as a Rajput and sought refuge with him. He is repentent and penitent of his unworthy actions. He has submitted a letter of agreement to the effect that he would always remain firm and steadfast on the path of loyalty and servitude of the Court. He has requested the Court to grant him service for establishment of order in Islamnagar and protection and preservation of paths and highways. He should be favoured with a mansab which formerly Diler Khan at the time of his faujdari had proposed for him and his brothers. His younger son also be ennobled with a mansab. He should be granted an exemption from dagh and muster of his followers. Twenty-five independent villages of the said region which are the native places of Jadeja Rajputs who have accompanied him should be granted to them as a favour by way of inam. He would administer the region in a praiseworthy manner. As Tamachi belonged to the Jadeja Rajput tribe, the best among the Rajputs as they say, the Maharaja submitted his request to His Majesty through Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan. His request is granted. His unworthy actions have been pardoned. He is entrusted with



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the service of administration of Islamnagar. He is ennobled with the mansab of hazari, seven hundred sawar, Phul with a mansab of three hundred, one hundred, and fifty horse, Jasa with two hundred and fifty, one hundred and fifty sawar. His eldest son Lakha, who attended the royal stirrup, was honoured with a mansab of two hundred, sixty sawar. He was permitted to go to his father. His younger son, Varanmal was favoured with a mansab of one hundred and fifty, fifty sawar. He with his sons and brothers is exempted from muster of their followers. Twenty five villages were granted as inam. He was ordered not to allow relaxation in religious affairs and usages of the faith which found currency in that region. He should abstain from disloyalty to the court and keep himself aloof from it. He should be active in rendering service to the emperor in company of the Nazim of the Subah with a force one thousand sawar and infantry to the same extent in the Subah of Ahmedabad. A royal order was issued on 9th Rabi 'II, of the fifteenth year of Royal Accession to the throne to the Diwan of Saurath Sarkar and Islamnagar, Shamsuddin to the effect that all those places should be included in his jagir. May it not remain hidden that during the regime of His Late Majesty (Akber), the zamindar of Nawanagar came to see, through Sher Khan Gujarati, Raja Todarmal when he had come for bandobast (land assessment) of the Suba. The aforesaid Khan divulged that the zamindar had in time of Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati four hundred entire villages and one fourth share of Zamindari in four thousand villages. He used to present himself before the Sultan with an army of five thousand horse and four thousand foot. The Raja proposed for him a mansab of four thousand zat and four thousand Sawar, the zamindari of Nawanagar was entirely granted to him. He took a sum of three lacs of Mahmudi and one hundred horses as peshkash. He used to present himself in service of the Nazims in the same manner till the Subedari of Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh. This continued till the zamindar was slain in the Subedari of Mahabat Khan and the Faujdari of Qutbuddin Khan as mentioned in a chapter on the Subedari of the said Khan. The kingdom was occupied by the Royal officers. At this juncture, it was granted to him in accordance with the request of Maharaja Jaswant Singh as written. The Sarkar of Islamnagar was assigned in tankhwah to the jagir of the royal amirs of the Subah of Ahmedabad till the death of Aurangzeb. Jam zamindar lived in Khambalia and rendered services to the empire. The Faujdar, fief-holder, Darogha of Mandvi, and the tahvildar were in Islamnagar. They collected revenue according to imperial regulations. Jam occupied Islamnagar after His Majesty's death and built a strong fort. He did not extract pearls from the nearby sea formerly due to fear of his kingdom being coveted. Now he sends divers for their extraction whenever he wishes for his use. But the Nawanagari pearls, even though, have preference in a way in lustre and



colour but they are not durable. After some time, its brightness and colour change. Hence its price is low. There is no interference of the royal officers. The Nazim of the Subah leads an army to get peshkash and gets according to his strength. What is left of the former regulations is this that a permit for goods of merchants despatched to Islamnagar is accepted in its Mandvi. They are not molested for taxes. Sardar Khan was favoured this year with Faujdari and Tiwaldari of Saurath Sarkar Shaikh Nizamuddin Ahmed was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah in the month of Jamadi I of the above year. In the year 1083, one thousand and eighty-three, a royal order was issued in respect of abolition of prohibited taxes to the Diwan of the Subah. It is given below.



CHAPTER 117

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF ABOLITION OF TAXES

It was written on 22nd of the holy Moharram of the 16th, sixteenth year of the Royal Ascension to the throne Nizamuddin Ahmed, with qualities of economic management, being hopeful of royal favour should know that a royal order is issued after receipt of which the jagirdars of the mahals of the Subah of Gujarat should recover taxes from Hindus in the manner they used to do in the twentieth year of His Late Majesty Shah Jahan, may he be rewarded with paradise. The Muslims are exempted from those taxes. None should be molested in respect of prohibited taxes. Firstly, the road toll which jagirdars formerly used to take from merchants, banjaras (carriers of grain) who carried their goods for sale to other places and a sum was recovered from them per cart, a camel and an ox should not be taken. Secondly, taxes prohibited by the Royal Court should not at all be taken which are included in a list of prohibited taxes. These items are, fish caught by fishermen and sold, vegetables which cultivators grow in fields and bring for sale, grass, hay and firewood brought from forests for sale, leaves of dhakah, palyah and habul skin etc brought from jungles for sale, and whatever is taken of milk, butter milk, butchery, and at the time of skinning a cow, a goat etc. Players on musical instruments who visited houses of people on days of joys, had to pay a certain sum. Passages of dried up rivers where a tax was collected. Seafaring tax collected from merchants and travellers. Surplus of seamen's wages was collected as tax. Annual, seasonal, monthly, weekly, daily, wintery, on festival day, turban counting, man counting, house counting taxes collected from the Hindus. Grazing tax collected from banjaras and other persons. Ground rent of a stall in a market. Tax on printing of cloth and porters. Iron-vessels (pans) in which sugar is cooked. Tax on moist sugar should be taken according to regulations. Tax on weights, at the time of embossing on stone or iron. Sale-purchase tax on land, appraised sales-tax on palaces. Tax on cooks and oilpressers. Carriage and litter tax, palanquin, carriage, camel litter for purposes of carrying women and children and saritah, box and ghada for taking tobacco produce. Giving of corn, mangoes of small and big gardens and other commodities to compel merchants, traders and ryots to sell at a fixed price. Purchase of corn at a higher price and selling it at lower price. Tax collected from cotton dressers and oil-pressers who came from other places to establish new shops. It was collected by some chaudheris and administrators. Peshkash taken by new Amils from corn dealers from certain places at certain spots from corn carriers. Fine, a fee paid by a plaintiff or a defendant on the cause decided in his favour, additional tax on re-marriage, birth fee, marriage fee. One fourth of debt,



stolen property etc which the officers took after giving it to the rightful claimants Presents of banjaras Octroi duty on oarsmen Tax on putting scales known as Dharan (beam of scales) and dandi dari at some places Sweeping fee in vegetable market Loss on commission of fruits Kotwali usages Cess on mutton in the chabutra of kotwali Fixed tax from allowance for maintenance etc It was reported to His Majesty that mewars of the dak Chowki take something from comers and goers at certain places and harass the travellers. A Royal order was issued to the Diwanis of the Empire to the effect that the mewars (messengers) who are appointed to convey roval orders should be enjoined not to behave in this manner in future As the paraganā of Morvi was included in government revenue office, an order was issued for its promotion, prosperity and advancement to the Diwan of the Subah Formerly, daily wages or allowances were paid in the ratio of ten-fifteen of black coins (Alamgiri) but now it was ordered that Alamgiri black coins should be given as tankhwah corresponding to daily price The zamindar of Porbander applied for a new sanad to the Diwan of the Subah as the mahāl of Porbander was under Saurath Sarkar within jurisdiction of government revenue office and the zamindar served and defended the port on condition of getting one fourth part of income The Diwan issued a sanad after reporting the matter to His Majesty Octroi duties were assigned as tankhwah to the fief holder Afterwards they were collected by government revenue office A royal order was issued not to collect prohibited taxes, a copy of which is given above The Nazim requested to make good for the losses he would suffer on account of prohibited taxes by assignment of tankhwah collected from some of the mahals included in his fief At this juncture, the wakil of Maharaja Jiswant Singh submitted an agreement to the Royal Presence to the effect that he would not collect prohibited taxes in the mahals of the Maharaja's jagir and that he would collect tax on commodities from the Hindus exempting the Muslims according to regulations, and that he would not request for tankhwah in lieu of losses due to prohibited taxes An order was received by the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that no molestation should be caused to the mahals of the Maharaja's jagir An order was generally issued to the Diwanis of the Empire that the lands, allowances, maintenance stipend and daily allowance of the Hindus should be confiscated to the government As Ramolri in the paraganā of Petlad was granted as inam to Bansa and Jitan Charnan under an order of His Late Majesty on condition of defence and guard of the road and to repel mischief mongers of neighbourhood, was cancelled, nearly two hundred persons approached the Maharaja and narrated their own state of affairs The Maharaja's petition in this respect reached His Majesty It was granted as inam as before on above condition An order for recall of the Maharaja was issued this year Umdat ul Mulk Muhammed Amin Khan was appointed as Subedar



CHAPTER 118

SUBEDARI OF UMDAT-UL-MULK MUHAMMED AMIN KHAN DIWANI OF SHAIKH NIZAMUDDIN AHMED, MUHAMMED SHARIF AND 'ABDUL LATIF

- * Muhammed Amin Khan, being defeated by the Afghans at Kabul, returned to Peshawar and came to the Royal Presence. A royal order was issued that he should hasten to the Subedari of Gujarat on the recall of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. A mandate was issued to Maharaja that he should arrive at the Royal Presence after his arrival. 'Umdat ul-Mulk who held the mansab of six thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah marched to the Subah of Gujarat. He reached Kati at a distance of three Kurohs from the city on 12th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and eighty three. He met the Maharaja who had encamped there on his way to the Royal Presence and then entered Ahmedabad. Shaikh Nizamuddin Ahmed, the Diwan of the Subah and Mir Bihauddin Khan Bakhshi and Chronicler met him. He sent Faujdars and 'Amils to Pattan and Biramgam included in his jagir. Home of the Faujdars and fief holders were retained in the subah as before such as Syed Hasan Khan son of Diler Khan, who held the mansab of fifteen hundred Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah was continued as Faujdar and fief-holder of Idar, and Anbvalia in the paraganah of Bhul, Syed Hashim, son of Syed Hasan Khan as Thanadar of Benjhader of Vijapur. Syed Mahmud Khan, son of Syed Hasan Khan with the mansab of nine hundred zat, eight hundred Sawar do-aspah without condition and conditional (with a contingent) as the Faujdar of Baroda, Dabhoi, Nadot, Belpar in Petlad founded in the Subedari of Bahadur Khan, and the thana of Kajnah under jurisdiction of Khanbhat Port established when Mahabat Khan was the Subedar. Shahverdi Beg who held the mansab of seven hundred zat and two thousand and three hundred Sawar without condition and conditional continued as the faujdar of Azamabad in Kapadwanj, Ma'murabad in paraganah of Bhul, Thana of Islamabad alias Punadra in Thamana. Muhammed Ja'far, son of 'Ali Quli Beg, who held the mansab of five hundred zat and four hundred sawar mustered, was the Faujdar of Jarkal in the Paragana of Sarnal and thana of Khorwad in the paraganah of Nadiad on the recall of Darya (Khan). Abdul Latif, the brother of Mu'izzul Mulk with a mansab of five hundred Zat and two hundred and fifty sawar was the Port-officer of Khanbhayat Port. Syed Kamal, son of Syed Kamal with a mansab of four hundred zat and four hundred sawar without condition and conditional was the Faujdar and Jagirdar of Prantij, Islamabad alias Shahdarah. Visalnagar, thanadar of Karod, Cholorah Basna and Arlohi. Muhammed Muzaffer son of Sher Babi with a mansab



of four hundred zat and four hundred sawar with and without condition was the Faujdar of Kadi etc. Muhammed Mubarez, son of Sher Babi was the thandar of Alor in the paragona of Kadi. The Faujdari of Palanpur which on the recall of Kamal Jalori was granted to Muhammed Fateh. It was now granted to Kamal Jalori, who held the manab of four hundred zat and three hundred and fifty sawar on the recall of Muhammed Fateh. The fort of A'zamabad needed repairs. An estimate of eight thousand and two hundred and fifty rupees was sanctioned for its repairs. The amount, under a royal order, was granted from the Public Treasury. It was reported to His Majesty this year that the 'Amils of the government revenue office and the jagirdars molest the ryots for payments of arrears of previous years. Most of the persons who have to pay arrears have died, some of them have fled while those who are left are without property, indigent and not in a position to pay. Action will be taken as ordered by His Majesty. His Majesty ordered that the arrears of past years in the government paraganas and mahals of jagirdars are condoned and written off. Those persons should not be troubled for collection of them. Whatever is left to be paid by ryots for the last year, should be demanded from those who are there and are in a position to pay. Those who have fled, should be summoned. When they come back, they should not be molested. A royal order concerning it was issued to the Diwan of the Subah. An order was issued to Umdat-ul Mulk that the Qazi and Muhtasib Muhammed Sharif should be given piyadas (footmen) to enforce religious orders. It was reported to His Majesty that the income of cloth market in the shape of octroi duty of the city of Ahmedabad of which Shaikh Muhiyuddin was the Daroghah and Amin, is this year much more than the previous years. He requested for an employment of fifty footmen for collecting octroi duty. An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to employ them. At the request of Mulla Hasan Gujarati twenty-one villages of Vijapur, Kadi and Pattan were placed under the Qasba of Bisalnagar. From that day, a separate paraganah was formed. An amount of nine hundred and ninety two rupees was given by the Public Treasury on account of an estimate for repairs of a masjid built by Haibat Khan in the city. Again an order was issued for repairs of Junagadh Fort which was in a state of dilapidation and disintegration. On the recall of Mu'zzul Mulk Muhammed Hashim was appointed the Port-officer of Surat Port and the Faujdar of Chorasi and Thana Dhawan. In the year one thousand and eighty-five, the wakil of Sardar Khan, the Faujdar and Fief-holder of Saurath reported that the collection of octroi duty was taken away from the fief-holders by the revenue-office but the Diwan of the Subah has withheld payment in lieu of it. An order was issued that cash if left should be paid in lieu of income lost due to prohibited taxes by way tankhwah. In the year one thousand and eighty-seven, a serai and a masjid were estimated for construction at eighty-six thousand and three hundred rupees. They were completed under supervision of the Daroghah Muhammed Beg. Under a royal order the crown-land



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adjacent to the masjid erected in place of temple of Satidas was dedicated for habitation of stranger Muslims. Syed Baqir was appointed to the post of a Muhtasib of the city of Ahmedabad. Twenty-five as monthly charity to the langar (khana) and sixteen rupees as provisions for six footmen were sanctioned as tankhwah from the Public Treasury of Ahmedabad. As the city-fortification and some other royal buildings situated at Bhadra Fort got disintegrated, two thousand and nine hundred rupees were given as estimated for repairs by the Diwan of the Subah.

The viceroi duties of Ahmedabad and Pattan which were in jagir of the Nazim of the Suba were attached to the government revenue office. On the recall of Shaikh Nizamuddin Ahmed, Muhammed Sharif was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah who arrived in Ahmedabad on 15th Jamadi II of the above year. He actively devoted himself to his work. The aforesaid Shaikh was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah of Malwa. As stated before, Mirkhan had stayed in Ahmedabad under a royal order at the request of Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan, eminent amirs became intercessors for his offences. He was as before granted a mansab and a title and an order was issued for his summons to the Royal Court. Muhammed Amin Khan came out for bandobast in the Subah and exaction of peshkash and proceeded towards Kakrej of the Pattan Sarkar to chastise and punish the rebels for four months. As it was reported to His Majesty that the Chaudheries and the muqaddams of paraganas monopolize places for themselves in the Subah of Ahmedabad and thus tyranny and oppression are caused to ryots in various ways, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that none in the government revenue office and in the fields should hold a monopoly. Nothing more should be demanded from ryots and also the prohibited taxes. The contents of royal mandate should be conveyed to Syed Azam, Amin of the paraganas of Dholka and other Amins of places that they should act in accordance with it. His Majesty had this time encamped at Ajmer for destruction of the Rajputs. Umdat ul-Mulk marched to the Royal Presence with an arrayed army and equipped contingents. He paid homage to His Majesty within eleven days. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that one hundred and forty three ashrafis and five lacs of rupees in ready cash to the end of 15th Moharram, of the year 1088, one thousand and eighty eight were received by the Royal Presence, they should be sent with Muhammed Amin Khan to the Royal Court. After a few days, he received royal favours and imperial kindnesses. He reached the Subah after getting permission to depart. One thousand, five hundred and eighty rupees were assigned as tankhwah for repairs to the madrasah, masjid, a bath and a hospital built by Saif Khan. In the mahal of Ahmedabad mint, some of wire-drawing melters known as the Simal Caste worked without partnership of others in a factory of gold thread in Ahmedabad. They did not allow anyone to know the



secret of their trade When His Majesty heard about it, he issued an order that prohibition of a trade is not allowed in religion This practice should be set aside An order was this year issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the paragana of Bisalnagar annexed to the Subah of Gujarat should be named Rasulnagar and it should be included as Rasulnagar in the Diwan record Muhammed Muqim Chilah perfume extractor was appointed by His Majesty for use of rose-perfume of the royal gardens He came to Ahmedabad at this time In the year one thousand and eighty-nine, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that punishment with wealth is not religiously allowed It should be written to the Diwanis,amins of mahals of revenue office that no 'Amil, zamindar and other residents in the mahal should become a source of this offence in future An offender will be punished with imprisonment, dismissal from service, expulsion and similar punishment He should be reprimanded with threat so that he may not practise punishment with wealth In the year one thousand and ninety, Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah was engaged in the Deccan Campaign, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that whatever treasure was in Ahmedabad Treasury should be remitted to Surat with a contingent of the Nazim of the Subah so that Muhammed Beg the Port Officer, who was then appointed on the recall of Ghiyasuddin Khan would send it with Surat treasure to the Prince as desired by him at Aurangabad Again a royal order was issued that if a Muslim died in cities or paraganas and if his sons, brothers and relatives were not with him, the Qazi should go to the deceased and perform his funeral rites Expenses for this should be taken from the Bait-ul-Mal Muhammed Beg, the Port officer was conferred this year the title of Kartalab Khan



CHAPTER 119

MARCH OF BHIM SINGH SON OF RANA ATTACK ON BISALNAGAR AND VADNAGAR AND RETURN. DOMINATION OF THE RAJA OF IDAR ON HIS OWN TERRITORY HIS DEATH CONQUEST OF IDAR BY MUHAMMED BAHLOL SHIRANI

During this time, the royal forces were engaged in chastisement and punishment of the Rajputs. They were specially in pursuit of Rana who, on account of domination and fury of Royal officers left his residence and did not stay at one place like mercury. His Majesty halted for some days in Chitor. The younger son of Rana, Bhim Singh came out, with great terror and fright, from the narrow passes of mountains and began to roam about in Gujarat. He attacked and plundered, with shortsightedness, the towns of Vадnagar and Visalnagar along with other villages and decamped. The zamindar of Idar, who roamed about, seized an opportunity to collect war mongering Rajputs and occupied the fort of Idar. I heard it from some persons who heard it from their forefathers. Responsibility of its accuracy lies with the narrator. It is well known among common folk that Muhammed Amin Khan, after the zamindar's occupation of Idar, appointed Muhammed Bahlol Shirani, an auxiliary of the Subah for expelling the zamindar. He gave him an amount of money by way of help. Muhammed Bahlol who was an inborn soldier, equipped and armed some of his young relatives and tribesmen on whom he relied as well as others, for whom he hired horse carriages as they did not know riding and sent them to Idar. When he reached Prantij, he employed some of the townsfolk who were acquainted with the district as servants and marched further. The zamindar of Idar, on getting intelligence of army with such preparations, attached no importance, with pride and vanity, to it as the crow of arrogance had a nest in palace of his mind. He relied on the solidity of fort situated on a lofty mountain and sat there with self-conceit when all of a sudden Muhammed Bahlol invaded him with his expeditionary force. He attacked before he became aware, two, three entrenchments on the gates of the fort. The zamindar who was asleep in a slumber of negligence like an evil fortune, woke up in perplexity, and fled without caring for prestige and family. He crept in one of the ravines of mountains like a fox. In the meantime Muhammed Bahlol reached his resort with brave youths but found no trace of that man of distracted fortune. He, therefore, engaged in establishment of order, protection and defence of the fort. Out of the Rajputs who escaped his sword, some were captured while others fled and began to wander in a desert of misfortune. By chance, companions of Muhammed Bahlol who recreated themselves around the mountain when a sweeper, who for cutting his firewood had taken shelter



in a cave of that unfortunate man arrived. He found him dead for absence of ready antidote. Again, it may be, that he died being overpowered by fear. The sweeper, judged from his inauspicious forehead and the pearl-ear-rings in his ears that he was the King. He cut off his head, took out the ornaments he wore round his neck and hand and brought him before Muhammed Bahlol. His head was sent to his wives, who had no knowledge about their husband's life and death for ascertainment. They fell in grief and lamentation on seeing it and busied themselves with bemoaning and mourning. Muhammed Bahlol was convinced about his death. He sent his head along with captives with his men with a report of an occurrence to Muhammed Amin Khan at Ahmedabad. He made him an object of praise and approbation and reported facts of circumstances and excellent exertions of Muhammed Bahlol Shirani to the Royal Court. Again, His Majesty received a report from news writers of the Subah. Muhammed Shirani's mansab was raised with imperial favours and the grant of Faujdari of Idar. His Majesty learnt through a sealed petition of the Chief Qazi that merchants bring horses from outside and sell them. Cattle-Market supervisors do not charge any tax from buyers who buy them for branding, when they buy them from them for business or for some other purpose, they take a sales-tax. This is not allowed in religion. His Majesty, therefore, issued an order to the Diwan of the Subah that no sales tax should be taken from a buyer of a horse either if the horse is bought for branding or for business or for some other purpose. Tax should be collected from sellers of horses according to fixed rules.



CHAPTER 120

IMPOSITION OF JIZYA¹ ON ZIMMIS IN THE EMPIRE.

As all the energy of His Majesty was directed to strengthening the clear religion and giving currency to the usages of the strong Path, he moulded all state affairs and financial and revenue matters in the religious cast. Learned men, scholars and theologians saw that His Majesty encouraged religion during his auspicious regime, they represented to him the levy of Jizya on zimmi of the Empire necessary and incumbent in accordance with the path of bright religion and way of shining creed. They wrote out the quantity (of amount) and mode of its collection from theological books and placed them before His Majesty. *Firstly*, it was levied on zimmi of the Book, a fire worshipper, an idol-worshipper and not on an idol-worshipper of a warring-region,² an apostate, minor, woman, helpless slave, amputated of hand and foot, blind, mad, eccentric and inactive poor man. *Secondly*, it was to be collected annually in amount of twelve dirham from a poor man, twenty-four dirhams from a middle-class man, and forty-eight dirhams from a rich man. As dirhams were not current, a dirham was equivalent to three tolas, one mashah, three ratis and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mashah in weight of silver. $\frac{1}{8}$ th mashah from a poor man, double of it from a middle-class man and double of the middle class man from a rich man should be annually collected. It should not be collected in rupees. If somebody pays in rupees, it should be of the same quantity in weight. It should be collected in dirhams when they become current. *Thirdly*, there is difference in definition of a rich man a middle-class man and a poor man. Action should be taken according to the following definition. A rich man is one whose property is worth ten thousand dirhams or more, a middle class man is one whose property is worth two hundred dirhams or more and a poor man is one whose property is worth less than two hundred dirhams. If he owns nothing, it should be collected from him when his earnings are more than sustenance of himself and his wife. If his earnings are less than sustenance of himself and his wife, he should be exempted.

1. Jizya a tax which is levied by Muslim rulers upon subjects who are of a different faith but claim protection. They are exempted from military service. Females, children, monks, hermits, paupers, slaves were exempted. He who paid this tax and obtained protection from the Muslim state is called a Zimmi.
2. A non-Muslim state where a Muslim lives is a harbi. Dar-ul-harb is a country belonging to unbelievers which has not been subdued by Islam (Ghiyas-ul-Lughat). It is a country in which peace has not been proclaimed between Muslims and unbelievers (Qamus).

If the edicts of Islam remain in force together with the edicts of the unbelievers then the country cannot be said to be a dar-ul-harb (I'addi-i-Mukhtar Vol. III, P. 391). For further information see Indian Musalmans by W. W. Hunter.



Fourthly, the collector of jizya should collect it from a zimmi in this manner. A zimmi should himself come to pay it. He should come on foot. The collector should sit while the zimmi should stand. The collector should place his hand over the hand of the zimmi saying, "I take jizya, oh zimmi." It should not be accepted when sent indirectly through his deputy. The collector should not levy it without seeing the man. *Fifthly*, it should be collected for one year from a rich man. A middle class man and a poor man should be given a choice to pay the lump sum at one time or a middle-class man should pay in two instalments and a poor man in four instalments. *Sixthly*, it is discontinued at death. *Seventhly*, if a zimmi becomes a major a year before the levy of jizya or a slave becomes free, or a harabi becomes a zimmi or a sick man recovers, it should be levied according to each one's condition. If a minor zimmi becomes major or a slave becomes a freedman or a harabi accepts the status of a zimmi or a sick man becomes convalescent after its levy, that year's jizya should not be collected from them. *Eighthly*, if a zimmi is rich for some years and poor in others or if he is poor in most of the years, it should be collected at the rate of a poor man. If he is rich for half a year and poor for the next half, it should be collected at the rate of a middle class man. *Ninthly*, if a zimmi is sick for half a year or more, it should not be collected from him. A royal officer 'Inayatullah Khan was entrusted with duties of its promotion. A royal order was issued that it should not be collected from the imperial servants but it should be collected from all zimmis other than they in accordance with religious rules. 'Inayatullah Khan, appointed, under His Majesty's order, religious minded Amirs in all the subas of the empire. Collection of jizya prevailed. Nearly five lacs of rupees were collected annually in the department of jizya from the zimmis of the Subah of Gujarat. The dignified mansab of the Subah's Diwan was granted, on the recall of Muhammed Sharif, to the asylum of ministership Muhammed Latif. Multafit Khan, on the recall of Syed Anwar Khan, was appointed to the Faujdari of Godhra Sarkar. A royal order was issued to the Subah's Diwan in respect of new Muslims that any one who converts himself to Islam in the city of Ahmedabad with permission with the seal of the Qazi ul Quzat Shaikh ul-Islam, males should be paid till they recover from circumcision and females till purification two Alamgiri tankas per day from the Baitul-mal with concord of the Qazi of the place. Males and females should be paid, the former after recovery from circumcision and the latter after purification, a piece of cloth from the said treasury. A royal order was also received in respect of six months' provisions for the fort of Champner at the petition of the Nazim of the Subah. One hundred rupees per one lac of dams as jizya was levied this year on subjects of provinces in the Crown-land and the fief holders. Syed Zahur, on the recall of Multafit Khan, was appointed the Faujdar of Godhra. In the year one thousand and ninety



one, a royal order bearing the seal of Jumdat-ul-Mulk, Madar-ul-Maham Asad Khan in respect of collection of zakat from Muslims to the Subah's Diwan. Its copy in original is reproduced here.

CHAPTER 121

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER WITH THE SEAL OF HIGH GROUND OF THE STATE, PIVOT OF AFFAIRS ASAD KHAN IN RESPECT OF COLLECTION OF ZAKAT FROM MUSLIMS

It was dated 5th Rabi 'I of the 25th year of Royal Ascension to the throne Asylum of ministership, and seat of elevation and efficiency, Muhammed Latif be preserved As it is the royal intention and regal desire that the Muslims may be distinguished with obligation and kindness from vicious unbelievers, a royal order was issued before this in respect of forgiveness of zakat on their wealth out of kindness and regard to them His Majesty has now heard that many Muslims mix up their own wealth with that of the unbelievers for the sake of worldly trash for non-payment of zakat They exempt themselves from payment of zakat on ground that it does not belong to them Great cheating takes place and loss occurs to the Bait ul-Mal on which the Muslims have claims Hence, many Muslims on whom the payment of zakat is compulsory evade it Their responsibility remains It is, therefore, most advisable to collect zakat It will be a cause of freedom from responsibility A royal order is issued to the effect that that the administrators of affairs and managers of imperial matters, should collect zakat from the Muslims at the rate of one in forty after paying due regard to conditions of its collection as detailed in this farman with concord of the Amins of zakat Due care and caution should be used that nothing more or less, minutely (even to the smallest extent) be taken from any one except due zakat If a case is to be referred to the learned men, it should be done with concord of the Qazis and the Muftis The Diwan in Gujarat should act according to the royal order

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CHAPTER 81

CONDITIONS FOR COLLECTION OF ZAKAT AS EMBODIED IN THE ORDER

Conditions for collection of zakat are A wise major independent man moves from place to place with *merchandise of his own* which is the quantity of nisab (maximum fixed quantity) that is, of the value of fifty-four rupees and twelve annas and a half, happens to pass by a tithe collector, with these goods free from every liability—personal or religious to the extent of nisab and one year has passed over it Again, a *wakil* or a *malik* happens to pass by a tithe-collector for payment of zakat with his goods of merchandise and conditions for its collection are confirmed, zakat should be taken from him Again, if authorized slave happens to pass by a tithe collector with goods which his master has given him for business or an authorized slave without a debt passes by a tithe collector with goods written by himself in both these cases after ascertaining the conditions for collection of zakat, if the master is with him zakat should be taken otherwise not Again, if goods of a man are in the hands of another man for selling that at half a profit (in partnership), and there is a profit in it, share of partnership in profit is nisab it should be taken from a share of partnership after ascertaining conditions of zakat Again, if a Muslim departs saying that a year has not passed over my goods or I have to pay so much debt and after payment of debt so much as the nisab will not be left with me or says that he has paid the zakat over it, before coming out to the poor or says that he has paid the zakat over the goods to another tithe collector, and there may be another tithe collector or says that his goods were not for business or that those goods were not liable to zakat, even though he does not describe the cause thereof or says that those goods do not belong to him and that they are with him in partnership, or by way of deposit or on commission or that he is servant of the owner of goods or a testator or a clerk or a slave, the Muslim's statement should be accepted and corroborated on oath He should not be molested after oath Again, if a Muslim passes with goods of merchandise and says that he has paid zakat over it to the poor before coming out or that he has paid zakat over it to another tithe collector and there may not be a tithe-collector that year, his statement is not reliable Zakat should be collected from him Again, if a merchant says, "my goods consist of such commodities The tithe-collector doubts the goods to be of other commodities and wants to see goods in open He should open packages and see them If he feels that some damage will be done to goods in opening them, he should not do it His statement should be accepted on oath He should collect zakat from it according to the goods If no damage is to be done in opening them, he should not rely upon his words He should see opening those goods and charge him zakat



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Accordingly Again, if goods of merchandise, in cash or kind, are owned by some one and before end of the year he buys other goods for business in place of those goods and spends remaining part of the year in selling other things and happens to pass by a tith-collector, zakat should be collected on the last things

In the year one thousand and ninety-two, a severe famine took place due to scarcity of food. People suffered afflictions for want of bread. They carried their complaints and lamentations beyond limit to Muhammed Amin Khan. A short account of this long description is whatever is understood from reports of aged men who heard them from their ancestors in succession, is that when the span of balance of dearness of corn and high price of cereals rose high, people began to moan and lament. By chance, 'Id fell during these days. Muhammed Amin Khan had gone out for prayers. On his return when he entered the city through bazar-road, small and great, young and old, men and women, who had come out for recreation, loosened tongues in complaints and lamentation about dearness and anguish for sustenance. A mischief-monger, Abu Bakr, who had become known among people that he was working solely for God, was present in that gathering to induce and excite masses to riot. Mode of his insigation was such that they regarded his instructions and wicked promptings solely due to attainment of the pleasure of God and so the affairs passed from oral complaints, lamentations and cries to arrogance and daring for throwing stones, clods of earth, rubbish on the litter of Muhammed Amin.

Poem

*With one utterance of that man of distracted affair
So much mischief arose from every side
Fire of mischief became so keen
That thou wouldst have said there was a day of resurrection in that city*

On seeing this immoderate behaviour, the party of soldiers who were with him failed to repel them. They made use of war weapons in defence. Muhammed Amin Khan, understanding the exigency of time that it was a public revolt, prevented them from so doing. He reached the Bhadra Fort at any cost. A report of it was sent to His Majesty by himself as well as by news writers within a few days. His Majesty was much enraged. Wrath of a sovereign is a specimen of Divine wrath. He issued an order to Muhammed Amin Khan to put him to death as a leader of rioters. As it was a preliminary to public rising, Muhammed Amin Khan, instead of pulling down the palace of his life who created disturbance but worked in the name of God, sowed a flower of goodness and arranged a feast inviting the common-folk as well as the shakhs (spiritual directors). He also invited Abu Bakr to it.



A Couplet

*He who injures men with a sword of tongue
Drinks poison and uses a sting of scorpion as a tooth pick*

When the banquet was arranged and dishes of food were spread out on the table, Muhammed Amin Khan summoned the Shaikh near to himself. After being free from food, he cut a melon, which was specially kept ready for feasting the shaikh and personally treated him by offering him with his hand, a few poisoned slices.

A Couplet

*Do not extend a hand of intertion to the way of world
For they have poisoned this morsel*

As soon as he ate them, his condition changed. He got up from the banquet and went home. Muhammed Amin Khan said, "Shaikh! where do you go in such a hurry?" He replied, "To the house I have built I go. It is said that he died by the time he reached home. It was in this year that the chief among those who have attained to perfection on the path of reality and the leader of those who are intimately acquainted with the minutiae of things, expert in narrative sciences and proficient in rational knowledge, Mulla Ahmed, son of Sulaiman transferred himself from ephemeral earthy place to permanent garden. Muhammed Amin Khan, who was ill for some time, gave up deposit of borrowed life to the seizer of soul at mid-night on 22nd Jamadi II of the year one thousand and ninety-three. His corpse was kept as a deposit in the grave in the fort citadel near the Kutcheri Gate. A dome over his grave and a masjid were erected which still exist. Somebody found his date of death from words "Muhammed Amin Khan murdah." After some time, his dead body was taken out and removed to a holy place. Muhammed Latif the Diwan of the Subah wrote out a list of his movable and immovable property with the help of writers and royal servants. A report of it was submitted to His Majesty. A royal order was accordingly sent to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that he heard from external sources that certain domestic clerks kept Muhammed Amin Khan's death a secret and that much usurpation and confiscation have been committed. It is, therefore, written that caution and care should be practised in control of the work-shops. If negligence and indifference were noticed, great inquiry will be made. It was also ordered that men of the thana and government establishment which Muhammed Amin Khan had established for order must be continued as before till the arrival of the Nazim of the Subah and their salaries be paid by the government so that order may prevail. He should also be careful about



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bandobast Fodder of animals for cavalcade should be supplied by the government as it was in the house of Muhammed Amin Khan Animals should be kept fat and comfortable Diwan, major domo of affairs, munshi, Mulla Yusuf, 'Ali Beg and other workers, servants and well known attendants of Muhammed Amin Khan who intend to serve His Majesty should be sent to the Royal Presence At present, Shahvardi Khan, one of the military commanders of the Subah devoted himself till the appointment of Nazim to protection and defence of the Subah Many Irani and Turani Mughals who had accompanied Muhammed Amin Khan to Ahmedabad settled down here and their descendants reside till now in this region Order and law as established by Muhammed Amin Khan were not established at any time by any one else, as remarked by His Majesty that none established such order as Muhammed Amin Khan had done

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CHAPTER 122

SUBEDARI OF MUKHTAR KHAN DIWANI OF MUHAMMED LATIF AND MUHAMMED TAHIR TITLED AMANAT KHAN AFTER HIM CAME I'TIMAD KHAN. IN ADDITION TO THE OFFICE OF DIWANI, HE WAS ALSO THE PORT-OFFICER OF SURAT

Mukhtar Khan, with the mansab of four thousand zat, four thousand sawar do-ispah, se aspah was the Nazim of Malwa Subah. On the death of Muhammed Amin Khan, he was appointed the Nazim of Gujarat with a present of a robe, an elephant and a horse. An order was issued to him that he should proceed to Ahmedabad from Malwa to devote himself to the establishment of order and administrative work there. His son Qamruddin Khan, who held the mansab of one thousand zat and five hundred sawar was appointed the Faujdar of Pattan Sarkar with a mahal of conditional jagir of the Nazim. (Mashrutah = a settled revenue of ten percent allowed to jagirdars) Mukhtar Khan, after receipt of the farman, came to the Subah of Gujarat with continuous marches and reached Ahmedabad on 4th of the holy Ramazan of the year one thousand and ninety-three. Muhammed Latif, Diwan of the Subah, Mir Bahauddin Khan, Bakhshi, Chronicler, Shaikh Muhyuddin Sadr (judge) and Qazi, Khwaja 'Abdullah etc accountants, royal servants in military service in the Subah came to receive him. The Nazim of the Subah marched for bandobast (land assessment), administrative work, acquisition of peshkash and taking security for absence of rebellion from rebels and Kolis. It was in this year that the daily allowance of pious men, faqirs, scholars, deserving poor men, students which was settled in accordance with the Court sanad in this Subah was to be paid from the Public Treasury. An order in this respect was issued to the Diwan of the Subah with the seal of Jumdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan. An order also was issued in respect of tax on gold and uncoined silver which the merchants etc brought for sale to mints of the empire. The tax was one in forty from Muslims and two in forty from Hindus. Mint-officers should take a bond from merchants etc to the effect that they should not sell and purchase these metals at any other place except the mint. An event was reported to His Majesty that Mungiya and four other Girasiyas of Jalwasan of the Kadi paragana were arrested by Muhammed Muzaffer Babi, Faujdar of the place on ground of rebellion. They were sent to Muhammed Amin Khan. He kept them imprisoned in the chabutra of Kotwali. Qazi 'Abdullah now summoned them from the chabutra and released them. In this manner, he releases many rebels whom Muhammed Amin had imprisoned for four or five years in the chabutra of Kotwali for establishment of order on ground of disturbance. These persons, when released, go to their



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respective places and take to mischief making. A royal order was issued in this respect to the Diwan of the Subah as to why they have been set free. After this, confirmed rebels should be confined in jail and not released. If any one of the rebels who is jailed in the chabutra of Kotwali for revolt should remain in captivity. If he is set free, inquiry of it will be instituted from the asylum of ministership. An order was issued prohibiting acceptance of illegal taxes such as maliya, bhent, baladashi, tahsildari, out going and incoming. He ordered that no Amil and Karori of the government revenue office should accept these taxes. An order was received by the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that if any one has not paid jizya for one year after its levy and another year has set in, due to indifference of its collectors, the payer's word should be accepted and no jizya for the first should be collected. This is the opinion of Imam Abu Hanifah, may mercy of God be on him. Jizya of the second year should be collected. If any one has not paid jizya for the first year by way of disobedience, two years' jizya should be collected from him. Such is the view held by the two Imams. The asylum of ministership, therefore, should act according to the tenets of religion within jurisdiction of his Diwan. Fifty nine horses belonging to Muhammed Amin Khan were confiscated by the Government, the asylum of ministership Muhammed Latif, Diwan of the Subah sold out seventeen old and deformed horses in consultation with the Nazim of the Subah Mukhtar Khan and the rest were sent with Mir Taqi to the Royal Presence. Dev 'Abdur Rahman Karori of Pattan paragana was transferred due to complaints of ryots. A royal order was issued that the Faujdar of Saurath Sardar Khan should appoint to this post any one from his group of brothers and companions. Muhammed Saeed Mirabdar, accordingly, was chosen for the post. An order was issued at the request of the Nazim of Subah in respect of Muslim prisoners and dead persons without rich heirs that one seer of wheat flour should be given per prisoner of the chabutra of Kotwali and two sheets of cloth and five Muradi tankas per absconded person from the treasury of Bait-ul-Mal. An order was received to the Nazim of Subah that choice mangoes of the garden of Muhammed Amin Khan should be sent with carriers of dak chowki by way of Broach to the Royal Presence. It was also ordered that as he laid out the garden with great trouble, planted various fruit-bearing trees with great care, efforts should be made to increase their freshness and verdancy. Income, expense, area of buildings, number of trees etc. with the lay out of the garden should be sent to the Royal Presence. On the recall of Muhammed Latif, the dignified office of the Subah's Diwan was entrusted at the close of this year to Muhammed Tahir, who in future received the title of Amanat Khan and Tumad Khan. In the year one thousand and ninety five, an order was issued to the Diwan of Subah, Muhammed Tahir that a sum of one karor and sixty lacs of dams of the paragana of Dunderpur is in arrears due to the recall of Rana Jai Singh from Suds of autumn of Lut II of the year twenty second. The said paragana was assigned in jagir to Rawal Jaswant Zamindar.



. from 5th Suds of Spring of Paichi Il. As the Zamindar has not remitted the written amount of revenue of the in-between period which comes to sixty-six thousand, six hundred and ninety and a half rupees, the said amount should be collected for the Public Treasury from revenue of autumn season of Tankuz Il without delay and negligence. This year there was heavy rain and the river Sabarmati was flooded to such an extent that its waters came as far as the Three Gates near the plain of the bazar. It damaged buildings. Walls of city-fortification and citadel of the fort were very much disintegrated. Mukhtar Khan, therefore, submitted a petition to His Majesty for urgent repairs to the fort. Repairs of both the forts were arranged by His Majesty when Makaramat Khan was the Diwan. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of Subah to the effect that a report of expenses borne in past years for its repairs during the regime of His Late Majesty should be submitted. It was found from past records that one thousand and four ashrafis from the treasury of weight were spent in the 22nd year of His Late Majesty's regime; in the year 29th of Ascension, Rizwi Khan had collected sixty thousand rupees from mahajans of the city. During the reign of His Majesty, the expenses of repairs were borne by the government. An estimate was, at this time, of two thousand, six hundred and forty-four rupees. An order was issued that the amount should be taken four times from the Public Treasury. No appeal should be made to citizens to contribute towards it. Faujdar of Saurath, Sardar Khan went as Subedar of Tattha and died there after some time. His dead body was consigned to the grave under a tomb built by himself with ornamentation near Jamalpur Gate in Ahmedabad. Syed Mahmud Khan affiliated as Faujdar of Junagadh till a new appointment.



CHAPTER 123

ASSIGNMENT OF SAURATH SARKAR IN FIEF OF THE DIGNIFIED PRINCE MUHAMMED A'ZAM SHAH

His Majesty assigned the Saurath Sarkar in the fief of the illustrious Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah. An order was issued to Shahvardi Khan that he should soon take himself to Saurath and employ three thousand sawar on the establishment on a monthly salary of fifteen rupees in accordance with rules with the concord of the Bakhshi of the Subah and that he should make real bandobast till the arrival of Faujdar of the Sarkar of His Royal Highness the Prince. A mandate was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that he should send one month's salary of two thousand sawars from Ahmedabad's treasury in consultation with Mukhtar Khan. A Gumastiah, an accountant and a Tahvaldar should be sent for payment of salary. A report of payment of salary should be sent to the Royal Presence for the said amount will be debited to the assignment of the Prince. Muhammed Sadiq, a mace-bearer was appointed for pressing urgency. As the permanent Faujdar had not yet arrived, it was reported to His Majesty as an event of the Subah that Mir Bahauddin Bakhshi Chronieler declared to Mukhtar Khan that the Desais of Saurath have written to him that some mischief-mongers attack and plunder many places finding Saurath without a Faujdar. If a certificate for payment of daily wages to a few persons from the government revenue office is given to the Karori, those persons will be employed for defence. The Nazim of the Subah said to the Diwan of the Subah Muhammed Tahir to issue a certificate. The Diwan of the Subah replied that he would not grant a certificate without His Majesty's order. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that he should not wait for a royal order in such cases. They should be paid their salary with a certificate of the Nazim of the Subah. A mandate was issued, before this, to Shahvardi Khan and therefore, daily wages should be paid with the Nazim's certificate till his arrival and the facts should be jotted down. Shahvardi Khan reached Saurath this year. He submitted a petition to the effect that he employed nine hundred and forty six musketeers necessary for maintenance of order in this region on an average of slightly less than four rupees. He hoped that a sanad for the payment of this salary will be granted to the Diwan of the Subah. An order was, therefore, sent to the Diwan of the Subah that one month's salary of musketeers on an average of three and a half rupees per head as fixed should be sent to Saurath in consultation with the Nazim Mukhtar Khan of Ahmedabad. One month's salary of two thousand, nine hundred and forty-six footmen should be recovered from the revenue of Saurath Sarkar under the Prince and remitted to the treasury.



CHAPTER 124

FORMULATION OF REGULATIONS FOR COLLECTORS OF TENANTS' REVENUE AND RUPEES OF LESS WEIGHT

It was brought to the notice of His Majesty this year that Amils of paraganas do not accept the rupee - coins paid by ryots in the treasuries on the ground that the acceptance of those coins was forbidden under a royal order. The ryots change them in bazars and pay coins of higher quality in the treasuries. Delay is thus caused in payment because some time is spent in getting those coins exchanged. A royal order was issued to the effect that rupees of less weight and base metal brought by ryots should be accepted in the treasuries from autumn of Sichqan II. They should not be returned. The Diwan of the Subah was ordered that he should instruct Amils of crown-mahals and offices for collection of arrears of revenue attached to the Diwani that a rupee of one rati, two ratis and three ratis (less in weight) should be accepted as a genuine rupee. If the weight of a rupee is less than fifteen and a half mashas, it is due to less weight in silver. When it is fifteen and a half mashas in weight, weight (in silver) should be accepted in place of this rupee. Formerly a rupee of one rati (less) in weight was regarded as genuine. No inquiry was made as to why it was less in weight. Deficiency in weight is now found to be in a faulty balance. Less weight should be accepted in weight of a balance. Again, a rupee which is less in weight by three ratis, should be accepted in silver as one rupee per tola. Further, every other rupee except a rupee of Mubarak stamp is, as before, half a dam less. Some residents of Ahmedabad went to the Royal Court. They conveyed to His Majesty through certain officers that after the death of the Nazim Muhammed Amin Khan, elephant-drivers and camel-drivers cut down their huge fruit-bearing trees such as khurni, mahura etc. When owners of trees prevented them from so doing, they harassed them and beat them. A royal order was issued to the effect that if it were a fact, they should be severely instructed not to do it. A bond should be taken from them that they will not commit this deed in future. The owners should be paid price of cut-down trees. It was, at this time, that Muhammed Ja'far who, in future, received the title of Muhammed Beg Khan, was appointed, on the recall of Dawlat Sumrah, as the Faujdar of Godhra. A famine occurred in the year one thousand and ninety-six. In response to a petition submitted by Comprising all perfections, Shaikh-ul-Islam Qazi-ul-Quzat to the effect that poor Muslim residents of Ahmedabad are in a distracted condition on account of dearness of corn. Revenue on corn should be condoned. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the revenue on corn of the Subah was condoned for one year. Shaikh Muhiyuddin, son of Qazi-ul-



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Qazat Shaikh Abdul Wahhab who held the office of a judge, an amin, a collector of jiziya and in addition a price recorder Common people, on suspicion that he took bribe from corn-dealers and causequently, he fixed a high price, men and women affected by high prices complained to him on Friday when he was proceeding for namaz, started pelting stones, clods of earth and throwing dust at him The Palki in which the Shaikh was moving, broke He took himself to his house in great difficulty He wrote about the true state of affair to the Chief Qazi Shaikh-ul-Islam out of jealousy mentioning therein the cause of people's excitement to the instigation of Khwaja Abdullah, the city-Qazi

Poem

*Arrogance, jealousy, rancour, hypocrisy and revenge
Old vices of human beings
Truly you will not go round any one
Unless your heart is purified of these*

Qazi ul Quzat reported this matter to His Majesty A royal order was issued that Khwaja 'Abdullah should be brought in chains and fetters to the Royal Presence A mace bearer was appointed for the purpose This terrific news reached Khwaja 'Abdullah before the mace bearer started As he had no knowledge about the attack of people, he chose to go to the Royal Presence saying, "This is a great accusation" for extricating him from the charge alone rather than that he should be carried by the mace-bearer in chains and fetters It has been said

A hemistich

An Enemy becomes a cause of good if God wishes

His Majesty, in those days, had encamped in the Dekhan The dignified prince, Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur, under royal summons, was marching to His Majesty Khwaja Abdullah chanced to meet him at Burhanpur He regarded, through good fortune, the attendance on the Prince as a means of salvation and a medium for realization of wishes He reported the event and his innocence to the Prince The Prince was convinced of his innocence He ordered that he should accompany him and that he would report the matter to His Majesty to be merciful towards him Khwaja 'Abdullah was a man of perfection The Prince was favourably disposed towards him more and more from day to day His Majesty learnt about his innocence through representation of His Royal Highness By chance, the Qazi of the Prince's camp had just then died Khwaja 'Abdullah was appointed Qazi of the Prince's camp Qazi Abul Farah was appointed Qazi



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for Ahmedabad As he performed duties as a Qazi in the camp of the Prince and fought with valour and intrepidity in battles that chanced to take place and also that the luck of Khwaja was on elevation, Shaikh ul-Islam obtained permission for hajj of the House of God, may God increase its sanctity and honour. On his departure, Mir Abu Sa'eed became the Chief Qazi. He resigned the post within a short time. A question arose about another person to be appointed. The Prince represented to His Majesty that Khwaja 'Abdullah was worthy for this exalted office and fit for rendering service to beneficent royalty because he is a Qazi as well as a sipahi. He said, "who will then be a Qazi of your camp?" He replied, "Khwaja Abdul Hamid, his son who is also a tried seeker of knowledge." The Prince's request was acceded to. Both of them were honoured with robes. He gradually rose by means of loyal service, the chief Qazi 'Abdullah Khan attained to high rank. Many petitions of Gujarat were disposed of through him. Nazim of the Subah Mukhtar Khan died on the last date of Jamadi I of that year. His dead body was consigned as a deposit to the grave at the shrine of Shah 'Ali Kamdhani in the city. After some time, it was removed to some other place.

Poem

*In this path whether a Sultan or a darwish
At last the valley of death comes before him
In this plain where there is no fragrance of joy
Grass is not more impermanent than man*

Muhammed, Tahir Diwan of the Subah engaged in confiscating the wealth and jagirs in company of the officers and royal servants. They kept his establishment of horse and foot for defence and protection of the city and paraganas. Mukhtar Khan's wealth amounted to twenty-one thousand and one hundred rupees. Mir Bahauddin Bakhshi and Chronicler appointed Syed Mahmud Khan, in accord with Qamruddin Khan, son of Mukhtar Khan as Risaldar for defence of the Subah. A report of this arrangement was submitted to the Royal Court.

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CHAPTER 125

SUBEDARI OF KARTALAB KHAN WHO LATER ON WAS CONFERRED THE TITLE OF SHUJA'AT KHAN DIWANI OF MUHAMMED TAHIR WITH THE TITLE OF AMANAT KHAN AND THEN ITIMAD KHAN DIWANI OF MUHAMMED MUHSIN, SON OF THE AFORESAID KHAN AND DIWANI OF KHWAJA ABDUL HAMID KHAN

A report of Mukhtar Khan's death was submitted to His Majesty The Subedari of Gujarat was granted to the agents of the nawwab with royal titles, the illustrious Prince of lofty family, whiteness of the forehead of greatness, coolness of the eye of Khalafit, lustre of the family of magnificence, and fortune, lamp of the dynasty of pomp and royalty, star of the sign of majesty, jewel of the casket of saltanat, plant of the garden of rank and glory, spring of the orchard of honour and luck, of exalted lineage, dignified Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur

Kartalab Khan, who held the mansab of nine hundred zat and seven hundred Sawar do aspah se aspeh without condition was appointed the Faujdar and Port officer of Surat Port His adopted son Nazar 'Ali was granted the mansab of two hundred zat and three hundred Sawar With addition in mansab and Sawar, Kartalab Khan was appointed the Port officer and Faujdar of Surat Port It was heard in continuity from reliable men of Gujarat that Qamruddin Khan reported the inevitable event of his father to the Royal Court with swift couriers As His Majesty was stationed in the Dekhan, they had to pass by way of Surat Couriers reached there, they had delayed a while for fulfilment of human needs when immediately news of Mukhtar Khan's death and a petition was heard by Kartalab Khan through report of spies He called the couriers to himself, inquired into the matter, ascertained himself this was apparently the cause of halt he gave them more than what was their capacity and kept them busy Internally, he conveyed a detailed account about Mukhtar Khan's death to the Royal Court with his own messengers with promises of presents in case they reached earlier than the messengers of Qamruddin Khan Qamruddin Khan's messengers were detained by engaging them with words and stories and then permitted them to go The saying "Man proposes, God disposes" came true for the petition of Kartalab Khan reached the Royal Court nearly at mid night It was read that very moment It became a cause of his cleverness and knowledge of work in the Royal Court



Poem

*God, who, this emerald coloured sphere
Decorated with stars, the moon and the sun
Wonderfully laid foundation of the world
He placed wisdom in head and brain of Adam*

As his excellent efforts and good services from the day of his elevation in service as well as his valuable services at Surat Port, His Majesty showed favours to Kartalab Khan more than before. That very night, His Majesty wrote a letter personally for appointment of the illustrious Prince as the Subedar and Kartalab Khan as a Deputy. A royal order was issued that the bearers of letters should depart then and then. Orders in accordance with regulations will be entrusted to the Vakil following the farman. Kartalab Khan's couriers, who, through good luck, had reached earlier than those of Qamruddin Khan and besides that, success of the object borrowed haste from morning breeze. They then started. At the time of return, they came across Qamruddin Khan's couriers at a distance of three kurohs from the Royal Camp when they were proceeding to the Royal Camp. It is said that the agents of the Prince who were mostly the amirs thought looking to the external ranks of Kartalab Khan as to who, on his recall, of base nature, will accept this post of a Deputy.

Quatrain

*It is a great defect to raise one's self
To choose one's self from all creatures
It should be learnt from pupil of an eye
To see all and not to see one's self*

They were unaware of this that his advancements to highest ranks were ordained in the divine workshop and undoubtful will of God. Causes thereof were being caused. He rose to elevated rank of five thousand zat, four thousand sawar do-aspah, se aspah without condition, the title of Shuja'at Khan, awards of gorgeous robes, issue of farmans, grant of a banner, a drum, an elephant, subedar on the transfer of Princes' agents and in addition the Faujdari of Jodhpur Sarkar as results of his excellent services, good social intercourse with ryots, patricians, state administration as Deputy of the Prince with addition to proper mansab and daily increasing royal favours. He managed all matters of Nizamat with worthy usages, and landable ways as desired by His Majesty. He never trod upon the path of dismissal for rest of his life. No Subedar enjoyed, for such a long time, the office of Nizamat in the past ages and present time that is upto the year 1170 one thousand and



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seventy He established order, security and safety as well as brought prosperity This is popular and well known among the high and the low Hindu women sing it in their songs and remember the days of joyousness. Such a thing did not happen

A single Couplet

*A soldier and a civilian from him with desire
A soldier with wealth, a civilian with justice.*

In prime of youth, he came to this region along with the stirrup of the Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh He spent his life in service, as a thanadar and faujdar under the Nazims Through good luck and valuable fortune, he got exalted, through divine help, to the mansab and service of the Royal Court He became a thanadar of Pethapur In the beginning, he was awarded the title of Muhammed Beg Khan After that, he was awarded the title of Kartalab Khan due to his skill in work and loyalty He was also appointed the Faujdar of Kadi He then got appointment as an 'Amil of Dholka He was, on the death of Ghyasuddin Muhammed Khan, appointed as Port officer of Surat Port He then became a deputy to the Prince and rose to the rank of rulership On his death, Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah was appointed as the Subedar In short, he kept contents of the Royal letter a secret after its arrival, entered without delay into his tent, began to look for sepoys and started for Ahmedabad He reached Ahmedabad within a short time and entered Ahmedabad on 2nd of holy Rajab of the year one thousand and ninety six He showed the Royal letter to Qamruddin Khan, son of Mukhtar Khan who knew nothing about it and occupied himself with administrative duties After a few days, Qamruddin Khan hastened to Malwa under a royal order Muhammed Tahir, the Diwan of the Subah, Qazi Abul Farah etc military commanders of the Subah, nobles, grandees of the city came to see him Kartalab Khan sent his own men as Thanadars under the Nizamat at various places for protection and defence of paths and roads and occupied himself with establishment of order and performance of administrative duties The paragana of Petlad was assigned at this time in jagir to vakils of the Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah by His Majesty As the amount of nine thousand, six hundred and seventy one rupees which was one month's salary of the establishment of men who had accompanied Shahvardi Khan at the time when the paraganas of Saurath land were assigned in jagir to the Prince, was paid from the Ahmedabad Treasury This was not repaid, till now Remaining balance and the taqawi at Petlad should be prepared The remainder should be assigned to him A royal order was issued in this respect to the Diwan of the Subah Sher Afgan Khan, son of Shahvardi Khan



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was appointed, on the death of his father, to the Faujdari of Junagadh. In the year one thousand and ninety-seven, I'timad Khan, on the recall of Salabat Khan, was appointed the Port-officer of Surat. Bahlol Shirani, who held the mansab of five hundred zat and three hundred Sawar unconditional, was, on the transfer of Sher Afgan Khan, appointed as the Faujdar of Junagadh. A royal order was issued to the effect that the Nazim of the Subah with the concord of the Diwan and Mir Bahauddin Bakhshi of the Subah should collect a thousand select horsemen from the neighbouring region of Ahmedabad city, employ them in government service and send them with the mansabdar Syed Muhammed Rafi appointed for the purpose. Each one should be paid sixty rupees as salary for do aspah, se-aspah and thirty rupees for one-aspah on an average per month. A Jamadar of fifty horsemen should be paid one hundred rupees without the fault of collection. Arrangement of payment should be found out from positive taxes. A description-roll should be prepared on increased allowances. Horses should be branded with payment of ready money and the muster-roll should be prepared from the date of branding. Salary for two months should be defrayed on a reliable security from the Public Treasury and they should be sent to the Royal Presence. Those who are worthy of a mansab, their mansab should be decided on the same allowances. Everything should be done in accordance with the royal order. An order was also issued to the Diwan of the Subah for repair of the Pattan fort. It was reported to His Majesty through a petition of the Subah's Diwan that the revenue of corn should be remitted for one year due to dearness and distracted condition of poor men of the city as previously stated. It should then be collected as usual. But the corn is dear this year when compared to the last year due to scarcity of rain. Poor men will raise complaints in case the revenue is collected. A royal order was issued that the accountants of miscellaneous taxes should be informed that the price of corn should not rise due to remission of revenue. They should collect taxes of food stuff at the mandis. In the year one thousand and ninety-eight, Muhammed Tahir, the Diwan of the Subah was granted an increased mansab and the title of Amanat Khan. Mir Ghazi on the death of Mir Bahauddin Khan, was appointed as the Bakhshi and chronicler. An order was issued to the Diwan this year that seven thousand rupees from the Royal Treasury should be distributed hand to hand to deserving persons of Ahmedabad city in consultation with the Sadar of the Subah. Jam of green myrobalan of Champaner trees as well as of Rakhial of the Haveli paragana of Ahmedabad should be sent. Repairs should be done to the passage of water from a canal to the masjid of Malek Shaban Gujarati near the gate of arms-dealer. Two thousand rupees should be paid from the Treasury as requested by the Chief Qazi Khwaja 'Abdullah to the asylum of Syedship Syed Muhammed sajjadah-nashin of His Holiness Hazrat Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified, as usual. An

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order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah for execution of these duties. It was reported to His Majesty this time through a petition of Mu'tamid Khan the Port-officer of Surat Port that Muhammed Akber came out from the desolate place of disappointment and joined the port of Muscat. His Majesty learned from a petition of Syedi Yaqut Khan, the Qiledar of Danda Rypuri that Muhammed Akber reached the port with intention of going to Iran with several war-ships. Ruler of the place who is called Imam consoled and conciliated him. After some time, it was reported to his Majesty through a petition of news-reporters of Surat Port that Muhammed Akber spent three months at the port of Muscat and sought help and assistance by correspondence from Shah Sulaiman, Ruler of Iran. The king wrote to the Port officer of Bandar-i-'Abbas of Iran that some boats should be sent to Muscat and convey Muhammed Akber with his companions in those boats to us. Nazims and Muhafizs (Defenders) of the paths should receive and feast him with royal etiquette at their respective places from Bandar-i-'Abbas to Ispahan. An order was issued that the news should be incorporated in a record of events of His Majesty. Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur, who had gone in his pursuit, was informed by a mandate to return and join the stirrup of His Majesty. Sher Afgan, on the transfer of Bahlol Shirani was appointed the Faujdar of Junagadh a second time. Mukhtar Khan, on the transfer of Mu'tamid Khan, was appointed as Port officer of Surat port. In the year one thousand and ninety-nine, 'Inayat Khan, the Faujdar of Jodhpur died. After receipt of this news, His Majesty issued an order that Kartalab Khan should proceed to Jodhpur for vigilance. He went there and minded administrative duties. A proposal for the post of a Deputy to the Subedar of Ahmedabad was made to His Majesty for another man. What rumours this information spread in Gujarat and Jodhpur! It was rumoured from utterances of people that all his sepows and companions were the residents of Ahmedabad. He was confused by hearing this news. He gave up service and set out for Ahmedabad. Some of his followers accompanied him. After getting knowledge of it, Kartalab Khan began to conciliate them, he reported to the Chief Qazi Abdullah the true state of affairs of his soldiers. It was reported to His Majesty that soldiers and commandars were needed in the stirrup of His Majesty for management of the Deccan Campaign and so there was no need to appoint another man. Experience and valour of Kartalab Khan were well-known in the Royal Court from his establishment of order and administration of the Subah of Ahmedabad. His Majesty so decided that the Faujdari of Jodhpur should be in addition to the Subedari of Ahmedabad. Royal favour combined with his good luck. An order was issued to the effect that the Subah of Gujarat, on the recall of the Prince's agents, and Faujdari of Jodhpur in addition to it, were put in his charge. His mansab-addition and original-was raised to five thousand and zat, four thousand Sawar do aspah, se aspah without condition, four thousand



Sawar conditional for the Subah and Faujdari of Jodhpur along with Ajmer and Patian. He was granted an in'am of two crores of dams, title of Shuja'at Khan, a drum, an elephant from the Royal Stable, and a farman for elevation to the rank of amirship and government. Nazar 'Ali was favoured with the title of his name, in addition the mansab of seven hundred Zat and three hundred Sawar. The Subah of Malwa in place of Gujarat, was granted to the illustrious Prince as desired by him. Dwarkadas Rathod, instigator of Muhammed Akber found the narrow passes of Konkan mountains narrow for himself due to pursuit of royal force after him, embarked Muhammed Akbar in a ship, separated himself from him, crossed the river Narbada and proceeded towards Hindustan and Marwar with a desire to revolt and disturb. Shuja'at Khan halted for a while for establishment of order in Marwar and left Kazim Beg. Muhammed Amin Khan, a born soldier, with ease, as his deputy there and returned to Ahmedabad. It is said that he pressed many military commanders of the Subah and his own jamadars at the time of appointing a deputy to the Faujdari of Jodhpur. None accepted it through fear of Rajput revolt as at that time Ajit Singh, son of late Raja Jaswant Singh and specially Dwarkadas with him had raised disturbance. Kazim Beg accepted it with intrepidity and valour. Shuja'at Khan proposed a fitting mansab for him. Amanat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah performed financial duties with loyalty and excellent efficiency and so he was favoured with an addition to mansab-original and additional-of two thousand zat and a title of I'timad Khan. He was given the charge of Port-officership of Surat, on the recall of Mukhtar Khan, in addition to the Diwan of the Subah of Ahmedabad. Syed Muhammed Muhsin, son of his brother Idris Khan was appointed as his Deputy Diwan.



CHAPTER 126

COLLECTION OF TAX IN CASH AT PLACES OF SALE

A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that the tithe collectors collected tax on articles at places of purchase and gave a permit. Now merchants should not be troubled for taxation at places of purchase of things. Without ascertainment of price and seeing sealed commodities etc. they should be entrusted to them in accordance with the voucher. The merchants should give a note of permit with their own seal. The tithe collectors will collect tax, according to rules, from merchants wherever they will sell their goods. A bond should be taken from merchants to the effect that they should convey a note of payment of tax with seals of tithe-collectors of the place that a permit is given. An order with this purpose was issued to Diwanis of all subahs of the empire. May it not remain hidden that the collection of tax at places of sale was decided upon because the price of an article is more at that place than at a place of purchase. It thus means an increase in revenue. But as the merchants sold many commodities at places where collection of taxes was not regular, the government suffered losses. An order was, therefore, issued a second time for its collection at places of purchase which will be stated at its proper place, God the Great willing. In the year one thousand and one hundred, the Chief Qazi Khwaja 'Abdullah reported to His Majesty that some bailiffs in judicial courts, kutcheries of one in forty taxes and the Diwan etc. serve without salary in the city of Ahmedabad. They exact money from residents and cause them harm and injury. They catch hold of people on roads and highways and collect illegal exactions. An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the officers should be informed that bailiffs who are not in employment should be maintained. They should press servants not to take anything illegally from people. If they do it, they should be punished and chastised. Facts should be reported to His Majesty. His Majesty saw the peshkash of the Diwan of the Subah I'Imad Khan consisting of two carts with four Gujarati oxen. It was accepted. Shaikh Muhyuddin, the Sadr of the Subah and Amin of jizya died. As Shaikh Akaramuddin took upon himself payment of his father's debt, his property was not confiscated. Shaikh Akaramuddin was offered his father's post. The Chief Qazi reported to His Majesty that many deserving persons of Saurath Sarkar receive means of subsistence with certificates of governors and jagirdars. They are not in a position to approach the Royal Presence to get certificates. The accountants of these places confiscate their lands in absence of the courts' certificate. Apparently, they are the same persons. A royal order was issued to the effect that the Diwan of the Subah should inquire into their deser-



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vation and desist from confiscation and seizure and issue certificates to them. Those who are not in a position to approach the Diwan of the Subah, should depute a reliable person of their own to the Diwan who should issue a certificate after an investigation of his deservation.

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CHAPTER 127

REVOLT OF MATIYAS AT BROACH

One of the great events of Shujat Khan's subedari was a revolt of Matiyas at Broach. Matiyas are a people residing in Khandesh and Baglana. They live as traders and craftsmen. They call themselves Muslims. Those who live in Ahmedabad are called Momnas while those in the land of Saurath Khwiyas. Their ancestors and forefathers accepted Islam because they saw supernatural deeds performed by Syed Imamuddin¹, may his grave be sanctified and chose to live under his guidance. His shrine is situated at Karmata in the paragana Haveli of Ahmedabad, seven kurohs from the city. Large sections of Hindus belonging to different castes accepted Islam, and chose direction and obedience of the Syed. Their creed is different from the general creed of Muslims. Difference arose among them after the death of Syed. They are divided into several branches. They have a wonderful belief. They give one tenth part of their earnings including sons, to the Syed with sincere intention and loyal devotion. If any one of them has ten sons, he will dedicate his one son to the Syed. Money, in place of a son, is given with the will and pleasure of the descendants of the Syed. Like inheritance, disciples are distributed among the descendants of the Syed. Every one of the descendants of Syed Imamuddin enjoy one tenth share of the income of the disciples. Disciples are given in dowry of a bride. In short, theirs is wonderful belief and faith. A majority of Momnas outwardly live as Hindus in their caste and group, but inwardly, they follow the Syed. In those days, it was the turn of instruction of Syed Shahji, one of the grand sons of Syed Imamuddin. Thousands of Matiyas and Momnas had assembled together. Syed Shahji's rank and status rose very high due to a large number of followers and means of income in the shape of presents. He mostly lived behind a curtain of concealment. He associated very little with the people. Whenever his disciples congregated from various parts for a visit to him to show their ardent faith in him, he took out his foot from behind the curtain. Disciples regarded it as a great favour and a large bounty out of faith and supplication and they kissed it. It is a rule of the disciples of this family that they should not shake hands without paying some thing. They give presents according to their capability. They poured rupees and ashrafis by way of offering on the foot of the Syed. The regime of His Majesty was noted for devotion to religious affairs and falsification of various other creeds. Great emphasis and severe stress were laid on this. Many persons, for the sake of God, regarded it as a source of salvation, accused some persons as heretics out of prejudice which is the wicked quality

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¹ See P 123 supplement



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of human nature and brought about death on many persons. Some of them were thrown in captivity. One of them reported to His Majesty about Shihji and irreligious usages of his disciples. His Majesty, on hearing this report ordered the Sadr and the Qazi out of his regard for religion that the Syed should be sent to the Royal Presence so that inquiry about his faith and investigation about his creed should be made. During those days, Syed Shahji lived in the neighbourhood of the shrine of Syed Imamuddin. Royal officers appointed for purpose wrote a letter to the Syed and sent it with some persons to summon him. The Syed refused to come to Ahmedabad and turned out the messengers Shuja'at Khan, on declaration of the Qazi, appointed a few companions of the Faujdar of Barah Nampur under the leadership of a Jamadar Syed Machha to bring the Syed. As Syed had no strength to resist them, willy nilly, he went with them. It is said that he poisoned himself at the time of coming out of his house and thus he died on the way. Others hold the view that he was informed about His Majesty's call after his reaching Ahmedabad. At the time of return from the Nazim, he utilized poison and thus freed himself. He was buried in the mausoleum of his ancestors. His son, who was twelve year's old, was sent to the Royal Presence. News of his death reached his disciples of near and distant places. It became the cause of upsetting their minds. Religious zeal of the Matiyas being moved they doubted that the Nazim of the Subah poisoned the Syed and put him to death. They considered retribution as proper and laudable. Imagined war as a cause of punishment, assembled in group young and old, small and great with families without carrying for wealth property and native place, washed hands of dear lives, started for Ahmedabad. They arrived at the bank of Nerbada opposite to Broach and started crossing the river by boats. The Faujdar of Broach, on getting news of their arrival in such a collective form, sent boats to inquire the cause of their assemblage. As some of them had already crossed the river, they seized the boats by force and brought remaining persons to this side of the bank. By the time, the Faujdar got this news to come here to prevent them from advancing, they rushed on him beat him and occupied the fort of Broach with all force at their command. The Faujdar lay slain with his companions in this battle with swords. The fort fell in their hands. They did not molest residents and ryots for wealth and life. They strengthened the fort and stayed there. They were reinforced with war-seeking co religionists within a short time. On hearing about this uprising, the Faujdar of Baroda marched against them. As the fort is situated centrally on an elevated place, to one side of it flows the river Nerbada, and further because of their large numbers, they had to go back without achieving their object. Power and strength of the Matiyas went on increasing. It was rumoured among the people that war-weapons prove ineffective upon them. Some time elapsed. Reports were

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repeatedly sent by news reporters about this occurrence to His Majesty, he issued a mandate to the Nazim of the Subah, Shujaat Khan that he should repel those fellows and liberate the fort of Broach and that he should extinguish the fire of revolt and disturbance with watering of sharp sword. He sent an arrayed army and equipped forces under the generalship of Nazar Ali Khan, Mubanz Babi, military commanders of the Subah, Faujdars and his companions. The royal army reached Broach and occupied itself with a siege, preparations for opening the fort, mining, battering, advancement of safety-lanes, and entrenchment. Those persons came out and displayed skilful fighting. A battle raged with cannons and guns. According to the saying, "Affairs are pledged to time," several days passed in this way. Success was not possible. As the sun of royal fortune shone with brilliance in the meridian of felicity while the star of luck of that party had reached abyss of misery in combustion of misfortune. Ineffectual crowding and solidarity of the fort proved of no avail. When those persons, false, without means, without a leader, inexperienced had gathered together from different parts, were not subservient to others. They had no knowledge of defending the fort and the method of its protection.

A single couplet

*In action weak like worldly pleasures of the world,
In nature, unbalanced, like movements of the sphere*

By a heavenly decree, it so happened that they got puffed up with their large number and solidity of the place. Very often, they came to turrets and fortifications in negligence, went to see their wives and children, as well as to natural calls of human nature. This fact came to the light of men of trenches of the royal army. They always waited for an opportunity sitting in an ambush. By chance, at mid day when the appointed time of their death arrived and the cup of life ' When death came to them, it does not come later or earlier by an hour " was full to the brim, of a hot day,

A single couplet

*A bird in that burning sun
Got roasted in its own oil*

When the sun shone in all its intensity, many garrisoned persons had gone to one side of the wall of the fort and turrets for extinguishing the flame of fire of hunger and those who were left, kept themselves aloof in a shade, the royal army at the trenches, in expectation of such time, observed care and caution. On seeing this state of affairs, they regarded it a good fortune and royal luck, put some ladders kept ready for such a day, against fort wall and climbed up



Those who were in the shade and on beds of negligence sleeping like their own fortune came to know about their entry, they were sent to the sleeping-place of non existence. They opened the fort-gate for royal forces. Soldiers were ready with their glance at the gate, they rushed for an attack without delay. In groups and parties-horsemen and footmen-with shouts of "Allah, Allah" entered the fort. They set ablaze the flame of massacre and war, and started killing, binding and throwing. Enemies attacked from all sides and advanced forward for repulsion, gave justice to valour and prowess and fell down dead. As they regarded their death in atoning for murder of their spiritual guide as a cause of elevated rank in paradise, they gambled with life fearlessly. If by chance, one of them became a captive in the grip of destiny, he appealed to his captor with humility and lamentations that he remains away from his companions of the caravan, and that he too should soon be joined with them. He who was not graced with death, was killed by others. Many women and men threw themselves of their own accord or with the help of others into the river Narbada and went down into the whirlpool of non existence. Some one perhaps may have carried the boat of life safely to the shore. Nuruddin Bhatti, who performed wonderful exploits got martyred along with other soldiers. Victory was gained by royal forces. Fire of Matiyas' revolt got extinguished. When the event was reported to His Majesty, Shuja'at Khan was made an object of praise and approbation. May it not remain hidden and concealed that most of the events of the regime of His Majesty Aurangzeb are based on hearsay as stated before. The year of this event is not known with certainty, it is mentioned on conjecture. If precedence or recedence, more or less are stated in this event, I should be held excused. It was in this year that the Nazim of the Subah, after he was free from the revolt of Matiyas, exaction of fixed peshkash and establishment of order in the Subah, marched to Marwar for administrative work. He spent, till termination of his Nizamat, six months in Ahmedabad and six months in Marwar. During his stay at Marwar, Bihari Das, the private Diwan of Shuja'at Khan devoted to administrative work in consultation with the Diwan of the Subah, Qazi and royal military officers at Ahmedabad. Due to his coming and going every year, complete security and safety were established on roads and highways. In the year one thousand, one hundred and one, Shuja'at Khan made a request of help from the Public Treasury of the Subah for expenses of the army as order was not established in Marwar according to his desire. It was acceded to by His Majesty. An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah I'timad Khan that one lac of rupees should be given with a bond on his seal. That amount should be recovered from his Jagirs in two years and paid to the treasury. It was reported to His Majesty through Shuja'at Khan's petition that the fort of A'zamabad was

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disintegrated for the last two years due to heavy rains. It was formerly repaired when late Shahvardi Khan was a Deputy. An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to prepare an estimate and get it repaired. In the year one thousand, one hundred and two many masjids in the city of Ahmedabad needed repairs. The Nazim of the Subah prepared an estimate of twenty-seven thousand and fifty rupees and submitted it to His Majesty. A royal order was issued that they should be repaired with sanction of the Diwan of the Subah. Shuja'at Khan led an army for establishment of order and collection of Peshkash from zamindars of Jhalawar and Kathiawar. He attacked Than in the Saurath region which was the resort of Kathi rebels, demolished the fort which they had made as a place of refuge and returned. There were a famine as well as signs of an epidemic at Broach, Surat, Ahmedabad and many other places. A large number of persons died. A royal order was received in respect of emphatic collection of jizya for zimmi of the paragana of Palanpur, Jalor etc. The Nazim pressed Kamal Khan Jalori that he should collect jizya with the help of the deputies of Shaikh Akaramuddin Amin. For some reason, the Faujdari of Baroda was deprived of from Muhammed Bahlol Shirani inspite of the fact that he had established good order there. It was restored to him at the request of Shuja'at Khan. Syed Muhammed Saleh, Sajjadah nashin of Qutb-ul-Aqtab His Holiness Hazrat Qutb-i-'Alam, may his grave be sanctified, bade adieu to this ephemeral world and transferred himself to the world of permanence. It was in this year that a report of Dwarkadas Rathod's revolt was received. He extended hand of oppression in the land of Marwar and caused harm to travellers by plunder and pillage. Shuja'at Khan hastened to Jodhpur for bandobast and suppression of his disturbance. He gave patta in place of jagir to many Rajputs and Patawats according to old usage of their forefathers in keeping with exigency of time. He proposed mansabs and jagirs for some. He kept Kazim Beg as Deputy. He made them well-disposed towards him by laudable treatment and regard and encouraged them for royal service and duty. He wrote with emphasis to Kamal Khan Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur and Jalor Sanchor for suppression of revolt of the above-mentioned Rathod and that he should hasten from Palanpur to Jalor and keep vigilance. He stayed for some time at Jodhpur. He despatched Kazim Beg with a worthy army towards Mirtah where it was reported that Dwarkadas was roaming about. He wrote emphatically to the Faujdar of that place that he should take a bond from cart men and workers on hire that they should convey, in future, goods of merchandise by way of Udaipur to Ahmedabad. The Faujdari of the sud paragana, on the transfer of Surjan Singh, was granted to Kunwar Muhkim Singh. Being completely satisfied with the arrangements at Jodhpur, he reached Ahmedabad in the month of Jamadi I. Safdar Khan Babi the



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Faujdar of Patan, appointed by Shuja'at Khan wrote to him that the forts of Khatoli and Sanpra needed repairs at an estimate of one thousand rupees. He wrote an assignment of land to the 'Amil of the place to get it soon repaired. In the year one thousand, one hundred and three, His Majesty came to know that Sher Afgan, Faujdar of Saurath had written that the four walls of Mustafabad Fort alias Jagat were in a disintegrated condition due to heavy rains and that this disintegration of the fort is regarded as the best means of shortsightedness by neighbouring rebels. A royal order was issued that I'timad Khan, the Diwan of the Subah should soon send a mason and a reliable person to repair it. It was in this year that Syed Idris Khan, Faujdar and fief-holder of Nadiad died a natural death. The Diwan of the Subah sent government functionaries to confiscate his property. When this news reached His Majesty, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that they should not molest heirs of government servants. His property should be left to his heirs. Shuja'at Khan, Nazim of the Subah went to Jhalawar to collect peshkash and establishment of order. After collection of peshkash from the Zamindar and confirmation of the paragana conditional (collection 10 p c of the revenue) in his jagir, he insisted on the Naib Faujdar Shaikh Muhammed Zahid for bandobast and proceeded to Jodhpur on an annual visit as usual. He granted leave to his private Diwan Biharidas to manage financial and revenue matters in Ahmedabad. He wrote letters to Faujdars and Thanadars of the Subah to be vigilant in establishment of order and protection of roads and highways against rebels. Shaikh Muhammed Fazil the mansabdar had come from the Royal Presence with a letter of the present revenue of paraganas and a balance of ten years of the Subah. Permits from the Diwan office granted to Desais and Muqaddams of the paraganas of the Subah were sent with the mansabdars of the Diwan Kutcheri to show him because some Jagirdars practised indifference in producing the Desais. Shaikh wrote to Shuja'at Khan about this fact who was at Jodhpur. Biharidas, appointed severe monthly rent-collectors at his suggestion. They produced the Desais. Qazi Muhammed Shafi' arrived at Mirtah being appointed by His Majesty as the paragana Qazi. He saw Shuja'at Khan. As the Qazi was poor, he was every day paid one rupee by him till he enjoyed ease in the same paragana which was in the mashruta jagir of the Faujdari of Jodhpur. After being free from bandobast of Marwar he started for Ahmedabad in the month of Jamadi I with double march. When he arrived at Chaurang in the Kadi paragana, he noticed shortage of water while crossing a river. He sank a very big well with a broad mouth at the request of Farjam Khan, Amil of Kheralu. He, therefore, wrote to Mubarez Babi, the Naib Faujdar of Vadnagar about it. In the year one thousand, one hundred and four, an event of Ahmedabad was reported by the chronicler Muhammed Ja'far. His Majesty learnt that Shuja'at Khan said to the Diwan that "the affairs of the people are at a

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standstill for the sake of chalni rupees When I talked to the gumashta of Abdul Latif, the Darogah of the mint that the chalni rupees have lost some weight The bankers, therefore, give less of black coins as the price of it It brings loss to the people The shroffs say that the weight of chalni rupees should be fixed " The said gumashta brought this reply from 'Abdul Latif, "I cannot do anything in this matter without His Majesty's permission " A royal order was issued to I'timad Khan, Diwan of the Subah that the rupee of less weight should be brought to the present coin according to rules. His Majesty had fixed that a rupee of one surkha (rat), two surkhas and three surkhas is a rupee, if it is less than three surkhas, silver should be given A bond should be taken from the shroffs to the effect that the rupee should be regarded as current up to three surkhas If a rupee is less than three surkhas, it should be taken to the mint and coined His Majesty saw this year a single estimate for repairs of city fortifications, of Ahmedabad, buildings of the garden of the Kankariya Tank with the Diwan's seal and found that its expenses would amount to four thousand, two hundred and fifty-four rupees A royal order was issued that the amount for repairs should be taken from the Public Treasury Syed Muhsin, Naib of I'timad Khan had given seven thousand rupees from the Public Treasury for repairs of A'zamabad fort which fact was represented to His Majesty when he ordered as to why that amount was given and further that it should have been repaired by the Subedar and the Faujdar and that the amount should be taken back It was reported to His Majesty this year that Ajit Singh has stationed himself in Tahalha at the instigation of Dwarkadas and is a source of disturbance and revolt A royal order was issued with emphasis to Shuja'at Khan that he should proceed to Jodhpur to chastise and punish the rebels He marched in all haste to that side Shuja'at Khan had ordered two hundred carts of marble stone from Pattan for building a masjid, a madrasah and a mausoleum They were brought to Ahmedabad It was learnt from a letter of Safdar Khan Babi, Naib Faujdar that he was in a position to send if needed one thousand carts of marble stone Muhammed Sultan was appointed by His Majesty as Chronicler at Mirtah and started his duties In the year one thousand, one hundred and five, Sultan Nazar, wakil of the Prince A'zam Shah reported to His Majesty that the tax-gatherers come in the way of articles which are ordered by the Prince to be bought in the markets of Ahmedabad (for the sake of taxes) An order was issued to the Diwan I'timad Khan to the effect that the letters written by His Royal Highness for purchase of goods to his functionaries, should be paid due attention to, goods purchased should be despatched and there should be no molestation for the sake of taxes An order also was issued to the Nazim of the Subah and sent with Khwaja Hasan in connection with demolition of a temple at Vadnagar He, therefore, emphatically wrote to the Naib Faujdar of the place Muhammed Mubariz Babi



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that the temple should be pulled down under a royal order Sher Afgan Khan, Faujdar and fief holder of Saurath intruded into villages of Dhandhuka paragana in the jagir of the Nazim and carried away cattle of the place. He was informed not to trouble his villages. It was in this year that the miscellaneous taxes collected at Pattan and remitted to the revenue office were granted to the jagir of Shuja'at Khan with favour and kindness. 'Abdul Ghami was appointed a Muhtasib (censor) at Pattan. For a certain reason, he transferred Sabdar Khan Babi, the Naib Faujdar of Pattan and appointed his brother Mubarriz Khan. He then marched to Marwar for bandobast. Kazim Beg, the Naib Faujdar of Jodhpur died this year. Firoz Khan Mewati was appointed the Faujdar of Jodhpur. Being satisfied with arrangements, he returned with ease to Ahmedabad. In the year one thousand, one hundred and six, Shuja'at Khan learnt from the reports of informers at Jodhpur that Mir Shafi, Guardian of fortified died. Mir Muhammed Rafi 'Daroga of the royal arsenal was appointed by His Majesty, Muhammed Bahlol Shirani, Faujdar of Baroda died this year. Muhammed Beg was appointed in his place. As prices of food grains had not yet come down, Shuja'at Khan wrote with emphasis to Amils of the paraganas that every kind of food grain produced in paraganas, the ditto share of jagirs and share of ryots should be sent to Ahmedabad so that it may be sold in its mandis. None of the green grocers should be allowed to purchase for hoarding. He appointed Darogahs of mandis so that it should be sold privately in ready money. It may reach the poor and the destitute. None of the grain-dealers may hoard. As passage of water of a canal supplying water to the Jame'masjid and other masjid was disintegrated, an estimate prepared in one sheet of all by the Diwan of the Subah of the amount of twelve hundred rupees was submitted to His Majesty. A royal order was received that no delay should be caused in such affairs of continuous good. The moment some damage is noted, it should be repaired. Again an order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to pay twenty five hundred rupees from the Public Treasury for repairs to the Jame' Masjid built by Shaikh Ahmed at Pattan. Mir Hayatullah, Amin of Dholka Paragana retired from service and went to Royal Presence to submit an account. His post was given to Mir Muhammed Baqir Ispahani. His Majesty learnt from the daily reports of Ahmedabad about dearness of food grains so he ordered that an additional sum of one hundred to that which was usually given from the year of Ascension to the throne should be given to the bedehouse (langar) till the prices become normal. Shuja'at Khan marched to Marwar as usual. Being satisfied with bandobast, he returned to Ahmedabad in the month of Zilhajj. In the year one thousand, one hundred and seven, Qazi ul Quzat Khwaja 'Abdullah reported to His Majesty that the ancient stony floor of Raikhad Gate in Ahmedabad overlooking the River Sabarmati needed repairs as the passers by find it difficult to cross over it. An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that it should

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be soon repaired. There should be no need to wait for a royal order in such good affairs which are managed with least expenses

A hemistich

There is no need for seeking good omen in good deeds

Again a royal order was issued in respect of funeral rites of travellers, unclaimed corpses of poor men and others who die intestate at the request of Qazi ul Quzat that it should be written to the Diwans of the empire that the funeral expenses should be met with from the Bait ul Mal where there is one or else from the treasury of jizya with a certificate of the Qazi. A masjid at Dohad needed repairs. An estimate of one thousand, four hundred and thirty rupees was submitted by I'timad Khan, Diwan of the Subah. His Majesty ordered its immediate repairs. Shuja'at Khan marched as usual to Marwar this year after collection of peshkash and establishment of order of the Subah. He stayed there for nearly eight months. He started for Ahmedabad in the month of Jamadi I and devoted to administrative work. Bulak Beg, a mace bearer arrived from the Royal Court for settlement of a dispute between Lakha Varanmah and his brother Faujdar of Nawanagar as well as a complaint of complainants of Saurath. Muhammed Mubariz Babi, Naib Faujdar of Pattan had gone to Sanpra in the Pattan Sarkar for chastising the Kolis. On his way return, after attack and setting fire to the place, an arrow hit him and he died. Shuja'at Khan after his death, assigned Naib Faujdari of the place to Safdar Khan Babi. He proposed a proper mansab for the sons of Muhammed Mubariz Babi viz Muhammed Azam etc. Muhammed Murad Khan was appointed, on the transfer of Muhammed Beg Khan, as the Faujdar of Godhra by His Majesty. As the Jame masjid of Mu'ezzampur and masjid of the Asawal mohalla built by Syed Abu Turab got disintegrated, an estimate of four thousand, one hundred and sixty four rupees prepared by the Diwan of the Subah was submitted to His Majesty. His Majesty ordered for its repairs. An order was issued to the Diwans of the empire in respect of octroi duties charged with names of merchants and the places where they take permits should be sent to His Majesty. Isalat Khan, on the transfer of Muhammed Beg Khan was appointed this year as the Faujdar of Baroda. I'timad Khan who combined in him the Diwani of the Subah and the Port officership of Surat and who had kept his relative Syed Muhsin as his Naib Diwan at Ahmedabad died in the month of Sha'ban at Surat port.



CHAPTER 128

DWARKADAS RATHOD SEEKING REFUGE SENDINC OF SULTAN BULAND AKHTAR AND SAFIYAT UN NISA BEGUM, SON AND DAUGHIER OF THL PRINCE MUHAMMED AKBER AT THE EFFORTS OF SHUJA AT KHAN DEPARTURE OF RATHOD TO THE ROYAL COURT IN THE STIRRUP OF THE SULTAN

As good luck would have it, Dwarkadas Rathod, who roamed about in the ravines of mountains due to pursuit of Royal forces and who was a source of disturbance and revolt, began to move the chain of pardon for his fault. Since long, Sultan Buland Akhtar and Safiyat un-Nisa Begum son and daughter of Prince Muhammed Akber were in the charge of Dwarkadas during days of his wanderings. Prince has now left for Iran Dwarkadas spent his life in ravines of difficult and hard mountains where it was difficult for the bird of imagination to cross on account of hardships inflicted by the royal army. Now the days of his misfortune were over. His better days and good time had set in. He wrote a letter to Isardas, who was an Amin and Shiqdar (collector) on behalf of Shuja'at Khan to the effect that "If Shuja'at Khan gives word to me and no hardship is caused to me by the royal forces till the acceptance of my requests by His Majesty, I will send Safiyat un-Nisa Begum to the Royal Presence." That letter in original was sent to Shuja'at Khan. He submitted it to the Royal Presence. His Majesty accepted the requests as soon as he glanced over the letter. A royal order was issued to Shuja'at Khan that he should conciliate Dwarkadas, get the daughter of Muhammed Akber with worthy means and materials and send her to the Royal Presence. After receipt of the royal mandate, Isardas, under instructions from Shuja'at Khan went to Dwarkadas who lived in a difficult place. He solaced him with narrative and rational words and returned with his pleasing consent to send the Begum and brought her to Ahmedabad with a force and worthy means and materials. Shuja at Khan sent Isardas, who was the source of this affair, to the Royal Presence with the Begum. When the Begum was benefited with kissing the feet of her worthy grand father, His Majesty the shadow of Holy God imagined as to how the child would have got the opportunity of reading the Holy Book and the Laudable Word. He proposed a tutoress to give her lessons. The Begum represented that "Dwarkadas had summoned a tutoress from Ajmer on a reasonable salary by way of loyalty. I have become a hafiz of the Holy Quran through her instructions." His Majesty was convinced of loyalty of Dwarkadas. His offences were pardoned. A royal order was issued for the acceptance of his requests. Isardas was ordered to bring Sultan Buland Akhtar and Dwarkadas to the Royal Presence. An order was issued to Shuja'at Khan that he should try his utmost in the accomplishment of this affair. In the year one thousand, one hundred and

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eight, a royal order was issued to Muhammed Muhsin, son of I'timad Khan who had become the Diwan of the Subah after his father's death to the effect that one lac of rupees should be given as means of subsistence to Dwarkadas Rathod fifty thousand rupees after his arrival at Jodhpur and fifty thousand after his reaching Ahmedabad in consultation with Shuja'at Khan, Nazim of the Subah from the Public Treasury with a bond bearing the seal of Dwarkadas from charge of a Khazanji. The paragana of Mirath in the Sarkar of Jodhpur was assigned as jagir to the Rathod from the beginning of Autumn season of Ud II. A royal order was sent to Shuja'at Khan with the mace-bearer Wazir Beg in his praise and approbation. He went to Jodhpur after being satisfied with bandobast in the Subah and collection of peshkash. A royal order was despatched with mace bearers and Isardas. Shuja'at Khan again sent Isardas to the Prince Sultan Buland Akhtar and Dwarkadas. Dwarkadas came with Sultan after pledges, pacts, permits of tarkhwah etc. Shuja'at Khan performed dues of reception and peshkash and displayed completely the essentials of departure and conduct. He accompanied Sultan and Dwarkadas as far as the Surat Port. Hasan Ali Khan and Shah Beg who were appointed for reception and tuition of Sultan had arrived at Surat. They took Sultan and Dwarkadas to the Royal Presence. Loyal services of Shuja'at Khan were appreciated. One lac, twenty seven thousand, three hundred and ninety five rupees were assigned as tankhwah to Prince Muhammed Bedar Bakht to be paid from the treasury of the Subah. Before receipt of this permit which was in the name of I'timad Khan, he died. A royal order therefore was issued at the request of the Prince to Muhammed Muhsin the Diwan of the Subah. It was in this year that Hayatullah, Muhammed Muqim and Muhammed Baqir, dismissed Amils of the Dholka paragana had gone to the Royal presence. Their issue failed to be proved. A hard hearted mace bearer was appointed to carry all the three Amils to Muhammed Muhsin the Diwan of the Subah and prove their expenditure and accounts face to face with the subjects. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the amount in respect of expenditure of the revenue office which Lakha etc sons and grandsons of Tamachi zamindar of Islamnagar had to pay should be recovered. It was reported to His Majesty that three hundred and ninety ashrafis and five lacs, seven thousand, four hundred and fifteen rupees to the end of the Sha ban month of last year, were in the Ahmedabad Treasury. A royal order was issued that the Diwan of the Subah should send the above amount along with the money that may be collected till receipt of this order without delay and postponement in accordance with rules and regulations to the Royal Presence. It was in this year that Syed Muhsin who formerly was the Naib of I'timad Khan in the Diwan of the Subah was appointed as Amil and Amin of the pargana of Dholka. Khwaja Qutbuddin on the transfer of Mir 'Auqillah was appointed as the Kotwal of the city by His Majesty. A royal order was received that one hundred footmen on a



monthly salary of two hundred and seventy rupees which after deduction of fault and permanence comes to one hundred and ninety rupees should be kept with him except the royal force of the Nazim of the Subah consisting of twenty-two horsemen and fifty footmen which were with the dismissed Kotwal. Their salary should be paid from the Subah's treasury with a certificate of the Kotwal. Five hundred rupees were given as in'am to Shaikh Muhammed Isr Ghausi which should not be recovered. An order was received by the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that the salary should be paid to him through Qazi Abul Farah, Qazi of the Subah. A royal order was issued with the seal of Umdat-ul-Mulk, Madar-ul-Maham Asad Khan to the Diwanis of the empire that the parwanas for return of examined matters and royal orders as events and chronicles issued to the Diwanis are not replied in time. It is, therefore, written to the Diwanis that replies of parwanas and royal orders should be written opposite to them with detailed explanations. Care should be taken that reply of a case indited by His Majesty should not be postponed and delayed. A letter of the Sadr to Muhammed Muhsin, Diwan of the Subah was received. Amanat Khan, on the death of I'timad Khan, was appointed as the Port Officer of Surat Port. He came and took charge of his post. An event of Chakla Ranud in the Sarkar of Chandernagore was reported to His Majesty that Niyaz Beg son of Saqi Beg mansabdar of mace-bearers who carried a royal order to Syed Ghairat Khan. He now went to the Royal Presence. He declared that as Dak horses are not present at Kalah Bagh and Shahpurah, he had to cover a long distance on foot. A royal order was issued that it should be written to the Diwanis of the Subahs that dak chawki horses should be maintained by the Faujdars. Whenever a horse died at a chawki, the Faujdars should replace dead horses so that royal orders may not be delayed. An account should be sent to His Majesty. Such an order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah. It was in this year that Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq was appointed as a muhtasib of the city. He took charge of his post. Asylum of scholarship Shaikh Karamuddin, the Sadr of the Subah sent a single letter to His Majesty's office wherein it was written that men who receive means of subsistence do not produce their sanads for inspection. Hence delay is caused in getting hold of a copy immediately. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that those persons should be empathetically informed that they must produce their sanads before the judges in accordance with rules and usages so that they may prepare a copy after inspection and send it to His Majesty. Syed Muhsin was appointed the Port-officer this year. A royal order was issued that four thousand rupees should be distributed to deserving men and women of Ahmedabad city from the government treasury in accord with the Qazi, Sadr and chronicler Mir Abu Talib, the chronicler reported, to His Majesty from Surat about disintegration of the fort. His Majesty issued an order to the



Diwan of the Subah for its repairs. As the rainfall was insufficient this year in most of the paraganas and specially, in the district of Marwar there was a famine uniformly from Pattan to Jodhpur so much so that grass and water were not available. Shuja'at Khan went from Ahmedabad to Jodhpur on 7th Jamadi I. Muhammed Purdil Shirani, on the transfer of Isalat Khan, was appointed by His Majesty as the Faujdar of Baroda. Muhammed Mumin was appointed as Qile'dar of Jodhpur. A royal order with the seal of Bakhshi ul-Mumalik Mukhlis Khan was received by the Nazim to the effect that Muhammed Fazil should be appointed at Tattha for writing reports about the rebel Muhammed Akber who then was said to be at Multan so that he would convey true reports about him to the Court. A royal order bearing the seal of Wazir-ul-Mumalik Asad Khan to the Nazim of the Subah that the asylum of valour and exaltation should take a bond separately from each zamindar, Faujdar, Thanadar of the Subah to the effect that if the rebel enters area of his jurisdiction, he should make utmost efforts to kill and capture him without caring that he is a prince. If companions of the rebel declare that he is a prince, he should try his best to kill or capture the rebel without paying attention to their words. He should be enchained or killed. If this royal order is violated, he will be involved in various kinds of torture and punishment of His Majesty which are a specimen of Divine wrath. The royal order was obeyed in toto. As Muhammed Mumin, qile'dar of Jodhpur submitted resignation of his post to His Majesty, an order was issued to Shuja'at Khan that he should appoint one of his companions who had ability for defence of the fort and report his appointment to His Majesty. Latif Beg was appointed to the post. As Muhammed Mulin, son of I'timad Khan failed to manage some affairs of the Diwan of the Subah Khwaja 'Abdul Hamid, son of Khwaja 'Abdullah the Chief Qazi who had joined the Royal service at close of the year after performance of hajj was appointed to the Diwan from the beginning of half spring of Fars II of that year. He reached Ahmedabad city on the 4th of Ziq'a'd and actively devoted himself to his duties. The Kohs of Khambah had shown insolence at the time of his arrival. He stayed there, built a fort and established a thana. A royal order was received by the Diwan of the Subah that services of the subordinate officers of the Diwanis of the Subahs appointed by His Majesty are terminated. The Diwanis should work as before with the help of private peshkars (subordinate officers). Yar 'Ali, Darogah i Dak (postmaster) reported to His Majesty that the Nazim of the Subah said, "Miscellaneous taxes of the city are assigned to me." Many persons have founded new suburbs in the Subah of Ahmedabad. He collects octroi duties himself from carts of food grains. Under these circumstances, there is loss of income to the government. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that true state of affairs should be known and empathetically



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settled that grain-sellers should not bring their goods to the newly-founded suburbs and they should take them as before to old places so that no loss in revenue may accrue to Shuja'at Khan to whom miscellaneous taxes are assigned. It is reported to His Majesty these days that some persons produce forged permits out of deceit before the Diwanis of the Subahs. It was decided for removal of doubt that copies of permits issued from the Royal Presence in the name of Diwanis should be sent to the Royal Presence with their own seals. A royal order bearing the seal of Madar-ul-Maham Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan to the Sadr with the knowledge of His Majesty that city-bankers of Ahmedabad have unanimously given currency to rupees of less weight. They give rupees at a discount of less weight and accept rupees from poor and indigent persons two and three tankas more per rupee. Poor persons, therefore, suffer losses. A royal order was issued that the Nazim and the Diwan of the Subah should take a bond from the bankers that a rupee which weighs eleven mashas and two ratis as fixed by His Majesty, should be made current. A rupee, which is of less weight than this, should not be given currency. Ghiyasuddin Muhammed reported to His Majesty that there were many rose-gardens in Bagh-i-Shahi and Gulab-bagh. Roses were in abundance. There are tamarind-trees and pipal trees, high and shady are in these gardens these days. Trees produce very few fruits because of shadow and less supply of water. If tamarind-trees are cut down and water is supplied in sufficient quantity, gardens will luxuriate in flowers. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that he should inquire into facts and take steps to see as to what contributes to verdancy and increase in produce of gardens. They should lay stress on this that gardens do not become barren otherwise the Darogah will be taken to task.

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CHAPTER 129

AMINI OF BAIT-UL-MAL IS ENTRUSTED TO QAZIS OF THE EMPIRE

It was in this year that the custody of wealth of Baitul-Mal was put in charge of the Qazis of respective provinces under a royal order. A royal order was issued to the effect that the custody of the mahal should be entrusted to Abul Farah Khan, Qazi of the place. Again it was decided that fifteen hundred robes and five hundred blankets at the price of three thousand rupees, price of each garment is one and a half rupees while that of a blanket is half a rupee, should be distributed among the poor and the destitute according to their condition of the city and the paraganas by way of charity with the accord of the Qazi and the Sadr. The brahmins of Sinor complained to Shuja'at Khan that the Faujdars and the Amils trouble the plaintiffs by forcing them to work as couriers. This forced labour is a source of distraction to the plaintiffs. An order was issued for removal of this innovation as included in the list of prohibited matters. Mir 'Abdul Ghani was appointed to cut down the forest of Mahmudabad district. Paragana of Dhandhuka and other mahals (places of revenue) were granted this year in jagir to Rathod Dwarikadas by His Majesty.

It was in this year that a special robe and a jamdhar were sent to the Nazim of the Subah out of beneficence and favour with mace bearers Khwaja Muhammed Zia and 'Abdullah Beg. They had reached Vada Nampur outside the city. Shuja'at Khan went to receive them on Saturday, 12th Zilhajj, and accepted them with due etiquette. A disagreement took place between the Naib Faujdar Safdar Khan Babi and Shuja'at Khan for some revenue cases. He left in disgust. He wrote to Muhammed Bihadur Shurani for defence till the appointment of another Naib. He sent one jamadar appointing him for this purpose. He proposed thanadari of Kynah, on the death of Dawlat Sumrah for Syed 'Ali. Muhammed Beg Khan was appointed as the Faujdar of Saurath by His Majesty.



CHAPTER 130

COLLECTION OF ZAKAT (TAX) AND REVENUE OF CLOTH-MARKET AT A PLACE OF PURCHASE OF BLACK CLOTH SENT TO ARABIA IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED AND NINE

A royal order bearing the seal of Jumlat ul Mulk Asad Khan was issued to the Diwan of the Subah 'Abdul Hamid Khan in respect of collection of tax at a place of purchase the contents of which were that it was reported to His Majesty at this time though a regulation was formulated before this, that merchants paid taxes on goods at places of purchase and obtained a receipt thereof. They were not molested for one year at other places. It was then decided that taxes should be collected at places of sale. Under these circumstances taxes were not collected in a proper manner. Mir Muhammed Baqir and other merchants complain against collection of taxes at places of sale and grant of a security. A royal order was issued that the asylum of religion and learning, the seat of excellencies and perfections Qazi Muhammed Akram should investigate into this matter as to whether collection of tax at places of purchase is allowed or not. After the inquiry was over, its report was submitted to the Royal Office with the seal of the Chief Qazi. This case in detailed explanation was received by His Majesty. A royal mandate was issued that tax and octroi duty should be collected from merchants at places of purchase. Diwans of the empire were informed about it. It is necessary that the asylum of ministership should instruct the tithe-collectory of Ahmedabad that they should collect tax as before, from merchants at places of purchase. They should be careful enough to see that this regulation should not be dropped and relaxed, for it is in operation till now from that date. As collection of tax was decided at places of purchase under a royal order, the officers at Ahmedabad collected taxes in the same manner on goods to be exported by ships from ports. Under these circumstances income in taxation suffered at ports. Muhammed Kazim Beg, Port officer of Khanbhayat wrote that it was a custom from the inception of the port, that merchants and tradesmen bought goods at Ahmedabad for export from ports. Tithe collectors did not molest them. Taxes on those goods were collected at ports. Collection of tax was not in vogue at other places such as the paraganas of Baroda and Nadiad. Now that the tax is collected at that place, it has upset revenue and prosperity of the port. Ships start free at the time of voyage. I hope that a royal order will be issued in this connection to the Diwan of the Subah. The asylum of ministership should decide to act in this respect in accordance with usages. No one should act contrary to the usage. Emphasis is laid on this. Again, an order was issued to Diwan of the



Subah in respect of a complaint from Mir Baqer, Darogah of the city-mint that gold and silver should not be allowed to melt except in the mint so that the revenue may not suffer a loss. It was decided in accordance with the petition of the asylum of religion the Chief Qazi Muhammed Akram that prisoners of chabutra of Kotwali of the Subahs and the forts, who have no money with them, should be provided with a cap, a long gown and trousers in winter, and a cap, a cloak and trousers in summer from the Bait-ul-Mal with the certificate of the Subah's Qazi. A royal order was issued in this respect to Diwan of the Subah. The gumashtah of Shaikh Akramuddin, Amin for the collection of jizya declared to Nazim of the Subah that the zimmi of Mahmudabad Paragana have not paid jizya of the last year. This year they are bidding time for payment under the support of local Desais and Sheths. An empathetic letter was, therefore sent to the Naib Faujdar Mir 'Abdul Ghani that the zimmi should be produced for payment of jizya and prevent Desais from interference. Muhammed Bahadur Shirani was appointed the Naib Faujdar of Pattan. It was in this year that Dwarkadas Rathod who had hastened to the Royal Presence in the stirrup of the Prince Buland Akhtar as mentioned above obtained the honour of kissing the bright threshold and eminent verandah. He was favoured with royal mercy and grant of a mansab. He requested pardon of faults and offences of Ajit Singh who wandered in a plain of disappointment considering the past services of his late father Maharaja Jaswant Singh. His request was granted. He was awarded a mansab, Faujdar and Jagirdar, on the transfer of Mujahid Jalori, of Jalor and Sanchor. May it not remain hidden that Ghazni Khan Jalori, great grand-father of Mujahid was formerly the Faujdar and jagirdar of Jalor Sarkar in the regime of Sultan Muzaffer alias Nannuh the last Sultan of Gujarat. He became a royal servant when Akber conquered Gujarat and included it in the empire. He was showered with royal favours and was appointed as before at Jalor. He was appointed to render services in company of Nazims. It is said that the ancestors of Ghazni Khan, whose native place was Bihar left long ago the birth place for a certain affair with others, came to this region and spent life in service of the Gujarati Sultans. It was in this year that Jalor was granted to Ajit Singh for state policy.

A hemistich

Kings know good and bad of the state

Mujahid Jalori was appointed the Faujdar and Jagirdar of Palanpur and Deesa which post continues till the writing of this book in the family from generation to generation. During the regime of the martyred king Muhammed Farrukh Siyar, there was a Faujdar at Palanpur whose name was Rahim Yar Khan. He came to Ahmedabad and collected a force and marched to that



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side He fought with Ghazani Khan alias Firoz Jalori But he failed to achieve his object Ghazani Khan sent a present and a peshkash to His Majesty and obtained a farman to continue at the same post with an offer of money The jagir was personal and followers and two hundred zat and six hundred sawar conditional (10% of revenue) assigned from the aforesaid paragana The rest was settled as tankhwah of the jagirdars He occupied it from beginning of revolts and dissolution of the empire as a zamindar He abstained from royal service and liberated by force some of the round about places and established his own suzerainty They do not give correct answer In short, Amanat Khan, the Port-officer of Surat died Maratha revolt in a way spread on that side Nazim of the Subah, Shuja'at Khan appointed Nazar Ali Khan for its defence with a strong squadron and military commanders of the Subah It satisfied the residents Driyanat Khan was appointed the Port-officer of Surat by His Majesty His Majesty sent an elephant from the royal stable with a macebearer Shaikh Muhammed Fazil The Naib Faujdar of Jodhpur, Firoz Khan Mewati died Shuja'at Khan appointed Shaikh Muhammed Fazil Zahid who was Naib Faujdar at Viramgam as the Faujdar of Jodhpur On the transfer of Syed Muhsin, Mir Muhammed Baqir was appointed Faujdar and 'Amil of Dholka mahal of the royal revenue by His Majesty He came and took his charge A royal order with the seal of Jumlat-ul-Mulk was issued to Diwan of the Subah for purchase of one thousand horses at rupees two hundred per horse in the year one thousand, one hundred and ten

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section of soldiers for salary. The matter was reported to His Majesty. Care was taken for protection and defence of the city. I learnt from talks of certain reliable persons that Shuja'at Khan, during period of his illness, found a change in his physique and noticed signs of departure, when he submitted a petition to His Majesty with an account of property-movable and immovable. When news of his death reached His Majesty, he felt sorry for the good services he had done which were in accord with His Majesty's temperament. He pardoned his heirs for property with kindness and generosity. Animals-horses and elephants, were sent to the Royal Presence by an order of the Diwan. A royal order was issued to Khwaja 'Abdul Hamid Khan who was then awarded a title that he should attend to establishment of order and administrative work till the arrival of the Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur who is already in march. It was reported to His Majesty that the Naib Faujdari of Pattan was set aside after Shuja'at Khan's death and so, disturbance and revolt of Kolis are on increase. It is difficult for men as well as animals to go out. Doors upto ventilators are closed. A royal order was issued that defence and order are most important and necessary till arrival of the Prince. Diwan of the Subah should retain servants of Shuja'at Khan to a measure of necessity as before and actively utilize them. Their salary should be defrayed from the revenue of conditional mahals of the Subah. He should so diligently apply himself to the task that there should not remain any flaw in organisation and administration. *



CHAPTER 132

SUBEDARI OF PRINCE MUHAMMED A'ZAM SHAH AND DIWANI OF KHWAJA 'ABDUL HAMID KHAN

When His Majesty learnt about Shuja at Khan's death, he appointed the illustrious Prince, brightness of the forehead of greatness, coolness of the sight of Khilafat, lustre of the family of magnificence and luck, lamp of the dynasty of pomp and crown-wearing, star of the zodiac of majesty, jewel of the casnet of sovereignty, plant of the garden of rank and glory, spring of the orchard of honour and prestige, of exalted lineage, Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur who held the mansab of forty thousand zat and forty thousand Sawar, of eminent rank who was stationed at D'har adjacent to the Subah of abode of-victory Ujjain to punish and chastise the Dekhamis, to the Subedari of Ahmedabad, Gujarat and Faujdari of Jodhpur To it was added the Subedari of the abode of good, Ajmer A royal order was issued that he should march from that very place to Ahmedabad and devote himself to the organization of financial and revenue matters The Prince executed the royal order and started by way of Jhabua The local zamindar paid homage with a peshkash of sixteen thousand rupee , a robe and a horse and left him from his frontiers 'Abdul Hamid Khan, the Diwan and other royal servants hastend for reception and were ennobled with obeisance The Prince entered the city, collecting peshkash and establishing order on the way, on Thursday, 23rd Jamadi 'II of the year one thousand, one hundred and thirteen at an hour elected by astrologers He devoted himself to management of administrative work and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars As the buildings situated within the fort of Bhadra were found to be unsuitable, he laid foundation of lofty buildings adjacent to the river Sabarmati on the ground of Rustam Bagh and Gulab Bagh He stayed in tents till they were comple ed.

A single couplet

*It is a palace which of course will be disintegrated
Happy are those persons who are attached to another palace*

Amanullah, a royal servant was given an establishment of four thousand horsemen and appointed him a patrol faujdar Ja far Quli, son of Kazim Beg was appointed the Naib Faujdar of Jodhpur Dwarkadas Rathod was appointed the Faujdar of Pattan by His Majesty out of state policy May it not remain hidden that it was previously repeatedly pointed out that a ten years' historical account of His Majesty's regime is not well arranged with events and incidents of this Subah Most of the material, therefore, is taken from a record of



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orders issued to Nazims and Diwans. Again whatever hearsay reports I received from reliable persons are also incorporated in body of this book. Whatever is narrated in the regime of Shuja'at Khan as a Nazim is mostly from private letters which he wrote to the Faujdars and the Naibs. No fault should be attributed to me for certain events whose veracity was not found or whose precedence and recedence were not known. Whatever is stated of the Subedari of the Prince's agents is taken from the Alamgiri orders which were issued, under royal orders, to Princes and eminent amirs in the handwriting of Ghuyasullah Khan, Diwan of the royal revenue office. They were collected together after the death of His Majesty. Some account is taken from the record of orders issued to the Diwan of the Subah. The other account is based on the reports of reliable men. In short it was reported to His Majesty from the port of Surat that nearly ten, twelve thousand Maratha horsemen of Balaghat Kasari, environs of Nazarbar and Sultanpur have come and the Port-officer Najabat Khan learnt that they have designs on Surat. A royal order was issued to the Prince that Surat was included in the Subah of Gujarat and therefore it was necessary that he should be vigilant. As the Qile'dar of Jodhpur was exempted from service, a royal order was issued that if the Prince had so wished, he would have appointed the Qiledar from amongst his own servants. If he does not want that, a royal servant may be despatched. Again it was ordered that till now Dwarkadas Rathod was pardoned of supply of fodder to animals. That period is over. He has no wakil in the Royal Presence who can make arrangements. His wakil, son, brother and companions should be sent with the royal cavalcade. It was reported to His Majesty that a horse of the Prince's stable had died. Three horses with accoutrements were sent from the Royal Court. A mace-bearer was appointed at this time to carry Dwarkadas Rathod to the Royal Presence. A royal order was issued to the Prince that Dwarkadas Rathod should not be sent to the Royal Presence. His work should be accomplished there. Ajit Singh and Rathod's men should not be instigated more than this. As Purdil Shirani, Faujdar of Baroda, performed heroic deeds in capturing hangmen and killing six of them, the Prince proposed an addition of one hundred zat for him which was sanctioned. A royal order was issued that hangmen should be imprisoned till they show signs of repentance or produce reliable security. Muhammed Muhsin, son of I'timad Khan was appointed, as proposed by the Prince, the Port-officer of Khanbhayat with the title of his father.



CHAPTER 133

ARRIVAL OF SAFDAR KHAN BABI FLIGHT OF DWARKADAS RATHOD APPOINTMENT OF A SQUADRON IN HIS PURSUIT

It was previously stated in an account of the Subedari of Shuja'at Khan that Safdar Khan Babi was summoned to the Royal Presence for certain affairs at the former's request. On his way, he arrived at Malwa. Qamruddin Khan, son of Mukhtar Khan, who after the death of his father was awarded the title of Mukhtar Khan and grant of Subedari of Malwa, had old acquaintance with him at the time of Subedari of Ahmedabad, kept him with himself and submitted a petition to His Majesty to the effect that he is really involved in a misfortune even though he is a loyal appointee of the Court. The request of Mukhtar Khan was acceded to. Safdar Khan Babi stayed there with his sons. It was at this time that the Subah of Ahmedabad was put in charge of the vakils of the Prince. Safdar Khan intended to come to Ahmedabad. He sent his agent to the Prince and declared his intentions before him. The Prince submitted a petition to His Majesty about him and summoned him to himself after obtaining permission. A royal order was issued for sending Dwarkadas Rathod to the Royal Presence or finish him. Safdar Khan Babi took upon himself the responsibility of capturing him in office of the Prince or slaying him. Dwarkadas had come, as summoned by the Prince, from the mahal of his Faujdari from Pattan and halted at Barej adjacent to the river Sabarmati. On the promised day when he had to attend upon the Prince, all the eminent Bakshis of the Royal army were kept ready on a plea of hunting. Military mansabdars of the Subah, were armed along with Safdar Khan with his sons and companions and they too attended the darbar. The Prince came to the Court of Justice and ordered to present Dwarkadas. He had observed a fast on a previous day due to ag yaras (11th day of the month) and so wanted to attend upon the Prince after meals. He smelt suspicion on account of men coming to summon him repeatedly and also because he feared from preparations of an army and rumour of hunting that there was something wrong for him. He did not eat along with his companions, and then setting fire to his tent and materials, he mounted his horse and fled towards Marwar saying,

A Couplet

*He who flees in time making his head his feet
Is better than a wrestler who has his head below his feet*

When news of his flight reached the Prince, he ordered Afzal Khan, Darogah of arsenal with royal army, mansabdars and Safdar Khan Babi to chase him to capture or finish him to death. The above-mentioned persons



went in all haste in his pursuit. Young riders of the royal army, Safdar Khan Babi with his sons and relatives reached him when the grandson of Dwarkadas who was in prime of youth said to his grandfather

A hemistich

It is a disgrace for us to come out of battle field without a wound

I will reach the path of army when you liberate yourself from the peril. He refused to do it and wanted to stand. But he took his way due to insistence of his grandson and delicacy of time. The grandson of Dwarkadas blocked the way along with a few Rajputs who had chosen to remain with him, engaged in a war and gave justice to valour. At last, the grandson of Dwarkadas fell at the blow of Muhammed Salabat Khan, Muhammed Khan Jahan sons of Safdar Khan Babi who were not yet favoured with a title and Muhammed Ashraf Ghorni. A slight blow of sword was received by Muhammed Salabat on head while Muhammed Ashraf was hit by an arrow but both of them were saved. Other Rajputs were also slain. Dwarkadas seized this opportunity and fled at top speed to Unjha. Unao at a distance of thirty kurohis. Pursuers had to stop because of Dwarkadas's grandson and also for meals. Besides, it was dusk and so they stationed themselves at a distance. Dwarkadas proceeded further in the early hours of dawn. He took his wife and children whom he had left at Pattan with himself and went to Tharad. The Royal army in pursuit reached Pattan. Kotwal of Dwarkadas who was left behind was slain. Commanders of the army reported to the Prince the flight of Dwarkadas and death of his grandson. They were ordered to return. It was in this year that Shaikh Nur-ul Haq and Fakhar ul Islam had proceeded to the Holy Places for hajj. His Majesty had prohibited the Firangi ships to call at ports. On return from hajj, the Firangi war ships captured ships coming from Jiddah and Mukha. The Shaikhs were captured by the Firangis. This fact was reported to His Majesty. A royal order was issued to Najabat Khan who, on the transfer of I'tibar Khan due to his inefficiency, was appointed as the Port-officer of Surat with an addition of five hundred zat without condition and three hundred sawar conditional which with original and additional comes to two thousand and five hundred zat and thousand sawar do aspah. He was also favoured with a special robe. He was ordered to immediately liberate the two Shaikhs along with other Muslims captured by the Firangis. Mir Muhammed Baqir was appointed Mir Saman (Head steward) of the Prince's establishment. Nu'man Khan who was appointed the Bakhshi and Chronicler of the Subah arrived. The Prince had submitted a petition to His Majesty proposing regard for the sons of Shaikh 'Abdul Haq and an award of a title to Shaikh Al iramuddin. A royal order was



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issued to the effect that there is no scope for additions. Qazi 'Abdul Wahhab, Shaikh-ul-Islam, 'Abdul Haq and Nur-ul-Haq had no titles. Syed Kamal Khan Faujdar of Idar died this year. His son Syed Ahmed Baqir was appointed Faujdar of Prantij and Thanadar of Rasulnagar with an addition of one hundred and fifty (zat) without condition and four hundred sawar conditional. His other sons were distinguished with grant of mansabs. It was reported to His Majesty from Surat Port that ten, twelve thousand Marathas roamed about at the foot of Kasara Ghat and round-about Nazarbar and Sultanpur and that Najabat Khan had received a report that they had designs on Surat. A royal order was issued to the Prince that he should occupy himself with defence preparations as Surat is included in Gujarat. The Prince despatched Muhammed Beg Khan and Nazar Ali Khan, military commanders of the Subah from his own sarkar. They arrived at Surat, stayed there for some days and returned. A royal order was issued to the Prince that whenever Shaikh Abdu-shshukur, son of Shaikh Hasan Muhammed Gujarati announces a religious matter, he should act according to it to prosper. The paragana of Idar was granted as jagir to the Prince in exchange for one crore of dams lessened from the mahal of Ajmer Subah.

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CHAPTER 134

DEATH OF JANI BEGUM IN THE YEAR OF ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN HIJRI

Cupola of chastity, Jani Begum wife of the Prince died after a short illness. Her dead body was deposited near Shahi Bagh and four walls were erected around it. After a few days, her corpse was removed to Shahjahanabad. Date of her death is found out from the "Enter into my paradise." Nu'man Khan was appointed Bakhshi of the Subah in addition to the same post under the Prince. As Syed Azmatullah, Darogah of Cloth-market practised dishonesty, the Prince appointed his servant 'Abdul Wase' as a Karori. When a report of Syed 'Azmatullah's dishonesty was received by His Majesty, he was deprived of service. The post was given to Mir Amjad Khan, son of Nu'man Khan. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that whatever the dismissed Darogha had taken by way of dishonesty should be recovered from him without delay and negligence and deposited in the treasury. A receipt thereof should be sent to His Majesty. A royal order was issued in respect of a request of Shaikh Akaramuddin, Amin of the Cloth-market to the Diwan of the Subah that Abdul Wase' appointed as a Karori by the Prince to the Cloth market should be removed. This innovation should be set aside. It was in this year that an order was issued to all Subahis for forbidding preparation of almanacs which was against religion. A bond should be taken from astrologers for this purpose. A royal order was issued to the Prince that he should discriminate well in making recommendations and exercising power. They are many artists and craftsmen in Gujarat which is decoration and adornment of Hindu tan. Really speaking, the work which is done in royal workshop is artistic, costly, shining, good and dear. Although everything which is not created by God is false yet we have to look to "they do what God wishes". Work of the unemployed should be done till the appointed time of death. He gives the share of subsistence. Brocaded silk and striped cloth were prepared in an excellent manner in the workshop at Shahjahanabad. Now it is stopped. If the Prince orders, they will be prepared very well there. It was in this year that two copies of the Holy Quran one in gold, and the other copy for suspension in the hand of the pupil of Muhammed Raza calligraphist, forty-two traditions collected by His Majesty, scarlet red robe recently received from Firang were sent by His Majesty with Shah Mir, son of Syed Baqir who was appointed as the Chronicler of the Subah.

It was reported to His Majesty that the Marathas have designs to roam about near Baglana, and Surat. A royal order was issued to the Prince that preparation of the event should be made before its occurrence.



A squadron should be sent to Surat - The Prince should go to Broach for hunting. Again it was ordered that the temple of Somnath situated in Saurath Sarkar in the middle of the sea was pulled down in the beginning of the year of Ascension and idol-worship was discontinued. Now it is not known as to in what condition it is. If God's creatures still engage themselves in worship of idols, the temple should again be so pulled down that there may not remain any vestige of the building and they should be expelled from the place. It was in this year that a water basin, a Chinese tray, a pie-bald horse which was bought by His Majesty at Surat and the Prince had evinced his desire to have it, a pleasant coloured horse with a good gait worthy of riding by His Majesty, a steed which had fallen ill and did not reach His Majesty were granted to the Prince. A royal order was issued that Muhammed Muhsin son of I'timad Khan should be honoured with the title of I'timad Khan. He should be summoned and some horses be shown to him to test his knowledge about horses. A royal order was issued to the Prince that Shamsuddin Khan had reported to His Majesty that ships do not sail without permission of the Firangis. It is nearly eight years from which time merchant-ships of Surat, Araba and Holy Places are destroyed in the sea. There is a great peril to ships of the Muslims. No improvement in this situation is made from the last days of I'timad Khan's administration till now by local Faujdars. Negligence, remissness and indifference are remote from zeal of Islam. As Surat is included in the Subah of Ahmedabad His Royal Highness should write to His Majesty the arrangement of this in consultation with those who are acquainted with this kind of work such as resident merchants of the Port. By the favour of God, all things are obtainable. Kindness, favour and regard towards the Firangis have crossed the limits. Work is not managed with politeness and mildness. Severity, harshness and hardness should be used in accomplishment and achievement of work. There is always a sea war between the Rumis and the Firangis wherein victory is shifting. The Kharejites of Muscat have good materials for sea warfare. They are people of the Qiblah. No war had taken place between the royal army and the Firangis. Under a royal order, the Diwan of the Subah confiscated the merchandise goods of Europeans in the city. Secondly, their offences were pardoned after some time at the request of the Port-officer of Surat. A royal order was issued that the confiscated goods of Europeans and Armenians in the Subahs be restored to them. They should not be molested in business as before. A royal order was issued to Diwans in the empire that the Hindus should not employ Muslims in service. When His Majesty received an estimate of twenty-six thousand rupees for repairs to the city-walls of Ahmedabad prepared by Diwan of the Subah. It was ordered that twenty thousand rupees twice should be proposed from wealth of the Prince for its completion. After flight of Dwarkadas, Ajit Singh had become



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proud. He placed feet beyond his proportion and committed some unworthy deeds. A royal order was issued that his talk with the sons of Jaswant Singh is faked. Undoubtedly, something should be done with him as before. As proposed by the Prince, Ghiyasuddin Muhtasib was honoured with an-addition to his mansab. A royal order bearing the seal of Umdat-ul-Mulk Madar-ul-Maham Asad Khan was issued to Diwan of the Subah Abdul Hamid Khan that one lac maunds of food-grains should be soon sent in ships from Khanbhayat to the royal army stationed on a sea-coast. Again an order was issued that the collectors of miscellaneous taxes should send to the Royal Presence details about collection of revenue and octroi duties once in a month in a mail-bag. In the year one thousand, one hundred and fifteen, Abdul Hamid Khan, on the transfer of Purdil Shirani, was appointed the Faujdar of Baroda with an addition of one hundred zat, five hundred sawar conditional with addition of former and present services. Faujdari of the paragana of Vijapur, on his dismissal, was granted to Safdar Khan Babi in addition of three hundred sawar along with an award of a robe to each one of them. Sarandaz Khan, on the transfer of Muhammed Beg Khan, was appointed as the Faujdar of Saurath. Muhammed Beg Khan was appointed as the patrolling Faujdar. When His Majesty learnt about it, a royal order was issued that if an offence was committed by Purdil Khan Shirani which became the cause of his dismissal, a proposal about it should have been made to His Majesty. Saurath is a place of less mansab. Men of more mansab upto five thousand had been appointed to this post. Nazims of Dekhan and Bengal are permitted to dismiss and appoint persons because, they are distant from the capital. In spite of His Majesty being very near, dismissal of Faujdars appointed by His Majesty without his order and appointment of others in their place, further, Diwan of the Subah is suitable for the post of a Faujdar these matters are causes of amazement as having been done by your Royal Highness. Dholka is a crown-land and situated near the city. It would have been entrusted to him. Faujdari of Baroda as granted with an addition to mansab to Muhammed Beg Khan. Faujdari of neighbourhood of Ahmedabad should have been given to another person from amongst the royal servants or from among his servants. Saurath was granted in fief to the Prince. Some of the pulpits of the city masjids specially the Jame' Masjid and the Idgah had many steps. The Prince in consultation with the Ulma got the pulpits of these two places broken and built them of three steps as they were not more than this number in time of His Prophet-hood Hazrat, the asylum of messengership, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants. The Faujdari of Vijapur was sanctioned for Safdar Khan Babi as he had no relation with Diwan. As ryots of Khanbhayat Port complained to His Royal Highness against tyranny of Muhammed Kazim, the Port-officer, the Prince reported about it to His Majesty. A royal



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order was issued that Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah felt ashamed for not accepting service at Baroda and Vijapur, he should, therefore, be assigned the Post of Khanbhaiyat. He should go there and return after appointing a Naib. As the Prince has proposed the Post-officership of Khanbhaiyat to I'timad Khan before the receipt of the royal order, it was ordered that Khanbhaiyat was granted to him Faujdari of Vijapur, if the Prince so wished, should be given to Abdul Hamid Khan. Proposal of addition of one hundred was sanctioned for Ilutaf Khan. Mir Muhammed Baqir, Mir-i Saman of the Prince was ennobled with the title of Mu'tamid Khan. Hakim Raziuddin, on the transfer of Hakim Muhammed Taqi Shirazi, was appointed a physician in the city hospital. At the request of the Prince, Mast Ali Khan was appointed the first Bakhshi of the Prince's establishment. His Majesty sent the following articles to the Prince. Left and right sides of emerald with Chinese art, a water bowl of Cathay with excellent texture, a jewel studded dagger with clay of Solomon, one chair with mosaic work in plastic of Kashmir art. The Prince had heard about the harassment by sepoys and Afghan residents of the other side of River Sabarmati to ryots and lower class of persons, he ordered a squadron to go there to punish and chastise them. They too got ready to fight without caring for their lives. Then, their offences were forgiven at the intercession of Jaminadars Muhammed Umar and Muhammed Usman on a promise that they would not in future cause harm and injury to anyone. At the request of the Prince, jagirs were granted to Shaikh Akaramuddin his relatives and Nazar Ali Khan by His Majesty. Najmuddin Amin and Daroghah of Branding Inspection was honoured with an addition of fifty. In the year one thousand, one hundred and sixteen, the Prince forbade under a royal order certain irreligious practices at the anniversaries of saints in Ahmedabad. As proposed by the Prince, two hundred Sawar in addition were granted to Muhammed Beg Khan. His Majesty had learnt that two Bohras, Isa and Taji thread sellers of the Ismailiya section extort money from people with calumny and threat and persuade them to accept their evil creed. The Prince arrested them under a royal order, imprisoned them and took a bond from them that they will not behave in that manner in future. It was in this year that, disturbances of the Dekhanis broke out towards Surat. The Prince was ordered that as Surat was included in Gujarat, help should soon be sent. If they are there, they should be chastised. Treasure which Nazar Ali Khan brings with him should be escorted as far as the frontiers of Surat to Bahroz Khan, Nazim of Khandesh Subah. Mustafa Quli a royal servant, the Faujdar of Broach had established good order there. It was ordered that he should be appointed with one thousand horsemen as auxiliary. Surat being very near, he will soon reach there. It was reported to His Majesty that the chronicler and news writer as well as the clerks put marks, the former on the face and the latter on the back, of permits of goods of Ahmedabad

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merchants An order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that news-writers and chroniclers should not meddle with financial matters They should not be allowed to mark the permits

CHAPTER 135

MARCH OF THE PRINCE MUHAMMED A'ZAM SHAH UNDER A ROYAL ORDER TO BURHANPUR KHWAJA ABDUL HAMID KHAN APPOINTED A DEPUTY TILL THE APPOINTMENT OF NAZIM IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN

As the climate of Ahmedabad was not congenial to the Prince, he repeatedly complained about it to His Majesty His Majesty this time showed pity towards him and summoned him through a Farman leaving a permanent Naib till the arrival of Ibrahim Khan who was transferred from Kashmir to the Subedari of Ahmedabad His son Zabardast Khan was transferred from Lahore to Ajmer and to Faujdari of Jodhpur. 'Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah enjoyed favour of the Prince on account of his good services He was ennobled with a favour of a special robe and appointment as a Naib of the Subah on Friday, 19th of holy Sha'ban of that year The Prince then marched to Burhanpur It was in this year that a royal mandate was issued to the Port-officer of Surat, Amanat Khan to the effect that a hundi of forty thousand rupees should be secretly sent with Shaiikh Jamaluddin Mufti who had gone for a visit of the Holy Places Dwarkadas submitted a petition, after his flight, with apologies for faults and pardon of offences and of his distracted plight to His Majesty. His Majesty treated him with mercy and favoured him with a mansab and service as before It was ordered that he should please from his side Khwaja Abdul Hamid who in reality is appointed the Deputy in the Subah because of good conduct and loyal services to the Prince. A royal order was issued to Abdul Hamid Khan in respect of continuity of his mansab, jagirs, service and submission of a proposal for comfortable salary to remove his distracted financial condition which will be granted to him after representation



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for it to His Majesty. His Majesty had learnt from a petition of Shaikh Akaramuddin sent through Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq that thread-selling Bohras-Isa and Taj from whom the Prince formerly had taken a bond do not desist from mischief and instigation of people. If a royal order is secretly sent to him, he would arrest them and send them to the Royal Presence. A royal order was sent to him to the effect that the abovenamed persons should be arrested and sent in chains and fetters to the Royal Court. The order was executed. It was reported to His Majesty that Khanji, a successor of Qutub, leader of the Ismaili Bohra Community who was slain before, had sent twelve missionaries who instigate people to absurd faith at the instruction of their chief. They have arrived in Ahmedabad. They have collected one lac and fourteen thousand rupees from disciples for release of those of their co-religionists who are in captivity. They have not spent that amount as yet. There are sixty and some more volumes of their scriptures. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that he should, in concord with Qazi Abul Farah, without knowledge of any one else, arrest him along with his men whose names are mentioned on a separate sheet of paper in such a way that those irreligious men may not get any information about it and send with all care to the Royal Court. The collected amount should also be sent with their books. Teachers should be appointed for illiterate men and children of their community in the city and the paraganas so that they may teach them the tenets of sunnism. There should be an examination of pupils every month. Salaries of teachers should be charged on them. Facts of the whole matter should be communicated to His Majesty. A similar order was issued to Qazi Abul Farah asking him to work in co-operation with him.

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CHAPTER 136

INCURSION OF THE MARATHAS UNDER THE COMMAND OF DHANA JADHAV WHICH IS KNOWN AMONG THE MASSES AS BAISI KHWAJA ABDUL HAMID KHAN, DIWAN OF THE SUBAH GOES OUT FOR REPULSION HIS CAPTURE BY THE DEKHANIS AND DEATH SOME MILITARY MANSABDARS ARE WOUNDED MUHAMMED BEG KHAN'S APPOINTMENT AS NAIB AT CLOSE OF THE YEAR

Khwaja 'Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah, Naib Nazim of the Subah who led an army against the Maratha Dhana Jadhav got captured. I heard an account of this event from some reliable persons who took part in this event. Responsibility of its truth rests with the narrator. After march of the Prince's cavalcade, Abdul Hamid Khan, under a royal order, was appointed to the office of Nizamat and Niyabat till arrival of the appointed Nazim. During this period, the Dekhanis were a source of revolt and disturbance in various parts of the empire. They plundered and pillaged towns and villages, practised harassment and raised disturbances. Royal forces were despatched in their pursuit. Nazims and Faujdars were ordered that they have paved paths of hostility and factiousness in every part of the Subah and have carried their excesses beyond limit. Under these circumstances they should, in co operation with one another, block up paths, defend highways and expel them. Several times, whenever the news of their dispersion and absurd designs reached Ahmedabad, Nazim of the Subah hastened to resist them along with military commanders to borders of the Subah as far as passage of Baba Pyarah on the river Narbada and Surat Port before their arrival. Nazims of Berar and Khandesh as well as Faujdars of neighbouring regions whose frontiers are joined with Surat Port marched from their respective places. It was in this year that the news of the Prince's march, and absence of a powerful Subedar at Ahmedabad and a squadron who can repel them emboldened the Maratha Dhana Jadhav to collect nearly eighty thousand horsemen and march this side. A report of his march reached Naib of the Subah from Letters of Surat Port. He, therefore, appointed as usual, Nazar Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, Iltifat Khan, Syed Idris Khan, Faujdar of Nadiad, Ali Mardan, son of Muhammed Beg Khan, mansabdars, Faujdars and thanadars to march to Surat Port to prevent and repel them. He wrote to Muhammed Purdil Shirani, Faujdar of Baroda that he should join these forces at Baroda and take part in the royal campaign. The above-mentioned persons made preparations, started and stationed themselves at the passage of Baba Pyarah. They appointed spies for bringing news of the Marathas. As they did not really know the fixed place of their entry, they stationed with ease and comfort for nearly one month and a half at the passage of Baba Pyarah when



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news of Maratha dispersion in the vicinity of Kadka of Baba Pyarah from that side of Surat Port continuously reached through spies. The news was confirmed with certainty. Nazar Ali Khan held a council of counsel with other commanders. They had heard about the Maratha arrival in large numbers. They informed Abdul Hamid Khan about it and waited for his reply. He was occupied with assemblage of soldiers, preparation of arsenal and arrangements for coming out. This event impelled him to collect soldiers, to summon Faujdars and thanadars. He wrote to Nazar Ali Khan and sardars of the advanced guard that they should think of his arrival soon with an armed army and an arsenal. It was astonishing that they indulged in pleasures on the river bank till then negligently and did not proceed to Surat to perform royal duties. It was not proper. Abdul Hamid Khan was temperamentally hasty in affairs. A curry-comb leader of an army did not think of multiplicity of the enemy and paucity of companions. Whatever he could and whatever war-materials he could obtain, he came out for march. Many mansabdars who had no horse to ride hired carriages and carts and accompanied him. Commanders of the advanced guard had in their minds a passion to proceed to Surat as in former years, after receipt of the reply, because they were tired of staying at one place and desired to see other places. They were under the impression that Surat Port is a place of safety and that the Port-officer had an army with him. It would be better if they reached Surat earlier than the Maratha arrival. They had received a taunt in a way from Abdul Hamid Khan for not advancing earlier. In spite of small force which in aggregate did not consist of two thousand horse and foot and withal every one of the khan scratched his head for chiefship, leadership and egoism. They regarded delay and waiting for Abdul Hamid Khan to join them with suspicion and cowardice. Heavenly decrees worked and they decided to march. They crossed the river Narbada at close of the day and encamped on the other bank. Next day, they covered a distance of seven kurohs and encamped at the town of Abidah. Next morning, the Turk of day began to attack the negro of night with a shining sword and they marched further. A watch of the day had passed when they encamped near Ratanpur on the bank of Narbada finding it to be a suitable place and charming plain. Every commander planted his tent according to his desire and habit as well as pleased his temperament. They did not observe caution and care of camping at one place. Scattered like tresses of moon-faced beauties, they encamped with their companions. They had not yet warmed places sufficiently when at mid-day some advanced horsemen of the Dekhanis, technically called by them as Hol sawar, appeared at a distance to get information and knowledge of the condition of royal army. Gujarati soldiers had no occasion to deal with and fight with the enemy. They had not adopted the mode and fashion of their warfare. On mere information, they grappled with them in all haste. Every commander mounted

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his horse along with his party, and galloped further to fight. With a slight engagement, the Dekhani sentinels, according to their usual wont, dragged their rivals in the battle-field and fled. Muslim warriors regarded this as their victory, pursued them to a short distance, returned to their camp and occupied themselves in cooking their meals when the Maratha horsemen carried away camels of the army grazing in the vicinity. A party of soldiers pursued them in the same manner as before and brought back the camels liberated. They had not yet taken rest when clouds of dust appeared rising before sight as a mark of their thronging. It made the world dark and black. By seeing such sights, many cowards got disheartened and their hearts began to throb. They got agitated like mercury and their bodies began to tremble like willow because there was a black calamity in front and such a dreadful sea behind their head.

A single couplet

*Terrible water wherein a water-fowl is not safe
Smallest wave carried away a grinding mill-stone from shore*

Refuge and asylum were not visible. At this juncture, the Marathas arrived, in full speed, at the camp of Sardar Khan Babi who had pitched his tent at a distance of one arrow-throw from others and encircled it halo like. He stood with steadfastness and firmness and advanced to fight and resist. That war created signs of dread of the judgment day and narrated stories of the resurrection-day. Every sword which he had in a sheath of power and strength he drew forth with the hard of daring and gave justice to valour and prowess. Many of his companions and his son Muhammed Usman became martyrs, some of them got wounded while he himself also dived in the sea of war, received a fatal wound, fell in the field and became a captive of the Dekhanis. His bag and baggage were plundered. His nephew Muhammed A'zam came to the camp of Nazar Ali with difficulty on horseback along with the wounded and others. The Marathas attacked Muhammed Purdil Shirani who too had encamped at a distance, and engaged in a hard fight. He, along with his brave companions, darted every arrow that he had in his arrow-case. Both the parties fought face to face. Those who were visited by appointed death, gave up life with reputation. Those who escaped the sword lost balance and got scattered like letters of the alphabet. Muhammed Purdil, helplessly turned his horse from battle-field and came out crossing the river. Ilufat Khan, who was with a few horsemen, swam the river on horseback with manliness. It was dusk. The Dekhanis camped facing Nazar Ali Khan and remaining soldiers. Darkness of night enveloped them and deprived the faculty of sight of seeing persons and bodies.



Couplet

*Dise of the sun went in darkness
Jonah went into the mouth of fish*

Hearts of cowards began to throb Considering darkness of night as brightness, every one who could and found way, went to a side or got captured by the Marathas Nazar Ali Khan, on seeing this occurrence and condition of soldiers, set fire to the tent with all chattels, proceeded towards the river-bank further off to quench heat of thirst of men and animals who were thirsty and tired from dawn to dusk Having satiated, them he intended to return to his camp At this time, as it was the time of tide in the sea, the river Narbada as it is joined with it became tempestuous due to rise of water in it. By the time he could reach the camp, water rose to full height of a man and consequently, many horsemen and footmen got drowned Those whose cups of life were not filled to the brim, came out to the shore with help of swimming Under any circumstances whether by crossing the water by day or walking in dark night with difficulty, they reached Broach The Faujdar of Broach Akber Quli sympathised and looked after them Nazar Ali Khan came to his camp with a small body of men and prepared to fight with the enemy till dawn and sun-rise waiting for death and expecting the messenger of death The eastern king hoisted the bright banner and illumined the plain of world From the enemy's side

*Arose beating of drum and blowing of trumpet
Earth like the sky arose from its place*

The Dekhanis galloped their horses and attacked them from all sides like ants and locusts and rounded Nazar Ali Khan When they found him prepared for death, some eminent among them advanced and said to him that such affairs happen many time in respect of exalted men and dignified amirs due to revolution of time

A Single Couplet

*Such is the custom of the world
Sometime, one is on back of a saddle, sometime a saddle is on the back*

Requisites of manliness, bravery, intrepidity and prowess were brought to the field of possibility To come out of a responsibility from a war with a large multitude and a vast horde is clear to far-seeing wisdom It is of no avail to throw oneself in the field of destruction and to gamble with cash of life for nothing The rest of good thinkers, who were left with Nazar Ali Khan heard tidings of hope of life and escape from this sudden calamity and opened tongue



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in advice with stories and rational proofs. They tried to withhold hand from use of war implements. Necessarily they had to meet with fate. They proceeded ahead taking him in all honour and glory. This event took place on the last day of holy Zilqa'ad of that year. As the Dekhanis had received a report of Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan's march to this side, they went in all haste and spent night at the passage of Baba Pyarah crossing point of river Narbada on conjecture that he may perhaps return after knowing of this event or station himself at a place strengthening it. By chance, Abdul Hamid Khan, on that very day, had come to that passage and encamped there with mansabdars, brave warriors such as Muhammed Sher, Muhammed Salabat, sons of Safdar Khan Babi, Muhammed Ashraf, Muhammed Asad Ghorni, Khalil Khan Musahib Khan, Ma'sum Quli, Syed Muzaffer alias Syed Mastu Faujdar of A'zamabad, Mir Abdul Wahhab, thanadar of Pithapur and a new party of guards with an army of four thousand sawar and footmen of same number. As the negro-soldiers made a night-attack on the Rums of day, the plain of the world had turned dark and black.

A single couplet

*When the sun became invisible from the world
The dark night drew a skirt over the sky*

The Dekhanis came down for resistance. An event of the advanced guard was explained in detail. A great commotion took place, some persons were seized with fear and cowardice by hearing this life breaking, wisdom-robbing event. They considered the dark curtain of night as brightness of the day of deliverance and regarded opportunity as a boon and took themselves to various sides for refuge. Morning which was the time of decline and setting of sun of the lives of many persons dawned. The sword blade travelling king drew forth gold plated sword from a sheath of dark night and purified and polished plain of the world with its brilliance like minds of bright hearted persons. The Dekhanis joined in battle and began war and massacre. The Muslim warriors also arrayed rows for war and altercation. They brought the mull of war to rounds with the hand of bravery and grip of valour and heated the oven of battle field by kindling the fire of cannon and musket. They considered the bustle of warfare as a banquet in hope of reaping rewards for religious war. They loosened arm-pits-like intoxicated persons with heroic exploits. Birds of souls came to flight due to coming and going of envoys of arrows.

A single couplet

*Bows in that banquet were like tipsy persons,
Sometime they sneezed, sometime they yawned.*

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Many brave and famous men attained to the rank of martyrdom, some obtained honour by apparent wounds. The enemy was more in reckoning and enumeration. They attacked them from all sides like ants, locusts and worms and thus they created a quake in foundation of pillars of the army and disturbed their order. Many cowards fled away acting in accordance with the saying "He who saved his head, was benefited." Some died and some were captured. Some escaped with safety from the perilous valley. Muhammed Salabat Khan, Muhammed Asad, Muhammed Ashraf Ghorni and Muhammed Sher Babi saw the matter out of control, and unmanageable. Besides their forces were scattered while the Marathas were in large numbers. Hence they thought of evil consequences and left the battle-field. The Marathas pursued them. They wounded Muhammed Sher and overthrew him from horseback. Muhammed Ashraf arrived at the opportune time with boldness and did not allow any harm to be done to him. His horse proved useful to him and he guarded him. The day had come to a close. The Marathas returned. Finding the plain free from enemy, he carried Muhammed Sher on his shoulders as he was unable to walk as far as Mandwa near Karnali Chanod. Muhammed Salabat and Muhammed Asad reached Ahmedabad. In short, Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan with a few nobles, relatives and notable men who stood there became a pedestrian. Having put an arrow-case in front, he sat in a plain. The Dekhanis poured on him like a sudden calamity and captured some of his men. Syed Muzaffer alias Syed Mastu was wounded. Mir Abdul Wahhab attained to the stage of martyrdom. Ma'sum Quli bore a wound. A Mughal named Kalab Ali was with the Dekhanis. He, in a way, served as a guide to them. He was formerly acquainted with his father Kazim Beg. He liberated Ma'sum Quli from them, sympathised with his case, bandaged him and applied ointment to his wound. He conveyed him as far as Broach. The Dekhanis remained there for a few days after the capture of Abdul Hamid Khan and pillage of provisions. They then plundered towns and villages and exacted Khandani (tribute). A great commotion and vast relaxation spread in the Subah. There was disorder and anarchy. Rebellious Kolis who had retired to a corner of obscurity and oblivion due to chastisement and punishment of Faujdars and Thanadars, emerged from every corner and side, reverted to their inborn nature and raised disturbances.

A Single Couplet

*When a forest is free of a male lion
Foxes become bold in such a place*

They ravaged towns and villages. They subjected the town of Baroda to rapine for two complete days. When a report of the event from speeches of soldiers of Ahmedabad who had fled reached Ahmedabad, Mir Nu'man Khan Bakshi and Chronicler, Shaikh Muhammed Akaramuddin Sadr-i-Subah, Qaz

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Abul Farah unanimously decided to bring back Muhammed Beg Khan who then was appointed Faujdar of Saurath from Sarkhej three kurohs from the city where he had encamped. He took money for expenses to perform this duty for the emperor from the Public Treasury and occupied himself with concord and consultation of the Bakhshi of the Subah for provisions of soldiers, collection of an army, blocking up passages of Mahi river, strengthening gates, turrets, citadels of the fort, city walls and defence of suburbs. Details of the event, bringing back of Muhammed Beg Khan were reported by the Bakhshi, Sadr and Qazi through swift couriers to His Majesty. The Dekhanis obtained information about real condition and personality of each of the captives and fixed a ransom befitting every one. Safdar Khan Babu summoned his son Muhammed Salabat to free from his responsibility by keeping him as a hostage and came to Broach. He liberated him by paying an amount of money. Others also arranged for ransom in a manner they could and secured release. As the cases of Abdul Hamid Khan and Nazar Ali Khan were good, some time elapsed for ascertainment. Nazar Ali Khan was released earlier. He came to Ahmedabad. The amount of his ransom was not known. Three lacs of rupees were fixed as ransom for Abdul Hamid Khan. He wrote to Kandas peshkar and his other servants for arrangement of the amount and sending it to Ahmedabad. They busied themselves with arrangements for the same. It was a big sum. They collected it from his treasure, relations, relatives in cash, gold and silver and sent it to him. Thus the amount was made up. In short, when His Majesty learnt about these incidents from petitions of the Bakhshi etc., a royal order was issued to the Prince Muhammed Bedar Bakht who then was engaged in Malwa for destruction of mischief mongers in the Subah. He was ordered to proceed at top speed, till the arrival of Ibrahim Khan who was appointed to governorship and Nizamat of Ahmedabad Subah, by way of Jhabur where the Prince had gone, to Ahmedabad to expel Marathas and defend the city as some faujdars of the Subah are engaged in duty while others are in captivity of the Marathas. A few who are liberated, are so seized with horror that they are unable to perform duties as Faujdars. Others in their place should be appointed in the Subah with addition of conditional mansabs suitable to them. A proposal should be submitted in regard to the conditional dismissed persons. It will be immediately sanctioned. A royal order was issued to Muhammed Beg Khan to the effect that it is heard that 'Abdul Hamid Khan writes with compulsion or with force in respect of sending money to him from the royal treasury or the treasury of the Prince for liberation to his Naibs and peshkars. It is necessary that you should be vigilant in concord with one another about the royal treasure as well as the prince's treasure. You should not allow any man of the Diwan as far as possible to spend a rupee from the treasury. A bond should be taken in this respect from Kandas peshkar of the Diwan. The Naib Diwans should be empathetical.



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ly informed that revenue of the crown land and balance are fixed Not a dam or a diram should be given to the Diwan s peshl ar from revenue of the Crown-land and the royal fief Money due to the king should be remitted as usual to the treasury It should be sent to His Majesty in the form of hundis A bond should also be taken in this respect from the Naibs Expenses of establishment of the Subah's Naib should be paid from the conditional revenue of the Nazim In short, Abdul Hamid Khan remained in Maratha captivity for some time till payment of a ransom Whatever Kandas had collected was paid His nephew Muhammed Khan and his sister's son Mir Ghulam Muhammed were kept as hostages till payment of remaining amount He came to Ahmedabad with the enemy's servant muzaffer Husain Jamadar and some others He sent whatever amount he was able to collect Still something remained to be paid He allowed Muzaffer Husain to go Muhammed Beg Khan wanted to arrest him but he was not bold enough to do so on conjecture that the Diwan would side with him He reported this matter to His Majesty a day previous to his arrival and waited for a reply His going out of the city and receipt of the royal order for his capture chanced to coincide It was stated in the order that the fellow should be captured and put in severe imprisonment He should be handed over to the Prince who must have come by now for he would bring the captive with himself Muhammed Beg Khan who waited for the royal order, immediately sent a party of men to capture Muzaffer Husain from the vicinity of Vatwa three kurohs from the city with his six companions Syed Muzaffer alias Syed Mastu had come in a wounded condition He died As he was the Faujdar of A zamabad, his case was reported to His Majesty as an event of the Subah A royal order was issued to Muhammed Beg Khan that Naib Subedari of Ahmedabad as well as its Faujdari should be proposed for one of the royal servants inspite of the fact that they have been granted to Mir Nu'man Khan Similarly, proposals should be made with concord of the Bakhshi of the Subah for Faujdari of another mahal where the Faujdars have proved useful or they failed to administer the mahal with increment according to merit and consideration of conditional dismissed persons Abdul Hamid Khan's nephew Muhammed Khan and his sister's son Mir Ghulam Muhammed who were in Maratha captivity as his hostages luckily fled at an opportune time due to a certain affair which from contention ended into a fight among the Marathas They came on foot with great difficulty to Broach. They thus got themselves liberated Prince's march to this Subah continuously reached from Jhabua On knowledge of this and also because season of their return had set in, they marched to vicinity of Surat Port and round about the hedge and attacked places but they failed They hastened to their places after creating nuisance in some paraganas and villages

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is not to such an extent that it may become a rule. He has some soldiers attending upon his person. There is none from amongst the military commanders of the Subah who can be appointed as a general. If Sarfaraz Khan along with another man from the squadron of Khan Firoz Jang or Rao Dalpat is appointed, utmost efforts will be made to chastise the rebels. A royal order was issued that not a single person can be sent from here. When will he reach there? Time passes. Gujarat is rich in soldiers. All of them or most of them are soldiers. There should be a chief. Naib of Gujarat is a Diwan. How can he perform duties of a soldier? There were nearly ten thousand excellent soldiers with Murad Bakhsh. It should be an establishment of four, five thousand along with footmen. The Prince has no desire for forgery and unnecessary expenses. If the appointed Nazim does not come, his son who is at Ajmer should be summoned and that he should come by the same road so that the Marathas may not intrude. His Majesty learnt that the Prince sits to administer justice at one pahar and four ghatas. His Majesty said that haste is better in administration of justice. A mandate was issued in respect of Mulla Ghalib Darogha that supervision of justice is abolished from all provinces as it was the work of unemployed men. It was formerly written that 'Abdul Hamid Khan had brought with him a Dekhani Muhammed Husain with him. Muhammed Beg Khan had arrested him and put him in jail. A royal order was issued that he should be entrusted to the Prince. Abdul Hamid Khan had reported to His Majesty that he had brought him in hope of employing him in His Majesty's service. He hoped that he should be released. His Majesty ordered that this fact should be represented to the Prince so that he may do whatever he deems proper. The Prince released him because his case was true. Muhammed Beg Khan had taken a sum from the Royal Treasury for maintenance of soldiers when he was a Naib. A royal order was issued to him that and besides gold three lacs and eighty thousand rupees were taken from the provincial treasury within two months the amount belonging to the jagir of Ibrahim Khan, Nazim of the Subah with, concord of Mir Nu'man Khan Bakhshi. One lac and fifty thousand rupees were meant for blocking up the passages on the river Mahi and from this amount, one lac of rupees are declared in the name of Syed Ahmed Baqir. No one had gone to the passages of the river. A royal order was issued that the said amount is due from the asylum of nobility and Syedship. His Majesty should be informed in detail as to what they did with the amount. Where was it spent? Nu'man Khan was reprimanded with decrease in mansab. Muhammed Beg Khan proved his innocence at embezzlement at the declaration of the Qazi and the Diwan. The Prince reported for retaining the demotion in mansab of Nu'man Khan. It was not sanctioned. It was ordered that he should come to the Royal Presence with the stirrup of the Prince.

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Muhammed Beg Khan was ordered to proceed to Saurath. The Prince reported to His Majesty that he had appointed Nazar Ali Khan as the Faujdar of Muhammednagar alias Halkad by expelling the local zamindar Chandrasen, confirmation of the Jagir in his name details of maintaining most of the Subah's military commanders with followers in accordance with rules and horses of the share of zat. It was sanctioned. It was ordered that the military commanders should be enjoined to keep ready the followers and horses of the share of zat of the Prince. His Majesty sent rose perfume, one knife, violet and almond oil to the Prince. Under a royal order, a squadron was despatched to Baba Pyarah under the command of Raja Jaysingh on receipt of news of the gathering of Marathas with evil designs. They went back. His Majesty learnt from a report of the Prince that Ibrahim Khan Nazim of the Subah left Ajmer and was about to reach Ahmedabad and that he would start by way of Bakhlana. A royal order was issued that the out going and in coming of the Nazims should take place in one day and in one majlis. A robe with half a sleeve a jewel studded dagger with a head worth two, three thousand rupees and a pearl turban sash were given. His Majesty had learnt from reports of Surat that Ali Naqi's son of the Ruler of Iran has arrived at Surat Port to pay homage. A royal order was issued to the Prince that whenever he comes to pay a visit Multafit Khan with mansabdar along with retainers should be sent out to receive him. He should better be met in privacy in absence of the Diwan. The Prince should give him a costly robe a jewel studded dagger with a head, a turban sash, a costly Arab robe horse with gold accoutrement an artistic saddle a new gold embroidered cloak and two thousand rupees from his account. He should be sent to the Royal Presence with the chief of escort who is coming with the treasure. Guards should be instructed that no theft is committed in his house so long as he stays there. He should live in comfort. A secondary order was issued that there is no need for the Diwan and the Bakhshi to receive him. A kotwal who lives near his residence will suffice. On the day of meeting the Bakhshi and the Master of ceremonies should go to his residence to bring him, nay, the meetings should take place on horse back on the road. There should be a hand-shake. It was stated before that the Firangis have raised mischief on the sea and that they captured ships. As their nefarious activities were not yet curbed a royal order was issued to discontinue trade relations with the Dutch in the empire. A mandate was issued to 'Abdul Hamid Khan that their mercantile relations with Ahmedabad should be stopped. Further, it was in this year that Fakhar ul Islam and Shaikh ul Islam who were in captivity of the Firangis were released because of good behaviour with them. Sea trade became safe. Ships used to sail with ease and peace of mind. As the Marathas every now and then made incursions in this province Muhammed Kamal Khan, son of Mujahid Khan Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur with an idea of rendering valuable service to the empire petitioned



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to His Majesty through the asylum of scholarship Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq that he wants to start with horse and foot from among his servants and zamindars to Ahmedabad on hearing of the inroads of the Marathas towards Ahmedabad and that he has put charge of his Faujdari with a domestic Muhammed Firoz with a squadron. He hopes that the auxiliary squadron under his command should be paid food charges in accordance with Gujarat regulations for as long a period as they serve. It was sanctioned and a royal order was issued in this respect to the Diwan of the Subah. A royal order was issued at this time that Nazims and Faujdars of the empire should be informed that commands and prohibitions are compulsory. Mirza Mir should be kept away from every place. This order was acted upon. The Prince had assigned the Karori mahal to 'Abdul Wase' on account of dishonesty of the Darogha of cloth-market. The appointment of a Karori was against rules. Further, Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah was ordered for removal of a Karori. It was carried out. An order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that letters about services and other matters were received by His Majesty. It is, therefore, decided that the Diwans and Amins of the crown-lands should begin and end their letters in their own handwriting, so that doubts may be removed. Again, a royal order was issued that whatever amount is paid by way of beneficence to the department of m'am and help should be given without fail after recovery to deserving men and they should not be troubled on ground of deduction and confiscation. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah in this respect. As Dwarkadas Rathod was under instigating influence of Ajit Singh and he had raised a disturbance in the district of Jodhpur the Prince despatched a squadron towards Tharad. Dwarkadas, being terrified on hearing this news, went to the refuge of refractory Kolis. His Majesty learnt from a petition of the Prince about horror with which Dwarkadas was seized, repetition of disturbance on his part, appointment of a force to get his head or to slay him, a bond of Safdar Khan Babi in respect of his destruction, a proposal of Faujdari of Pattan for him with an addition to his conditional mansab. His proposals were sanctioned. A petition was submitted for the grant of Thanadari of Amhyara to Ahmed Baqir along with Modasa as additional, conditional jagir. A royal order was issued that Modasa was first proposed for Chandrasen Jhala. There are many other servants. Conditional jagir of some other place should be proposed. The Prince learnt from reports of self-interested persons that Abdul Hamid Khan conveys secret news to Dwarkadas Rathod's wakil on account of close friendship with him. The Prince petitioned this matter to His Majesty. He received a reply that he is a hanz (one who remembers the Holy Quran by heart), a haji, Muslim and son of a Muslim. What possibility is there that he should be a friend of an unbeliever. "Holy is God! this is a serious accusation." A royal order was issued to the Prince that the Maratha disturbance is due to break-fast eating on the side of

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Surat and Gujarat The Prince should summon Ibrahim Khan to Surat and march to that side and come to the Royal Presence smiting on the way. A proposal of mansab for the son of Shaikh Ali Raza Sirhindi was not sanctioned. During these days, one lac of rupees were granted as in'am to the Prince from the treasury of Ahmedabad

CHAPTER 137

SUBEDARI OF IBRAHIM KHAN DIWANI OF ABDUL HAMID KHAN DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY KHULD MAKAN (AURANGZEB)

Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah had nominated Abdul Hamid Khan Diwan of the Subah as his Naib due to uncongeniality of climate and hastened to His Majesty. He, thus, resigned the Subedari. A Royal order was, therefore, issued in respect of appointment of Ibrahim Khan, who held the office of Nizamat in Kashmir, to the Subedari of Ahmedabad



CHAPTER 138

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER IN RESPECT OF SUBEDARI OF AHMEDABAD

Asylum of amirship and rulership, seat of vast favours, best among loyal servants with marks of bravery, select one among disciples with signs of valour, Ibrahim Khan, may he remain hopeful of royal favour, should know that dear beloved son is equivalent to life, Muhammed A'zam Shah of exalted pedigree and lofty lineage has submitted resignation of the Subedari of Ahmedabad due to uncongenial climate of the place. Worth, ability, beauty of action and sagacity of the best among fortunate disciples were centred in the royal mind. We have ordered a grant of one thousand zat, one thousand sawar and an in'am of forty lacs of dams out of great beneficence, obligation and excessive appreciation of administrative organization of the Subah so that with additional and original, the mansab of the asylum of amirship will be of six thousand zat, five thousand Sawar do-aspah which comes to seven thousand Sawar and forty lacs of dams as in'am are granted to him. He should nominate a Naib till the arrival of Kashmir's Nazim and start immediately to take charge of the Subah of Ahmedabad, Gujarat. Fortunate Princes, and amirs of lofty worth had excellently defended it against rebels by chastising them and helped ryots and common creatures of God, Muhammed Amin Khan made marvellous administrative arrangement by his perfect qualities, Amir-ul Umra Shaysta Khan also made utmost efforts in this respect, he should maintain a strong army and make defence preparations looking to his best mansab and a big in'am. His work also will not in any way be inferior to theirs. His efficiency in civil and military administration will be a cause of advancement of mansab and increment in ranks of that asylum of amirship. God the Great willing. After his arrival at Ahmedabad, he will be granted fertile jagirs and appreciable increment. Favours of conquest are daily increasing for that asylum of amirship. When the above farman reached Ibrahim Khan, he received it with due decorum. He then submitted a petition to His Majesty that his administration of Ahmedabad will in no way be inferior to those of his predecessors. Under a royal order, rank of Muhammed Amin Khan and his own were surveyed by His Majesty. He was granted a mansab with an addition of one thousand sawar and eighty lacs of dams as in'am and one lac of rupees by way of help from the treasury of Lahore. As his son Zabardast Khan had resigned on an excuse of illness the Subedari of Ajmer and Faujdari of Jodhpur, a royal order was issued to Ibrahim Khan that he should conciliate him to accept it. Zabardast Khan accepted them after conciliation. He reached his place before the arrival of Ibrahim Khan. Ibrahim Khan started by continuous marches for Ahmedabad and paid homage to the Prince

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on Sunday 16th holy Ziq'ad of the one thousand, one hundred and eighteen According to a royal order previously stated he received a robe of half sleeves, and a jewel studded dagger, and attended to his duties The Prince marched to the Royal Presence on Saturday, 7th holy Zilhajj Ibrahim Khan engaged himself in promotion of affairs, organization of the Subah, appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars attached to Nizamat He appointed Ali Quli, son of Kazim Beg as Naib Faujdar of Pattan and his second brother Ma'sum Quli as Faujdar of Viramgam They went to those places and occupied themselves with bandobast and obtaining security for absence of rebellion from the Kolis Ali Quli died at Samu in Pattan while riding Ma'sum happened to go to Chhanar of Patta Chanwal when some of his companions were slain and he was wounded His riding horse proved useful to him He mounted it with difficulty Raja Jit Singh who for some time had raised disturbance, fought with Kunwar Muhkim Singh, a royal servant and defeated him He thus acquired in a way power and authority He then went to Jodhpur He turned out Ja far Quli son of Kazim Beg, the Naib Faujdar and occupied it Rumours about His Majesty's death spread after prayers on Id ud Duha Next day, the rumour proved to be true

Poem

*If the sky were to divulge its secrets
It will narrate its own beginning and end
Its body is stained with blood of the brave
Its lap is full of crown wearers
Its skirt is full of wise men
Its collar and garment are full of rose faced beauties*

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CHAPTER 139

ARRIVAL OF BALAJI VISHWANATH THE MARATHA WITH A LARGE ARMY HIS ATTACK ON SEVERAL PARAGANAS HIS RETURN AFTER COLLECTION OF TWO LACS AND TEN THOUSAND RUPEES AS KHANDANI FROM THE CITY OF AHMEDABAD

Royal forces like waves of the sea were always appointed to pursue and smite the Marathas yet they appeared from every side and carried pillage and rapine. Now that the death of His Majesty took place after a rule of about fifty years, great commotion and disturbance spread in the empire.

Couplet

*Departed he who stabilized the house of kingdom
Departed he who kept affairs of the world at rest*

It was specially in the Subah that the rebellious Kolis and Rajputs, who had crept, like jackals, in corners and waste lands due to establishment of order by Nazims, Faujdars and organization of thanas, raised their heads in revolt and rebellion. Besides, the Dekhanis, in case of Abdul Hamid Khan, had tasted break-fast of this province. Balaji Vishwanath came to this side by way of Jhabua with same passion in head and same designs in mind. With pillage on all sides, he came to Godhra. Naib Muhammed Murad Khan Bakhshi who combined in himself the posts of Faujdar and Bakhshi kept himself aside as he had no strength to oppose him in him. In this manner, many Faujdars avoided opposing him. The Maratha reached the town of Mundah which he plundered and set fire. This wild news was received through the Amil of Muhammadabad paragana who was there on behalf of Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah on Monday, 6th Safar of 1119, one thousand, one hundred and nineteen to the effect that the Dekhani had come to this side from Nadiad. This news was successively and continuously confirmed as true. Diwan of the Subah and Bakhshi both together hastened to Ibrahim Khan to break this news. It was also made clear that Balaji Vishwanath has a design to take a large sum of money by way of safety-money which is technically known as Khandani. Ibrahim Khan, after knowledge of this fact, appointed Mir Abdul Hadi Bakhshi and Diwan Pandimal (Parimal) to get ready soldiers for defence. He directed energy to strengthen turrets and citadels. During these days, soldiers lived in the city and on the other bank of Sabarmati, nearly eight thousand sawar and three thousand footmen and nearly four thousand Kolis and Rajputs of neighbouring places as summoned for help within three days. The city judge Abdul Hadi, Pandimal Diwan of the Nazim, Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah,

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Muhammed Beg Khan, Nazar Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, mansabdars, notable men, brave men of Gujarat, Faujdars with arsenal encamped on the Hankariya Tank and made trenches. In spite of such a great assemblage, residents of suburbs and round about villages became uneasy and set out, in all anxiety, with their wives, children, bags and baggages to the fort. Such a crowd gathered at the gates that father got separated from son and mother from daughter. Many of them lost their goods by falling upon one another. The market of porters, labourers and cartmen became so brisk that they earned week's wages in one day. In short, military commanders were anxious for their families and houses on account of cowardice of soldiers whose eyes had seen terror in previous wars. The Maratha got emboldened on learning this fact, he advanced, with plunder and pillage on the way, to Mahmudabad Gate, a distance one kuroh from the city. Pleasant paced Sawars continued looting as far as Vatwa three kurohs from the city. Abdul Hadi and Pandimal Diwan came to Ibrahim Khan and told him about the condition of soldiers who could oppose the Dekhans. He mounted horse and came to the camp of the army. He saw them with a glance of thought and found no daring and boldness in them. He saw consternation and confusion of residents of suburbs and villages with his own eyes. Again, death of His Majesty was noised to distant and near places and yet the emperor was not yet decided. At the advice of far-seeing well wishers, Muzaffer Husain who formerly chose separation from the Marathas, and who accompanied Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan but was captured by Muhammed Beg Khan as stated above, was sent with mansabdar Naraindas to conclude peace with Balaji Vishwanath. It was decided after exchange of views that he must return from that very place after taking a Khandani of two lacs and ten thousand rupees. This amount was paid to him from the Public Treasury at the instruction of the Nazim and with signature of Diwan of the Subah. They returned. The Nazim's army entered the city on 22nd of the above month. Ryots and common people of the city and Suburbs were satisfied.

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CHAPTER 140

SULTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY KHULD MANZIL
ABUN NASR MUHAMMED MU'AZZAM SHAH
ALAM BAHADUR SHAH, BADSHAH - I - GHAZI.
SUBEDARI OF IBRAHIM KHAN. DEPARTURE
OF NAZIM TO HIS MAJESTY. APPOINTMENT OF
MUHAMMED BEG KHAN AS NAIB.

The inevitable death of His Majesty Khuld Makan took place at Ahmed-nagar on 27th of the month of holy Ziq'ad of the year one thousand, one hundred and nineteen. Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah then was permitted to go to the Subah of Malwa from the Royal Presence. He had gone to a stage of two, three stages when he heard death of His Majesty and returned at top speed. He engaged in mourning and solaced those who were remained behind. He sat on the throne of sovereignty on the day of Id-uz-zuha and marched to the capital. Prince Muhammed Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah was occupied with administration of the Subah of Kabul. He marched towards Shahjahanabad after receipt of sad news and ascended the throne for the first time at Lahore and then advanced further. Both the armies of these two princes arrived at the plain of Jaju adjacent to the capital of Akberabad. A kingly battle was fought. Muhammed A'zam Shah, through heavenly decrees died. His Majesty Khuld Manzil Abun Nasr Qutbuddin Muhammed Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah Padshah-i-Ghazi ascended the throne of khilafat and world-government. The second ascension to the throne took place at Bagh-i-Dirah situated near the above capital on 18th Rabi 'I of the year one thousand, one hundred and nineteen. The Khutba and the Sikka were also decided. The glorious mansab of Vikalat was granted to 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan while the office of Vizarat was offered to Jumdat-ul-Mulk Mun'em Khan Khan-i-Khanan along with the post of Commander-in-Chief. Farmans and manashir (mandates) were despatched to Nazims and Diwans of the empire.



CHAPTER 141

A COPY OF FARMAN TO IBRAHIM KHAN

Support of the Khalifat and rulership, reliance of sovereignty and conquest, comprising great and glorious beneficences of the shadow of God, best among the officers of the Khalifa of Compassionate God cream of the favourites of the threshold of next of King, Ibrahim Khan being supported and rejoiced with kingly favours should know that the blow of amber-lile breeze pouring pearls of victory and triumph has spread its fragrance in the world and among its people with enemy-punishing undeclinable fortune. It is written with explanation that the unfortunate, ruinous enemy professed equality with the Divine Khalifah at the instigation of some impudent fellows. He got killed with his sons and chiefs as a result of pride and vanity. Those who followed him and attached themselves with him are made captives and put in eternal prison. It is necessary that the best fortunate disciple should rejoice at this great victory which has displayed itself on the field of manifestation from behind the invisible curtain to pious religious fighters and intrepid strivers for religion. This good news should be conveyed to the ears of high and low, small and great residents of that region and perform prostrations out of thanks to God. Subedari of Ahmedabad as before is retained with the asylum of ministership out of endless beneficence and generosity. It is necessary that you should make utmost efforts in giving comforts to ryots, common folk, poor creatures of God, collect government revenue, uproot robbers and perform duties as a subedar and consider good deeds as fruitful of your results. It was written on 1st Rabi 'II of the first year of royal ascension to the throne. Ibrahim Khan, after arrival of the royal farman, devoted himself to dues of reception and performance of decorum in accordance with rules and entered the fort citadel. As the Kolis had risen in revolt and rebellion in this chaos and confusion, Ibrahim Khan came out for establishment of order in the paragana of Kadi and returned after taking security for absence of disturbance. As he wanted to give up service and lead a retired life, he nominated Muhammed Beg Khan as his deputy till the arrival of another Nazim. He proceeded towards the capital on 9th Rajab of the above year. Muhammed Beg Khan actively engaged himself in organizing administrative work and in defence of the city. His appointment as a Deputy was reported to His Majesty. A royal order was issued to him as well as to Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah to continue in office till appointment of the Nazim and to give currency to the khutba and the coinage in the name of His Majesty.



CHAPTER 142

COINS OF SHAH'ALAM BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH-I-GHAZI

It was reported to His Majesty by news writers that Muhammed Beg Khan, Naib Nazim heard news about the spread of Marathas between Surat and Ahmedabad and he said to the Diwan of the Subah, that it was necessary to enrol soldiers and maintain an arsenal by the government. The Diwan replied that not a single dam can be spent from the treasury without an order from His Majesty. This matter should be reported to His Majesty. He replied that his life and property were meant for sacrifice in performance of royal duties. But the unbelievers would come to borders of this side till a reply from His Majesty was received. The matter was urgent and time was passing. A royal order bearing the seal of Jumdat ul Mulk Madar ul maham Khan i-Khanan was received by the Diwan of Subah to the effect that the salary of the soldiers' establishment should be paid according to rules with concord of the Bakhshi. Again a royal order was received in connection with confiscation of property and recovery of money from Muhammed Beg Khan etc for the amount due in respect of Muhammed A'zam Shah. As vikalat was entrusted to Umdat-ul Mulk Asad Khan, a mandate was received for sanction of permits to jagirdars, servants, imams, stipend receivers in cash and certificates with his seal. It was ordered that the Diwanis of Subahs should continue to pay, as before, means of subsistence to deserving men of the empire for their life time on valid certificates. They should not be troubled by raising objections. Those who are on the King's establishment, should be retained where they are. It was reported to His Majesty through a petition of Amanat Khan, port-officer of Surat and Khanbhayat that I'timad Khan, dismissed Port-officer of Khanbhayat because he had embezzled one thousand, three hundred and forty-five rupees from the revenue of Ghogha Port. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that the amount should be recovered from him and deposited in the treasury. Receipt thereof should be sent to His Majesty.



CHAPTER 143

SUBEDARI OF GHAZIUDDIN KHAN BAHADUR FIROZ JUNG DI- WANI OF KHWAJA ABDUL HAMID KHAN AND SHARIAT KHAN

On resignation of Ibrahim Khan, His Majesty granted the Subedari of Gujarat to Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang Commander-in-Chief who held the mansab of seven thousand zat, seven thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah without condition and was the Subedar of Burhanpur. He was honoured with the issue of a farman, grant of a robe and a special horse. He was ordered to march immediately and to establish order and organize administrative work. As ordered, he marched continuously and reached border of the Subah. Muhammed Beg Khan, Diwan Abdul Hamid Khan, Bakhshi and Chronicler Meher Ali Khan, and military royal mansabdars of the Subah received him. He entered the city on Monday, 9th Rajab of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty and devoted himself energetically to appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars under the Nizamat. He appointed Muhammed Beg Khan as Naib Faujdar of Pattan, conditional mahal of the Subah. It was in this year that Syed 'Aqil Khan, the accountant of mahals of jagir of the Prince Muhammed Jahandar Shah in the Subah of Ahmedabad was appointed as thanadar of Pethapur in place of his brother Mir Abdul Wahab who lost his life in a Maratha encounter. Father of the author, Muhammed Ali, on the occasion of writing chronicles of mahals, met His Majesty when he marched to the Dekhan against Muhammed Kam Bakhsh and accompanied him with his permission. The author came to this region at the age of eight. Whatever he saw with his own eyes in those days, he remembered. He writes whatever he heard from talks of reliable persons. Khan Firoz Jung appointed 'Iwaz Khan for establishment of order and collection of peshkash from zamindars. A royal order was issued to all the provinces that the word wasi (guardian, tutor) should be added to the name of the fourth Khalifa (Ali) in Khutbas on Fridays and the Ids. A party of Turanis, companions of Khan Firoz Jung attended the Friday prayer for the first time when the priest recited the Khutba, they forbade him on threat to recite the above word in future. As a royal order was issued, he recited the same word next Friday considering the Mughals as ignorant fellows. As soon as this word was heard by one of the fearless fellows, he pulled the priest by leg from the pulpit and stabbed him to death by a knife. Others dragged him and threw him on the road of bazar outside the masjid. He remained there till evening. He was buried after permission of the Nazim. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that whatever amount of money was collected in the treasury, should be brought to Ujjain for His Majesty on his way to Hyderabad. In accordance with the royal order, 'Abdul Hamid Khan conveyed the treasure to His Majesty. He



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met with royal approbation and was permitted to return Mu'tamid Khan, manager of Prince Jahan Shah Bahadur's establishment, was appointed Qildar of Champaner. He put it in charge of Syed 'Aqil Khan. Mir Abul Baqa was appointed a Kotwal and Karori of Cloth-market which was discontinued by His Late Majesty. Mir Abul Qasim, on the transfer of Shaikh Najmuddin, was appointed Amin of branding enrolment. Muhammed Kazim, son of Muhammed Hatim Beg was appointed Darogha of turban-weaving workshop. Khwaja 'Iwaz, on the transfer of Abdul Wase', was posted to city public treasury as Daroghah. Ali Akbar Bakhshi and Chronicler and Shaikh Nurullah were appointed daroghas of "Baitul-Mal" and on transfer of Sharfuddin were appointed also to the Amirship of turban-weaving factory by His Majesty. Reduction in dam had taken place in some paraganas during the regime of His Late Majesty (Aurangzeb). It was under a royal order. It was withdrawn and was paid in salary. At some places, dam in increased weight was current. Firoz Jung proposed I'timad Khan, on the transfer of Amanat Khan, for the Port-officers of Khanbhayat and also thanadari of Kajnah on the transfer of Syed Ali Khan. He ordered him to take charge of his new posts. Ibrahim-Khan had proposed two hundred zat and thirty Sawar for Muhammed Quli, one hundred zat for Ibrahim Quli and Qasim Quli-sons of Kazim Beg. They were now sanctioned. It was reported to His Majesty that news-writer and chronicler of Ahmedabad city want to send their agents to Cloth-market. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of Subah that it was decided during the regime of His Late Majesty that the news-writer and chronicler should not allow their agents to meddle with financial matters. A royal order was also issued that the Alamgiri black dam should be broken, and it should be coined in weight of twenty-one mashas as it was in the regime of Shahjahan. Black coin of that weight was current for a long time. After that, it was coined in the Alamgiri weight. Articles of turban-making factory of the government as well as those of the work-shops of the Prince which were despatched, were brought back due to news of Maratha disturbances. When His Majesty marched to Hindustan from the Dekhan after gaining victory over Muhammed Kam-Bakhsh, A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that whatever money is accumulated in the treasury should be brought with him as before to the Royal Presence who will meet him in the vicinity of Malwa Subah. Again an order was issued on a report received by His Majesty that a copy of the Holy Quran written by His Holiness Imam Ali, son of Musa ar-Riza, may benediction and praise of God be on him, is in the library of the mausoleum of Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified, it should be taken from the sajjadah-nashin and brought to His Majesty for blessings from the hand-writing of His Holiness. 'Abdul Hamid Khan, therefore, borrowed that copy as a loan from the Sajjadah-nashin and sent it along with the

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treasure When the bearers of treasure reached Sanvi, Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi who was nominated as Faujdar by Syed 'Aqil Khan, escorted them to the royal army. He met His Majesty at Dhar in Malwa and was honoured with homage. He handed over the Holy Book to His Majesty. Afterwards, he petitioned that the Holy Qur'an was brought as a loan from the Sajjadah nashin to His Majesty. His Majesty replied that his object was to see it. He further remarked that, that valuable gift was worthy of that place. He was ordered to submit a receipt of it from the sajjadah nashin. During these days, Raja Ajit Singh had occupied Jodhpur due to misrule and death of Aurangzeb and he had raised his head in revolt and rebellion. Again, it was His Majesty's wish to pay a visit to the shrine of His Holiness Khwaja Munuddin Chishti, may his grave be sanctified, he marched to that side. He issued an order to Khan Firoz Jung that he should come there with an arrayed army and an arsenal from Ahmedabad to pay homage. It was decided to spend one lac and twenty five thousand rupees monthly for an establishment of three thousand Sawar and five thousand pyadah. A sawar was to be paid thirty five rupees and a pyadah four rupees. It was besides a party of companions whom he had to enrol. Eleven lacs of rupees were taken as salary for eight months and twenty four days in instalments on a permit of pay with the seal of Abdul Hamid Khan and Shari'at Khan, Diwans of the Subah from the Public Treasury. The Diwan was ordered to send five cannons, fifty small cannons one hundred and fifty camel swivels, three thousand arrows, one thousand maunds of lead, one thousand maunds of gun powder, one hundred maunds of fireworks from the government arsenal, two hundred diggers, one hundred hatchet men and one hundred water carriers with the army of Khan Firoz Jung. In the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty one 'Abdul Hamid Khan was with His Majesty when he received royal favours and was honoured with the post of the Chief Qazi. He was actively engaged in the surrup of His Majesty. Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi who had accompanied him was permitted to depart. His brother Shari'at Khan was appointed an independent Diwan of the Subah. Khan Firoz Jung fell ill for a few days. When he recovered, he arranged a feast, gave meals to the syeds, shaihs (holy men) saints, mansabdars, nobles and citizens. There was a festival for three nights on the bank of Sabarmati with illuminations and fireworks. Meher 'Ali Khan, Bakhshi and Chronicler wrote certain letters to His Majesty which were found to be of lack in etiquette. He was left waiting for an hour or two in the chabutra of Kotwali. He showed aversion towards Muhammed Muhsin, news—writer and made him run, after prayers a few paces before people in the compound of Jame' Masjid. He took one lac of rupees from Ikramuddin and the same amount from Kandas Peshkar of Diwani with force. He then came out to go to Marwar and Rajputana, halted at Achir in the paraganah of Haveli at a distance of three kurohs on the bank of Sabarmati and arranged



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a second festival and illuminations. Muhammed Riza had newly arrived from Iran; his arrival was reported to His Majesty. A royal order was issued to Shari'at Khan that he should be paid two thousand rupees from the Public Treasury for his expenses. A parwanah was formerly issued to the former Diwan Abdul Hamid Khan in respect of a grant of one lac and twenty-five thousand rupees as monthly expenses of establishment of new recruits for the campaign of Rajputana to Khan Firoz Jung. Now the Diwani was in charge of Shari'at Khan. A royal order was issued to him that the above amount should be paid in accordance with the previous sanad from the date that Khan Firoz Jung came out of Ahmedabad and started enrolment of new recruits as registered by the Bakhshi. Muhammed Abdullah, on the transfer of Muhammed Muhsin, was appointed as a news-writer. Syed Ahsanullah Khan was appointed as Port-officer of Khanbhayat. Khan Firoz Jung marched from environs of the city, collected peshkash from zamindars of Sabarmati district and reached Vilasana in the paragana of Idar. He stayed here for some months. In the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-two, a royal order was issued to the Diwan that the ashrafi and the rupee coins should be coined one tola in weight. Several coins of this weight were struck. Further, they were discontinued. An order then was issued to strike coins as in old times. Jumdat-ul-Mulk, Madar-ul-maham Khan-i-Khanan Wazir-ul-Mumalik bought land adjacent to Lal Darwaza by the side of Drum-place of Bhadra Fort for building an inn, a madrasah and a masjid. He had started building them. A piece of land belonging to the prison of Kotwali Chabutra was situated there. He bought it from the government. An order was issued bearing the seal of 'Inayatullah Khan Mir-i-Saman in this respect to the Diwan Shariat Khan that the price of land has been recovered from the salary of Khan-i-Khanan which should be recorded. That piece of land should be included in the buildings. It was being built with all diligence. As it was not ordained to be completed, half of it remained incomplete on account of death of the Khan-i-Khanan. An order was received by the Diwan to send four gold-embroidered velvet pavilions with stars artistically woven on them for covering over the royal throne and three garments for a pavilion of Diwan-i-Khas with an estimate of sixty-five thousand rupees for them. A courier reported to His Majesty that he was enjoined by His Majesty to convey reports of Rajputs and the Marathas. Khan Firoz Jung said that fifty spies on a salary of Rupees seven per head were employed and that they continually bring news from places of Rajputana and the Marathas. He reported to His Majesty whatever information they gave to Khan Firoz Khan. They complained for not getting the salary. The Diwan was, therefore, ordered that they should be paid their salaries after marking their attendance till completion of war. The Diwan received an order for carrying out repairs to gardens of Bagh-i-Shahi, Kan-kariya Garden, buildings built by Muhammed A'zam Shah situated in Rustam

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Bagh and Gulab Bagh at an estimate of twenty-three thousand, four hundred and eighty rupees. Again a royal order was issued that Mirza Muhammed Hashim, who has newly arrived at Ahmedabad from Iran that Khan Firoz Jung should personally treat him and send him to the Royal Presence. The Diwan was issued a mandate that if in pursuance of the order, he is not sent with equipment, he should be given ten thousand rupees from the government for his expenses. 'Iwaz Baqi Beg, mace-bearer who had gone for recovery of ten thousand rupees from Muhammed Beg Khan who had taken that amount from Junagadh treasury, only one thousand rupees out of that sum have been deposited. Now through a report of the mace-bearer, it is learnt that he puts off payment of the remaining amount. The Diwan was, therefore, ordered that the amount should be recovered from him without delay and negligence and deposited in the treasury. It was in this year that magistracy of the city, on the transfer of Abul Farah Khan, was assigned to Qazi Abul Khair while the post of news reporter was given, on the transfer of Muhammed Abdullah, to Akram Khan, who was honoured with a title. His Majesty learnt through a report of a courier from Khanbhayat Port that Syed Ahsanullah Khan, the Port Officer constructed a big diwankhana attached to a palace in the city. He bought sag timber worth seven thousand rupees for four thousand rupees from timber merchants. He removed Shahtir wood from the residence of administrator situated near the port and belonging to government, to Ahmedabad. He took out thirty-six marble slabs and a hundred slabs of another variety of stone from the great masjid outside the Mekkan Gate and wants to send them to Ahmedabad. He did not take them on account of prevention of Shaikh Abdul Wahhab. The marble slabs are guarded. A royal order was, therefore, issued that the mace-bearer should bring him to the Royal Presence and the Diwan was ordered to confiscate his house.

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CHAPTER 146

A CIVIL WAR WITH MUHAMMED BEG KHAN

Muhammed Beg Khan was an old, hereditary domestic of the government and a soldierly minded person. He deserved regard and good behaviour worthy of his valour and old service. On the first day, he hastened for reception and met him. He then did not go to see Shahamat Khan out of pride. This fact resulted in bitterness between the two. After the death of Khan Firoz Jung, defence of the city and transference of mahals to Shahamat were borne with patience by him. He gave him no straight reply for accounts and the amount that Khan Firoze Jung had to pay. This fact became the cause of increased displeasure and intensified bitterness. Shahamat Khan wanted to insult him and forcibly recover the Khan's dues from him. He got, one day his sawari and squadron ready on an excuse of hunting and sent some persons unawares to Muhammed Beg Khan's house to demand the amount from him. In case of a quarrel, his ready squadron will make its appearance on the scene. They arrived at his house after one watch of the day had passed. They stood in front of his house and intended to enter the drawing room. By chance, he had gone inside the house before arrival of the messengers. Some of his footmen and attendants who were there knew about bitter relations existing between them. They prevented them from entering the house on the ground that they would inform them that the Khan was inside the house. They did not want to wait (because of prevention) and wanted to force their way inside the house. Argumentation took place between them. Two three persons of both sides got wounded. They pushed back the messengers and closed the doors. Muhammed Beg Khan came out of the house hearing the uproar and acquainted himself as to what had happened. He sat ready for a fight along with his brothers, sons and servants. Shahamat Khan, on getting intelligence of the occurrence, arrived with a squadron, arsenal, wainscot battery which were kept ready for the purpose along with elephants. A war took place in which cannons, guns and arrows were used. This news spread in lanes, streets inside and outside the city. Jamadars and sepoy's resided within the fort and on the other side of Sabarmati and therefore, the locality presented an appearance of a city. Nearly six, seven thousand Afghan horsemen and footmen resided there. They were from ancient times enrolled in the service of Muhammed Beg Khan. On getting a report of this event, they brought themselves on the scene from every corner and side. They, in this manner, came from the other bank of Sabarmati through a gate overlooking the river and took part in the war. Shahamat Khan's squadron made a continuous attack but bullets of guns and muskets proved ineffective as they reached back portion of the terrace and walls of the house. Many persons were killed and wounded. Some



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of the neighbouring houses were burnt and ruined. At close of the day, Bakhshi Meher Ali Khan and Safdar Khan Babi intervened, desisted both of them from warfare and extinguished the fire of war with water of prudent words. This kind of civil war had not taken place in old days in the city. It was also an innovation. In short, Muhammed Beg Khan did not deem it, after a few days, to stay here. He went to Kharkhol. The Chief Qazi 'Abdul Hamid Khan resigned his post and obtained permission from His Majesty to go to Ahmedabad. It was not sanctioned. He set fire to his pavilion, wore garments of a faqir and sat in a corner of a masjid. When this matter was reported to His Majesty, he issued an order out of beneficence and old service that his younger brother Shari'at Khan who held the post of Ahmedabad's Diwan should be called and appointed his Naib till his return within six months. Mutsharre' Khan, son of Shari'at Khan should be appointed a Naib for management of Diwani matters. Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan was satisfied with this arrangement and came to Ahmedabad. Shari'at Khan actively devoted himself to his duty as His Majesty's Qazi. Shahamat Khan went towards Kadi and Vijapur for establishment of order and collection of peshkash from zamindars and Kohis of Sabarmati District. He attacked some villages forcibly for demand of peshkash and took security for absence of revolt. A report was received at this time about the Maratha approach at the passage of Baba Piyarah. He returned to Ahmedabad and posted arsenal and military commanders outside the city and arrived at Baroda by continuous marches with Syed Ahmed Gilani, Faujdar of Saurath. There he left the army and sent provisions to Broach, arrayed the army and led an expedition. The Marathas, on getting a report of the army's approach crossed the passage of Baba Piyarah and went to the other side. Next morning when Shahamat Khan marched, the Dekhanis proceeded further. Shahamat Khan encamped at their alighting place and then came to Ankleshwar. The day on which the Muslim army marched, a scuffle took place on the way at Chandawal when they received a reasonable chastisement and retreated. Shahamat went as far as Surat Port. He stayed there for some days and returned to Ahmedabad after departure of the Marathas.

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CHAPTER 147

SALTANAT OF ABUL FATH MUI'ZUDDIN JAHANDAR SHAH, SON OF KHULD MANZIL SHAH ALAM BAHADUR SHAH PADSHAH SUBEDARI OF ASAFUD DAWLAH ASAD KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF MUHAMMED BEG KHAN DIWANI OF SHARI'AT KHAN WITH MUTSHARRE' KHAN AS DEPUTY

His Majesty Shah Alam died at Lahore on 19th Muharram of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-four. A civil war took place among the Princes. Abul Fath Mu'izzuddin Jahandar Shah became the emperor.

A couplet

*When one goes, another takes his place
The world is not left without a lord*

His Majesty marched to the Capital of Shahjahanabad and ascended the throne. He continued Umdatul Mulk Asafud Dawlah Asad Khan as Wakil and Jumlat-ul Mulk Madar ul maham Zulfiqar Khan was made the Vazir. The coin was struck as under.

A couplet

*Struck coins in the world like the sun and the moon
Abul Fath Ghazi Jahandar Shah*

From the days of Aurangzeb, Muhammed Beg Khan had old relation with Asafud Dawlah. He had informed Umdatul Mulk about the event which happened with him his departure to Kharkhol and passing idle days. The Subah was not put in charge of any one after the death of Khan Firoz Jung. His Majesty, therefore, granted it to Asafud Dawlah. He proposed Muhammed Beg Khan as his Deputy to His Majesty. He was honoured with an increment in the mansab which with original and additional came to three thousand zat and two thousand sawar. He was granted a banner, as well as a drum. Umdat-ul-Mulk wrote to him to return from whatever place he might be to Ahmedabad. He spent nights and days in hope of such a day. After arrival of the mandate and favours, he went in full speed to that side and reached Ahmedabad on 14th Jamadi I of the above year. Shahamat Khan was appointed as Subedar of Malwa. He proceeded to that side. Muhammed Beg Khan actively devoted himself to management of administrative affairs and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars. He continued as a Naib for three months. He was then appointed, on the transfer of Dilawar Khan, as Port officer of Surat.



CHAPTER 148

SUBEDARI OF ASAFUD DAWLAH ASAD KHAN. DEPUTYSHIP OF SARBULAND KHAN BAHADUR. DIWANI OF SHARI'AT KHAN WITH 'MUTSHARRE' KHAN AS NAIB

Sarbuland Khan, who held the mansab of six thousand Sawar was appointed as Deputy to 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Asafud Dawlah by His Majesty. He wrote to Iltifat Khan, an auxiliary of the Subah for taking his charge till his arrival. He took charge on 5th Sha'ban. Muhammed Beg Khan went to Surat. Sarbuland Khan, being honoured with a gorgeous robe, started for Ahmedabad. He arrived at Sagwara adjacent to border of the Subah by continuous marches, attacked it, proceeded further and entered the city on Thursday of Shawwal. He attended to his administrative duties. He despatched 'Abdur Rahman and 'Abdur Rahim the Jamadars who had accompanied him for establishment of order, punishment and chastisement of rebels and collection of peshkash with an arrayed army and equipped arsenal. They hastened to Patta Chanwal, the resort of rebellious Kolis, attacked their places, and began to kill and capture them. They established order in the best manner possible. Sarbuland Khan took two lacs, forty thousand, four hundred and fifty-six rupees as salary for soldiers from the royal treasury from the Diwan for chastisement of the Marathas by blocking up passes and fords and arsenal with a document of testimony bearing the seal of the Chief Qazi Khwaja 'Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan Shari'at Khan, Bakhshi and Chronicler Meher 'Ali Khan, Sadr Akaramuddin Khan with the title Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan, Nasiruddin Ahmed news-reporter and Qazi Azhar Khan, who was appointed the city-Qazi on the transfer of Abul Khair. It was in this year that Rahmatulla Khan, who during the regime of Aurangzeb was Darogha of the High Court, Amin of seven Chawkis with station and position, gave up mansab and service after death of the emperor. He had taken to a retired life and had gone for a visit to the House of God, may God increase its sanctity and piety. He was an intimate friend of Sarbuland Khan. He entered the city in his company. His Majesty appointed Meher 'Ali Khan as Amin for collection of jizya. Muhammed Beg Khan, Port-officer of Surat died this year. On hearing news of his death, Sarbuland Khan sent Syed Salabat Khan, his brother-in-law for defence of Surat. Dead body of Muhammed Beg Khan was brought by his relations and buried in a garden outside the Shahpur Gate. It was at this time that news of a civil war and enthronement of Muhammed Farrukh Siyar was received. Sarbuland Khan nominated Syed 'Aqil Khan as Naib due to exigency of time and proceeded to the capital on Monday, 17th Safar of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-five.



CHAPTER 149

DEPUTYSHIP OF SYED 'AQIL KHAN

When Sarbuland Khan left for the capital, Syed 'Aqil Khan entered the Bhadra Fort and actively devoted himself to administrative work. Father of the author who was in the royal revenue office which was entrusted to him by Syed 'Aqil Khan in the paragana of Dabhoi, came as summoned. He entrusted management of affairs to him, and now also assigned this duty to him. Ma'sum Quli was appointed Faujdar of conditional Pattan mahal. His brother Riza Quli was posted to Virangam as Faujdar. Post of a patrolling Faujdar was given to Muhammed Yahya Babi, nephew of Safdar Khan Babi, who was his confidential friend from the beginning of his entry into Ahmedabad. He assigned the post of a Karori of octroi duties and Cloth market to Muhammed Ja far, uncle of the author. Some roughs used to harass people. Syed 'Aqil Khan appointed Ilahyar Khan, the Naib Kotwal to capture and kill them. He always waited for an opportunity. One day, by chance, he met them on the market road at the Gate of Arms dealer. He intended to capture them. They fled and hid themselves in the house of Mustafid Khan situated on the public road. Ilahyar came there. As there was no way of escape, they started to fight and were slain.

A couplet

*When there is no escape in an hour of necessity
A man gets hold of sharp sword*

Syed 'Aqil Khan had sent Safdar Khan Babi with a detachment to establish order and collect peshkash. He came to Mahmudabad. He received news about the appointment of Shahamat Khan as a Subedar. Father of the author took him away with his detachment and went against Duda Rana, zamindar of Barsara in Chorasi of Khanbhayat. He took thirty thousand rupees from him as well as his daughter in marriage for Syed Aqil Khan. He defrayed that amount as salary to soldiers. He then returned.



CHAPTER 150

**SALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY ABUL MUZAFFER MU'INUDDIN
MUHAMMED FARRUKHSIYAR, SON OF MUHAMMED
A'ZUMUDIN, SON OF HIS LATE MAJESTY SHAH 'ALAM
BADSHAH. SUBEDARI OF SHAHAMAT KHAN. DIWANI OF
SHARI'AT KHAN WITH MUTSHARRE' KHAN AS HIS DEPUTY.**

After occurrence of a civil war with Jahandar Shah, Muhammed Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne on 13th Zilhajj of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-four Hijri. He granted the dignified mansab of Vazirship to Qutb-ul-Mulk, Yamin-ul-Daulah Abdullah Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung and the Amirul-Umara Syed Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur. A royal order was issued that the regime of Jahandar Shah should be regarded as a period of languor and ignorance and included in the years of ascension. Farmans and mandates were issued to Subas of the empire addressed to Nazims and Diwans in respect of congratulations on enthronement, recitation of the Khutba and striking of coins with regal titles. The Subedari of Ahmedabad was granted to Shahamat Khan, who administered the Subah of Malwa. He came to Ahmedabad as ordered by His Majesty on 20 th Jamadi I and devoted himself to administrative duties. A royal order was issued to him.



CHAPTER 149

DEPUTYSHIP OF SYED 'AQIL KHAN

When Sarbuland Khan left for the capital, Syed 'Aqil Khan entered the Bhadra Fort and actively devoted himself to administrative work. Father of the author who was in the royal revenue office which was entrusted to him by Syed 'Aqil Khan in the paragana of Dabhoi, came as summoned. He entrusted management of affairs to him, and now also assigned this duty to him. Ma'sum Quli was appointed Faujdar of conditional Patan mahal. His brother Riza Quli was posted to Viramgam as Faujdar. Post of a patrolling Faujdar was given to Muhammed Yahya Babi, nephew of Safdar Khan Babi, who was his confidential friend from the beginning of his entry into Ahmedabad. He assigned the post of a Karori of octroi duties and Cloth-market to Muhammed Ja'far, uncle of the author. Some roughts used to harass people. Syed 'Aqil Khan appointed Ilahiyar Khan, the Naib Kotwal to capture and kill them. He always waited for an opportunity. One day, by chance, he met them on the market road at the Gate of Arms dealer. He intended to capture them. They fled and hid themselves in the house of Mustafid Khan situated on the public road. Ilahiyar came there. As there was no way of escape, they started to fight and were slain.

A couplet

*When there is no escape in an hour of necessity
A man gets hold of sharp sword*

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CHAPTER 151

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER

Seat of endless kindness, worthy of obligation, Shahamat Khan being glorified with royal favour should know that the world shining sun of sultanat with a permanent fringe, world illuminating sun of God given fortune, eternal and permanent, rose in these days of blessed beginning and auspicious end, from the horizon of beneficence and kindness of the Almighty God. The bridle of world adorning affairs of both the worlds has settled in the grip of our control with the help of Divine favour. The enemy, who suffered a defeat at the hands of victorious warriors and triumphant fighters, had fled to wandering valley but was captured and slain. The throne of Khilafat and world government was adorned and decorated with the auspicious sitting of His Majesty and heads of pulpits and faces of coins assumed splendour of currency with the name and titles of the noblest and most auspicious majesty. It is His Majesty's ambition to render thanks and gratitude for this glorious gift and great favour by raising aloft the banners of bright religion and shining creed as far as it lies within power and possibility and by stabilising the condition of ryots and subordinates sincerely for the sake of God as an ideal and thus we may strengthen the pillars of religion and state with justice and equity. We may spread the carpet of safety and security in expanse of the earth and time. His Majesty has in mind the administration of justice, nourishment of the world, regard for oppressed and eradication of tyrants, and in this way, comforts will accrue to creatures who are marvellous deposits of God. We shall make efforts to see that the strong do not grieve and oppress the weak. We shall make the world adorning garden so green and verdant with dripping of clouds of justice that it may see withering of autumn and iniquity of a tyrant. It is necessary that, that worthy of obligation should fulfil dues of thanks for this Divine gift and perform litanies of joy and rejoicing. He should regard the intentions of angelic mind of His Majesty as his own ideal and should not practise negligence and indifference in any way in establishment of order and organization of the Subah, closure of doors of tyranny and oppression, protection and comforts of ryots. Having kept in mind daily increasing favours of His Majesty for him, he should direct all his energy to prosper kingdom from day to day and to earn thanks for good efforts. A copy of the Khutba which has been drafted by knowers of the threshold of firm miracles for recitation on Friday is herewith sent. Priests of the masjids of the Subah should commit this Khutba to memory and recite it on Friday. This royal order was issued to the Diwan Shari'at Khan with the seal of Qutbul Mulk, Yamin ud-Dawlah Syed 'Abdullah Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung, faithful commander-in-chief.



CHAPTER 152 COPY OF THE ROYAL COURT

A royal order is issued to the Diwanis of the subas that the rupee and the ashrafi should be of the shape of blessed coin. It is, therefore, written that the asylum of ministership will act in this respect in accordance with the royal order. Rupee and ashrafi should be of the shape of Aurangzeb's coin.

Sikka

*King of land and sea Farrukh Siyar struck coin,
by the Kindness of God, on silver and gold.*

Weight of an ashrafi should be eleven mashas and that of a rupee, eleven and a half mashas. Orders were issued in regard to daily stipends and annual gratuity which remained the same as they were in times of Aurangzeb and Shah 'Alam. Port-officership of Surat was granted to Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan, who led a retired life in Ahmedabad. He went there and attended to administrative work but resigned for a certain matter and proceeded to the royal court. He became a mutawalli (administrator of a shrine) of the shrine of the Chief among gnostics, Shaikh Ahmed Khattu, may his grave be sanctified, at Sarkhej. Muhtarim Khan was appointed as Port-officer at Surat by His Majesty. Qazi Khairullah Khan was appointed the city Qazi while Ghulam Muhammed was given the post of a Bakhshi. Muhammed Saib continued as Thanadar of Kharod as before. Kunwar Abhey Singh, son of Maharajah Ajit Singh was appointed, on transfer of Syed Ahmed Gilani, as Faujdar of Junagadh. Fatch Singh Kayasth was nominated as his Naib.



CHAPTER 155

ARRIVAL OF DAWOOD KHAN PANNI, NAZIM OF THE SUBAH FROM THE DEKHAN TO AHMEDABAD RECEPTION BY ABDUL HAMID KHAN, HIS DEPUTY.

Dawood Khan, under a royal order, started from Aurangabad and arrived at the environs of the city. Abdul Hamid Khan and other officers hastened to receive him. He entered the city on the 1st of Shawwal of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-five. He stayed at the house of Muhammed Beg Khan on the bank of Sabarmati for two, three days waiting for an auspicious hour to enter the Bhadra. He entered Bhadra at an elected time of astrologers. He spent most of his time in a tent in a sandy plain outside the fort on the bank of Sabarmati. He was a soldier and accustomed to opium. He entrusted management of financial and revenue matters to the Dekhani Pandits at Bhadra and engaged himself in sight seeing and hunting wild animals and birds. He remained busy with hunting dogs of whom he was very fond and whom he had brought with him. Syed 'Aqil Khan who had gone to Surat to help Muhtarim Khan returned at this time. He was appointed, on the transfer of Ahsan ul lah Khan, as the Port officer of Khanbhayat. He sent Sadanand, as his Naib to Surat. As Syed Ahsanullah Khan had not treated ryots and common folk well, residents of the place who were mischievous in nature, thronged together when he left the place, behaved insolently towards him, pelted stones and clods of earth at him and followed him as far as Kasari to a distance of two kurohs.

Poem

*If you are brought back from sky to earth
If you are brought to supplication from pride
In short, seek an absolute talk from before
Do not harm any one so that they may not harm you*

Many a time, he displeased his superiors. He got ready to approach the Nazims for complaints and to hasten to the capital. They were about to damage him in reputation. After a few days, Sadanand and the messenger of Syed 'Aqil Khan chanced to die. People were displeased in a way with certain men of late Sadanand. They came out for complaint as far as Sojitra, ten kurohs from the port on the way to Ahmedabad. Syed 'Aqil Khan, on hearing about it, as he still held authority, did not regard ryots' complaint as proper. He nominated the father of author as Naib and permitted him to go there. The author was also with him. In short, he arrived at Sojitra, inquired about their object and intentions, and halted there for four, five days to conciliate them and accomplish



their objects. He pleased them. He took him with himself to Khanbhayat and devoted to management of affairs and organization of matters. He treated them well in a way, made social contacts with them and removed most of the illegal practices of former administrator. Removal of illegal practices still hold good and have become proverbial. They remember him with goodness.

Couplet

*He who lived with a good name obtained permanent fortune.
For his name is re-vivified by a good mention of him after him.*

A royal order was issued to the Diwan to the effect that the chronicler, the news-reporter and the courier should not meddle with financial matters and taxes of the revenue office. Their agents should be removed from those offices. A parwanah for payment of fifty thousand rupees was given by way of expenses to the brother of Dwarkadas on a security of Raja Muhkim Singh on condition of his visiting the imperial Bakhshi Amir-ul-Umra Syed Hasan 'Ali Khan for he had led an expedition against Maharaja Ajit Singh, from the treasury of Ahmedabad and forty thousand rupees as expenses to Raja Muhkim Singh, zamindar of Nagor. In the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-six, the office of miscellaneous taxes of the city which was in assignment of pay in the jagirs of Nazims from the reign of Aurangzeb was now included in the Royal Revenue Office. Sherzad Khan was appointed as a Darogha and Karori of Cloth-market and other duties. His Majesty learnt through his petition that ghee, cotton and other commodities are sold and purchased in different markets. Thus government revenue is not properly collected. Similarly, fresh fruits and vegetables which are taxed in other Subahs, are not taxed to an extent of a dam in this Subah. He hoped that mandis for all commodities should be at one place and that he should be appointed to collect taxes. The Nazim and the Diwan should be informed to help him in this matter. A royal order was issued that they should give him necessary help in this matter. The tax on cotton was collected in mandis from ancient times and that it was not at one place. A tax on ghee and vegetables was an innovation of Khan Firoz Jung and so it remained within authority of the Nazims. It was not remitted to the royal revenue office.



CHAPTER 156

A HINDU-MUSLIM RIOT ON HOLI

An event of this year is a Hindu Muslim riot on Holi playing. A short account of it is that Hari Ram was a gumashtah of the shroff Madan Gopal. He came to this part of the country as a treasurer with Khan Firoz Jung. He built a very lofty building in the city. He was visited by other shroffs on account of wealth and a treasurer of the Nazim. After the death of Khan Firoz Jung, he opened a banking shop in Ahmedabad which yielded him much profit. He went to the capital. Hari Ram was briskly engaged in Holi playing at the door of his house with other shroffs and co-religionists by pouring colour, sprinkling red powder and ruttishness as was their wont. By chance, a Muslim happened to pass by that road. He came across them. They encircled him and started to throw colour, red powder, dust and hurling insult at him. He liberated himself from that situation at any cost through exigency of time and then he went in that very state in company of some others to the preacher Muhammed Ali who at that time delivered religious sermons to a group of men. All sections of Muslims high and low with faith and disposition, went to relate this incident to him and seek redress from him. They were seized with religious zeal and help for clear faith and dragged him to the Jame' masjid. They sent word to Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz, leader of the Sunni Bohra community about his visit for relation of the incident. He went with his group to the masjid. All Muslims sepoy and tradesmen, residents of the city and of suburbs in groups and sections shouting "religion, religion" gathered together from every corner and side. The whole crowd was bent upon killing and looting Hindus. They proceeded collectively to the house of Qazi Khairullah Khan to declare him that it was a religious matter in aid of Islam and that he should join them. The asylum of religion, on knowledge of it, closed the door of his house, got afraid of the crowd and practised dilatoriness. When illiterate masses got despaired of his opening the door, they started to talk nonsense and use indecent language. Some ruffians set the Qazi's house on fire. They became more malevolent and obstinate than before and stretched their hand to oppression with murder and plunder. They destroyed and set fire to shops in the cloth market and of shroffs which were then full and replete with cash and commodities.

Couplet

*The quarrel lighted such a fire
That everything got burnt in its heat*

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Madan Gopal, source of the trouble, Hindu streets, best locality of



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jewellers, house of Kapur Chand Bhansali who then was the leader of Hindu community technically known as Nagar Sheth were there. It was either due to prejudice or to jealousy which existed between them and Mulla Abdul Aziz who too was the Sheth of Bohras. Both of them dug up causes of enmity existing since long between them. They wore the shield of prevention over head and hand of defence and started a fight by throwing stones and clods of earth from back of their terraces. Kapur Chand Bharsali frequently visited the offices of the Nazim and the Diwan. A few Gujarati soldiers familiar with him collected around him for flattery. He put up trenches at his house, at the jeweller's gate and at the road. Unemployed soldiers imagined such events as means of earning subsistence. They sat at the gates of streets of shroffs merchants every day for worldly trash without now thinking of help to religion. On the other hand, they prepared themselves for fight on behalf of the Hindus. They sold religion for the world. Their arrows and guns turned into mines of stones and clods of earth. Many persons on both sides were slain and wounded. This rioting continued for two complete days. Dawood Khan had gone to Sabarmati district for collection of peshkash from zamindars and management of mischief-mongers. He stayed in Bagh i Shahi. He despatched a squadron to intervene between them and separate them. None should be allowed to be refractory to stop bloodshed. Many prudent nobles and notable men and persons of wisdom and sagacity gave them advice with narrative and rational proofs. Fire of riot subsided. Dawood Khan marched for establishment of order. Haji Amir Husain the mansabdar was appointed under a royal sanad as the Darogah for purchase of Arab and Kutchi horses for His Majesty and the cattle-market. A parwanah for horses fodder was received by the Diwan. Syed 'Aqil Khan Port officer of Khanbhayat went out for recreation to his mahal. It was in this monsoon that a ship of Ali, son of Sultan in which he himself was sailing was wrecked. He arrived at Ghogha from Basrah with fifty Arab horses. He anchored at Khanbhayat. Horses and other articles reached Khanbhayat by boat. Arrival of horses was reported to His Majesty by letters of informers and news writers. His Majesty was very fond of horses. A royal order was issued to Syed Aqil Khan that Haji Ali should be escorted to Ahmedabad with horses by paying him expenses of travel. It was done. He too stayed there for two, three months. As before, the father of the author who was fully entrusted with management of port's affairs came to Ahmedabad. The Diwan sent, under a royal order, horses to the royal court. There was another merchant Haji 'Ali Akbar in that ship. He had seventy, eighty thousand rupees in cash and kind with him. He got his cash coined in the Khanbhayat mint. He came to Ahmedabad with commodities. He had crossed eighty stages (years) of life. He came to Hind from Iran at this age for business out of greed and avarice. His case is similar to the famous story narrated by Shaikh Sa'adi as to what merchandise he would carry from what

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place to what place He used to say, "I shall purchase textiles at Ahmedabad and carry them to Shahjahanabad. Indigo of Khuyah is very good in quality I shall purchase it and carry it to Iran I will then give up voyage He had three, four servants of his confidence with him to do his work. Meanness and baseness were rooted in his nature

A Couplet

*If he had the sun on table in place of a bread
None would have seen bright day in the world till judgment day*

He was despicable and weak in body He used to hire a porter when need arose to carry him on his shoulder He lived on a single bread His servants enjoyed drinks at his expense and indulged in pleasures In short, he hired a house in Khadker after his arrival at Ahmedabad and lived there Some fearless and ungodly fellows, becoming acquainted with every minute thing of his life, entered his house at night They cut his throat from ear to ear and took away some of his money-purses

Couplets

*Did you hear that a merchant once
Fell down in a jungle from his riding animal
He said, "narrow eye of a worldly man
Is filled either by contentment or dust of the grave*

"Then learn a lesson oh men of sight" Next day, his wealth and baggages were confiscated by the government

A Couplet

*Scissors of life cut the rope of his life
Commission agent of hope sold him gratis*

It was reported to His Majesty that former Nazims, Khan Firoz Jung and Shahamat Khan, had taken balance arrears of accounts and the government revenues from the Diwan Office They kept the mahals of balance of accounts in their charge and have not paid revenue to the treasury A royal order was issued to the Diwan that these departments should not be given to the Nazims Nobody should be allowed to have interference with the department of paibaki (balance of accounts) and the khalsa (revenue of the crown land) One storey-house of 'Ulu Khan Gujarati which was included in guest houses in the regime of Jahandar Shah is given as inam to Shah Ali Riza Sirhindi who is acquainted with truths and sciences It is now confiscated An order was



issued to him in respect of pardon and leaving the house. It rained heavily this year. It continued to rain successively for several nights and days. The river Sabarmati was in flood. Waters entered the city. Many foundations of houses were shaken and houses destroyed. Walls of city-fortifications got mostly disintegrated. An order for their repairs was received. At this juncture, Muhammed Mui'zz was appointed as manager of houses in the Subah of Ahmedabad which in previous days was not separate in the Subah. He was appointed by His Majesty. Paragana of Dabhoi was transferred from the crown-land revenues to the charge of the Diwan. Shari'at Khan who was Naib Chief Qazi from the reign of Shah 'Alam became now the Chief Qazi. The Diwani of the Subah, on his transfer, was granted to Muhtarim Khan who was Port Officer at Surat. Mumin Khan was appointed as Port-officer of Surat, Faujdar of Baroda, paragana of Petlad, Dholka, Broach, and Nadiad by His Majesty. Faujdari of Junagadh, on the transfer of Kunwar Abhey Singh was put for arrears in charge of Abdul Hamid Khan. Muhtarim Khan appointed Syed Aqil Khan as his Naib before his arrival. He took charge of his office on 1st Sha'ban. Abdul Hamid Khan recruited cavalry and infantry at Junagadh. Mumin Khan came to take charge of his offices from the capital. He appointed his relative Fidauddin Khan as Naib Faujdar of Petlad. He appointed his brother Muhammed 'Abdullah as Naib Faujdar of Dholka. Muhammed Ghorî was posted as Faujdar of Baroda. He then entered Surat. Muhtarim Khan came to Ahmedabad. The Nazim Dawood Khan, while collecting peshkash, came to Kathiawar and Nawanagar. He collected as much peshkash as he could. On his way back to Ahmedabad, he married the daughter of the zamindar of Halwad.



CHAPTER 157

WAR BETWEEN MUMIN KHAN AND QILE'DAR ZIA KHAN OF SURAT IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVEN

A quarrel took place between Mumin Khan Port-officer of Surat and Qile'dar Zia Khan for a certain affair. The quarrel terminated into a war with cannons, guns and trenches. Mumin Khan summoned Fidauddin Khan and Muhammed Asad Ghorni with squadrons. The Qile'dar also summoned Syed Qasim grandson of Syed Hasan Khan, a soldier by profession and who lived in Baroda by sending expenses to him and employing him in service. By chance, the two summoned parties met on the way near Broach. They exchanged words between them for going ahead and behind and engaged in a war.

A Couplet

*They spread prickly iron nails on the road of friendship
They clung to one another fighting*

Many persons on both the sides were slain and wounded. The Qile'dar's detachment was defeated. Fidauddin Khan came out triumphant and went to Surat. The quarrel of the Qile'dar was converted to peace.



CHAPTER 158

REMOVAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTH WHICH HAD BECOME CURRENT IN THOSE DAYS AT THE EFFORTS OF THE DIWAN MUHTARIM KHAN DEPARTURE OF KAPUR CHAND BHANSALI AND PREACHER MUHAMMED 'ALI TO SEE HIS MAJESTY

It was in this year that the Anth had gradually grown high to the extent that it was as high as twenty per cent per head. Muhtarim Khan the Diwan summoned Kapur Chand Bhansali Sheth and the shroffs and said with emphasis that mutual transactions of people have come to a standstill because of Anth. There are no cash dealings among the people. This unpleasant practice has risen so high that it must be gradually brought down. Kapur Chand Bhansali put this injunction into practice. Hari Ram, Gumashtah of Madan Gopal, who was the greatest shroff, refused for the sake of profit. The affair ended in unpleasantness. Kapur Chand came forward with a quarrel. Both the parties made trenches and prepared for a war. It continued for two days. Prudent shroffs intervened and showed a plan for removal of Anth. May it not remain hidden that Anth is that which shroffs advance in time of shortage of cash money. As for an example, a person deposited a fixed sum with a shroff at Surat Port. He brought a hundi which in Persian is known as saftah (a bill of exchange) to his partner or his gumashtah in Ahmedabad. If he wished to take cash money, he will deduct the current anth or not. If another person had demanded a hundi of the same amount from the bringer, he gives it to him and thus he frees himself from the obligation. Similarly, he gives it to another person. In this way, the person from whom the hundi was demanded gradually becomes free and his responsibility is over. There is no cash in between. In short, when a report of the Holi incident and fortifications reached His Majesty through newswriters and also a party of Hindu shroffs and Gujarati merchants who had their shops in the royal camp stopped their business and they collectively complained to His Majesty attributing destruction, burning of shops, massacre, loot in cash and commodities to instigation of Muharrmed Ali Wa'iz and Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz, a royal order was issued that harsh mace-bearers should go and present the above-mentioned persons, Kapur Chand Bhansali and Hari Ram in chains and fetters in His Majesty's Court of Justice. Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz learnt about it through letters of camp-merchants before the arrival of macebearers. He informed about it to Wa'iz Muhammed Ali. They started of their on accord deeming it to be advisable. Kapur Chand Bhansali and Hari Ram learnt about it after them. They also started. Mace bearers returned from middle of the road. They reached the Capital one after the other. The chief among the



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preachers Muhammed Ali began to preach from the pulpit in the Jame 'Masjid As God the Holy and the Great had granted power of tongue and sweetness of speech to him, he created great impression on the audience by his preaching, and became very popular within a short time. Groups of people, high and low, gathered at the foot of pulpit to hear his sermon. They gave hands of discipleship and became his disciples. His merits were conveyed to His Majesty through Fazail Khan. He was summoned to the Royal Presence. He took him as well as Mulla 'Aziz who had a great share of scholarship and immense portion of merit in him. His Majesty learnt every detail of the incident. His Majesty, being impressed, ordered that such a wonderful man had been made to wander from his house through misrepresentation by the Hindus. His Majesty ordered that Kapur Chand and others should be arrested, fettered in feet and imprisoned. A mandate was issued to the Nazim and the Diwan that his house should be confiscated. It was executed in Ahmedabad. When His Majesty heard his sermon, he became attentive to him more than before and every now and then remarked, "Bravo, well done." He praised him much. This fact became very popular. Many persons turned to him. After a time, Kapur Chand saw no other means of salvation except conciliation and refuge with Muhammed Ali and Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz. He sent word to them, "We hail from the same place and region. Forgetting the quarrel, and changing enmity into friendship, we must so manage as to return safely to our native place in harmony." When Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz obtained leave from His Majesty to depart, he obtained permission for his departure also. Muhammed Ali was looked after with entreaty and mildness till he died. Dawood Khan, Nazim of the Subah, even though was a soldier and a man of restraint so much so that he did not allow a single soldier while on march to pluck a bunch of grains from fields or a bundle of hay with force and violence. But government and administration are different matters which he lacked in him. He could not cut a good figure. Kols and rebels of round about places collectively made raids and committed dacoities. At night they entered the city and suburbs, made holes in houses, plundered cash and commodities and oppressed the people. Raids had begun from those days. The Dekhani Pandits who managed affairs, worked at their will. They introduced an innovation of Chhattaman (release) from allowance receivers and means of subsistence of Syeds. Reports about this successively and continually reached His Majesty in this respect but no change was made. It was found out from letters of the vakils of the Darbar. He appointed Ghazni Khan Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur as his Naib till arrival of the appointed Nazim. He marched to the Dekhan on the 1st of Sha'ban of the above year.

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PART II**

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CHAPTER 159

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH RAJESWAR, THE BEST OF THE RAJAS OF HINDUSTAN, MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH, ZAMINDAR OF JODHPUR AND THE DIWANI OF MUHTARIM KHAN AND HAIDER QULI KHAN

On the recall of Dawood Khan Panni, the Subedari of Ahmedabad was conferred upon Maharajah Rajeswar Rajah Ajit Singh, the Rajah of Jodhpur who enjoyed honour of the mansab of 6000 Zat and 6000 Sawar. He was honoured and glorified with conferment of the royal robe and issue of farman (in his name). The Faujdari of Saurath was retained as before with Kunwar Abhey Singh. The Maharajah appointed Bajeraji Bhandari as his Deputy of the Subah and Fateh Singh, a Kayasth as Deputy Faujdar of Saurath on his behalf (as well as that of Abhey Singh) respectively and permitted them (to proceed to their respective charges). Bajeraji entered Ahmedabad on 7th Sha'ban, one thousand, one hundred and twenty-seven Hijri. 'Abdul Hamid Khan came to the city and was appointed to the post of Bakhshi and Chronicler in addition to the post of Darogha of the shrine of His Holiness Hazrat Ahmed Khattu. Bhandari actively occupied himself with management of state affairs, establishment of order and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars connected with his Nizamat. At this juncture, Inayatullah Khan arrived from Mebka. During the regime of His Late Majesty, he held post of the Diwan of the Crown lands. He was a confidential servant of His Majesty as well as a great amir. He had proceeded to Hejaz for performance of hajj with His Majestys' permission. He halted at Ahmedabad for rest for some days. He then went to Surat. In the season of hajj, he embarked a ship to realize his set object. Haider Quli Khan who held the mansab of 2000 Zat, 1000 Sawar without condition was appointed, in the beginning of Qawm II of autumn corresponding to 5th year of the Royal Ascension, to the Diwani of the Subah due to recall of Muhtarim Khan, the port-officership of Surat and the mahals of the Crown-lands due to transfer of Mun'im Khan and the Port-officership of Khanbhayat due to transfer of Syed 'Aqil Khan and the Faujdari of Baroda, Nadot and forests of Haveli paraganah of Ahmedabad and the Faujdari of Arhar Matra due to recall of Bansidhar in the Capital. Being honoured with grant of a valuable robe and a jewelled sarpech (turban-ornament), he left for his charge. Having encamped on the environs of Ahmedabad adjacent to the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhikhan on 19th Zilhajj, he occupied himself with appointment of his Deputies. He appointed Nasiruddin Ahmed Khan, son of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan as Deputy Diwan of the Subah and Muhammed Shafi', one of his companions as a Karori, for the



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mahal of municipal duties, attached to the Diwani. He appointed Syed 'Aqil Khan as Faujdar and Amin of Dholka and the port of Khanbhayat on his behalf and then marched to Surat port. On the way, he appointed Arjumand Khan (as Faujdar) at Petlad; Kazim Beg Khan as Faujdar of Baroda and 'Abd-ul-Munim Khan (as Faujdar) at Baroach. He then entered Surat and actively occupied himself with administrative duties. Father of the author was recalled from Khanbhayat; but now that Syed 'Aqil Khan had left for Dholka, he was appointed as before as Deputy at Khanbhayat. Due to frequent transfers, affairs of the paragana were in a chaotic state and the ryots had migrated to other places. But the affairs were put in an orderly fashion and improved upon by excellent management of the author's father within nearly a month. He (Haider Quli Khan) then hastened to Khanbhayat. After some time, the author was appointed as Deputy (at Khanbhayat). As summoned by Syed 'Aqil Khan, he (father of the author) proceeded to Dholka and busied himself with performance of his duties.



CHAPTER 160

ARRIVAL OF MAHARAJA AJIT SINGH AT THE SUBAH

Maharajah Ajit Singh started from Jodhpur with a large army to visit the Subah. He reached Shahi Bagh on Thursday, 10th Rabi'I one thousand, one hundred and twenty eight. Bajeraaj Bhandari with his lesees, Meher Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, Nasir-ud-din Ahmed Khan, President and Deputy Diwan of the Subah, Qazi Khair-ul-lah Khan, 'Abd-ul-Hamid Khan, an intelligencer, Muhammed Mun'im Khan, a chronicler, Mir Husam-ud-din Khan, a censor, Kotwal Mir Abu Talib, Mufti Muhammed Akber, mansabdars, officers, nobles, Hindu and Muslim leaders, shroffs (bankers), merchants and residents of the city went to receive him.

Nahir Khan accompanied him. Nahir Khan was honoured with the mansab of 1500 without condition. He acted as an intermediary when amir-ul-umara led an expedition on Jodhpur. In his capacity as a tutor, he was engaged to improve the Maharajah's affairs and to keep a watch on him so that he may not deviate from the path of obedience and submission. He was also raised, on the recall of Muhtarim Khan, the Diwan, to the post of a Daroghha of the Municipal office and the whole city. At this juncture, a ship arrived at Surat with horses of the 'Iraqi breed. They were brought by an ambassador of the ruler of Iran, Mir Murtuza as a present to His Majesty. The ambassador was in another ship which was carried to Bengal due to a storm in the sea. When this matter was reported to His Majesty, he issued an order to the Port-officer of Surat, Mun'im Khan that he should send them with an escort with travelling expenses to the Royal Court and that a man on his behalf be appointed to treat Steward of the horses with hospitality. He (Mun'im Khan) sent them, before his recall, by way of Ahmedabad in company of his brother, Muhammed 'Abdullah. Muhtarim Khan, the former Diwan also left with him. Mun'im Khan followed them. The Maharajah stayed till the election time chosen by astrologers and then entered the Bhadra fort. Faujdars and Thanadars stood at their respective places in order with court credentials as under: Ruh-ul-lah Khan, mansabdar of 1000 Zat, 200 Sawar without condition, Faujdar of A'zamabad, Ma'murabad, Bhil and Islamabad; Abu Talib Khan, 1000 Zat, 100 Sawar without condition, Faujdar of Godhra, Jarkal, Traffic Superintendent of Dohad roads; Ghazni Khan, 300 Zat, Faujdar of Palanpur and Dantiwara; Ghaznafar Khan, 1000 Zat, 200 Sawar, Faujdar of Vijapur and Kharod Thana; Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi, 500 Zat, 250 Sawar, Faujdar of Balasinor; Jawan Mard Khan, 500 Zat, 100 Sawar, Faujdar of Radhanpur; Muhammed Ali son of Nazar Ali Khan, 300 Zat, Thanadar of Hirpur and Banodrah; Mir Abdul Khaliq, 150 Zat, Thanadar of



Andbahr Salor, Mir Shamsuddin, Thanadar of Sandalpur and Khanpur, Muhammed Khali, 500 Zat, 30 Sawar, Thanadar of Sirodah, Muhammed Rahim, 100 Zat Thanadar of Banmol, Wasil Beg, 100 Zat, Thanadar of Pandarah, Muhammed Latif-ullah, Thanadar of Pakhaniyah, Mir Bhura, 700 Zat, 100 Sawar, Thanadar of Ahmednagar, Muhammed Ashraf, 200 Zat, Thanadar of Banjharwar and Loharah, Mir 'Abdullah, 500 Zat, Thanadar of Vadnagar, Muhammed Bili, Thanadar of Khurah, Asghar Ali Khan, 500 Zat, 50 Sawar, Thanadar of Piplod, Raza Quli son of Kazim Beg, 150 Zat Thanadar of Bejbarah, Rahim Yar Khan, Superintendent of Islamnagar Mint 250 Zat, Muhammed Fayaz, Superintendent of Provincial Artillery, etc daroghas, inspectors, tahvildars of the entire city except of the first rank, Faujdars, provincial officers, and jagirdars stood there. At this juncture, mace-bearer Raza Yar Khan brought a valuable robe and a jewelled sarpech as a present for the zamindari of Nagor while mace bearer Muhammed Zaman arrived with a royal farman for the charge of Subedari of Ahmedabad from the Imperial Court. The Maharajah received them with due decorum. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah Haider Quli Khan that the government decided to pay thirty-two lacs and sixty-two thousand dams for fodder of animals of the maharajah. This amount should be recovered from the fertile conditional Jagir of Jedser. He has to pay thirty two thousand and eighty-one rupees as price of jewels of peshkash on the occasion of Royal festival. This amount should be recovered from mahal of his jagir if he does not pay in cash. Jiwandas, dismissed 'Amil of Broach paragona paid to the Royal Presence nine lacs and ninety four thousand rupees which he collected as revenue. Diwan of the Subah was ordered not to molest him. A royal order was received by Diwan of the Subah for sending the present treasury money, specie of manasbendars and other provincial servants with the Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammed Khan to be carried by gumashtas of intelligencer and chronicler and courier of the jizya office. This practice was not in vogue in time of Shah 'Alam. A merchant prince, Mulla Abdul Ghafur, who was foremost among merchants and wealthy men of Surat nay of this Subah in respect of wealth, wares and several ships, died this year. He had no issue and so Haider Quli Khan confiscated his wealth and wares estimated at eighty-five lacs of rupees. A report of it was submitted to the Royal Court. Mulla 'Abdul Hason of Abdul Ghafur went to the Court of Justice and proved his claim as the adopted son of the deceased. His Majesty treated him with kindness, favoured him with a precious robe and a present of an elephant, conferred upon him the title of "Umdat-ut tujjar" and gave him a royal order to return his parental property without any molestation. Gold and silver were turned out into counterfeit coins by fraud of officers at the Surat mint. Haider Quli Khan made inquiries about it and determined to issue genuine coins. He summoned assayers and melters from Khanbhayat mint. He sent a letter in



this connection to the father of our author He was then at Dholka. The author, who was a Deputy sent these persons to Surat Haider Quli Khan found out difference between genuine ashrafi and rupee of Surat and Khanbhayat in his very presence He demanded nearly one lac of rupees as penalty from officers He permitted assayers and melters of Khanbhayat to go with robes of honour

CHAPTER 161

AN INCIDENT ON THE ID-UD-DUHA DAY IN RESPECT OF A COW

This year's Id-ud-duha approached Muslims bought goats, sheep, cows buffaloes for sacrifice The Bohras sacrifice mostly cows and buffaloes By chance, a Havaladar of Kalupur where these persons reside, thought of an act of reward according to his belief Secondly, he was emboldened as the Maharajah was the Subedar and Hakim to seize a cow by force and compulsion from one of the Bohras Members of the Bohra community gathered together and went to Qazi Khair ul-lah Khan to apprise him of the incident He sent word to managers of Maharajah but he failed to receive a reply which may avert consequences of this incident Muslims of the city and suburbs collected together and became a source of riot and revolt The matter was about to turn to massacre and plunder Some prudent persons explained this matter to the Maharajah who sent word to the Qazi that Muslims were free to do anything according to tenets and practices of their religion No one will prevent them from so doing or molest them The Qazi carried cow to the masjid on the Id day and sacrificed it after performance of the namaz



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Andbah Salor, Mir Shamsuddin, Thanadar of Sindalpur and Khanpur, Muhammed Khail, 500 Zat, 30 Sawar, Thanadar of Sinodah, Muhammed Rahim, 100 Zat Thanadar of Banmol, Wasil Beg, 100 Zat, Thanadar of Pandarah, Muhammed Latif-ul Ikh, Thanadar of Pakhanyah, Mir Bhura, 700 Zat, 100 Sawar, Thanadar of Ahmednagar, Muhammed Ashraf, 200 Zat, Thanadar of Banjharwar and Loharah, Mir 'Abdullah, 500 Zat, Thanadar of Vadnagar, Muhammed Bali, Thanadar of Khurah, Asghar Ali Khan, 500 Zat, 50 Sawar, Thanadar of Piplod, Raza Quli son of Kazim Beg, 150 Zat Thanadar of Bejbarah, Rahman Yar Khan, Superintendent of Islamnagar Mint 250 Zat, Muhammed Fayaz, Superintendent of Provincial Artillery, etc daroghas, inspectors, tahvildars of the entire city except of the first rank, Faujdars, provincial officers, and jagirdars stood there. At this juncture, mace bearer Raza Yar Khan brought a valuable robe and a jewelled sarpech as a present for the zamindars of Nagor while mace-bearer Muhammed Zaman arrived with a royal farman for the charge of Subedar of Ahmedabad from the Imperial Court. The Maharajah received them with due decorum. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah Haider Quli Khan that the government decided to pay thirty-two lacs and sixty two thousand dams for fodder of animals of the maharajah. This amount should be recovered from the fertile conditional Jagir of Jedser. He has to pay thirty two thousand and eighty-one rupees as price of jewels of peshkash on the occasion of Royal festival. This amount should be recovered from mahal of his jagir if he does not pay in cash. Jiwandas, dismissed 'Amil of Broach paraganā paid to the Royal Presence nine lacs and ninety four thousand rupees which he collected as revenue. Diwan of the Subah was ordered not to molest him. A royal order was received by Diwan of the Subah for sending the present treasury money, specie of manasb-dars and other provincial servants with the Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammed Khan to be carried by gumasthas of intelligencer and chronicler and courier of the jizya office. This practice was not in vogue in time of Shah 'Alam. A merchant prince Mulla Abdul Ghafur, who was foremost among merchants and wealthy men of Surat nay of this Subah in respect of wealth, wares and several ships, died this year. He had no issue and so Haider Quli Khan confiscated his wealth and wares estimated at eighty-five lacs of rupees. A report of it was submitted to the Royal Court. Mulla 'Abdul Hai son of Abdul Ghafur went to the Court of Justice and proved his claim as the adopted son of the deceased. His Majesty treated him with kindness, favoured him with a precious robe and a present of an elephant, conferred upon him the title of 'Umdat ut tujjar' and gave him a royal order to return his parental property without any molestation. Gold and silver were turned out into counterfeit coins by fraud of officers at the Surat mint. Haider Quli Khan made inquiries about it and determined to issue genuine coins. He summoned assayers and melters from Khanbhayat mint. He sent a letter in



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CHAPTER 162

RECALL OF SYED 'AQIL KHAN AS NAIB FAUJDAR AND PORT-OFFICER OF KHANBHAYAT DEPARTURE ON A SUMMONS FROM HAIDER QULI KHAN CONSTRUCTION OF CITY-FORTIFICATIONS OF SURAT APPOINTMENT AS NAIB FAUJDAR OF SAURATH ON BEHALF OF HAIDER QULI KHAN RETURN FROM MIDDLE WAY OF SAURATH

Appointment of Syed 'Aqil Khan as Naib Faujdar, Amin of Dholka and Port officer of Khanbhayat by Haider Quli Khan was stated before. Now that the season came to an end, he appointed Zabib Beg Khan as Naib Faujdar of Dholka and Shukarullah Beg as Port officer of Khanbhayat. A letter of recall was received by Syed 'Aqil Khan. Shukarullah Beg started from Surat, halted at Petlad situated at a distance of ten kurohs from Khanbhayat and sent 'Abd un Nabi ahead to inform and get the house vacated. He met the author's father. As his dependents were there and also because the monsoon had set in, he demanded respite for three, four days for transport and other necessities. He wrote to Shukarullah Beg and received a reply to the effect that he should make preparations with ease. There is no hurry. The author suffered from dysentery. In short, two, three days after when he intended to move, astrologers said that the time was not propitious enough for travel and that the hour would come at close of the night. The author's father was not contented with it because he thought it to be improper to leave the place at night. Women, bag and baggage were sent at close of the night. He himself started at nearly three and a half hours after the day had risen when merchants small and great, ryots and common folk were present. Abd un Nabi Beg accompanied by way of following when he saw with his own eyes that small and great, young and old, in lane and bazar expressed sorrow and grief and bade adieu by showing precedence in bringing cocoa-nuts, sweets, flowers and betel-leaves until he came to Kasari a distance of two kurohs. Merchants and residents who had means of transport and those who were strong enough to walk came as far as that place. For leaving them, the incoming and outgoing Naibs sat for some hours side by side brother-like under the shade of a tree. Those who had come there, had brought rupees and clothes with them. They requested for recommendation to Abd un Nabi Beg. He got himself acquainted with every one of them, recommended every one very well and inquired after each one's condition with a shake of hands. One of them had turned several tolas of silver into flowers and scattered them over heads both of them by way of an offering. Abd un Nabi Beg was seized with tenderness when he saw people in such a state and remarked, "I have never seen this sort of behaviour with out-



going officers on the part of ryots "This is not government " The author's father replied, "I have never left legal money with any one I have never injured and harmed any one illegally "

Quatrain

*All shields are naught before death + Pomp, silver, gold are nothing
However much I look at affairs — Good is that which is good Others are nothing*

In short, people were made to depart with the in-coming Naib He proceeded further As delay had occurred on account of coming and going of men, he halted at Nar in Petlad paragana Disease of the author became serious that night He lost hope of living As yet the appointed time had not come, he recovered completely before break of dawn They marched from that place and reached Arhar Matr It began to rain They were forced to stay in the house of the local Faujdar Faujdar Muhammed Babi sent us whatever food he could serve us with It rained so heavily and incessantly for three nights and days that it was impossible for any one to move out of his house On the fourth day, the eastern king hoisted its banner of world conquest and routed the army-of clouds, thunders of divine elephants subsided and brightness appeared on the face of affairs By chance, they had brought sour lemons with them They grew in abundance there The author felt a desire to suck them He saw no objection in sucking them as he was despaired of life The more he sucked them with salt, the more relief, he immediately felt He continued this process for two days It had the effect of elixir of life He began to move a few paces with help of a staff and came out That was the beginning of convalescence for him In short, they were on march when a letter of Syed 'Aqil Khan was received informing us about his coming to Dholka They, then, would proceed to Surat together According to exigency of time, the author was sent to Khanbhayat while he himself went to Dholka for want of concord with the Maharajah and Haider Quli Khan The author reached Khanbhayat and alighted in one of the houses of the merchant Muhammed Zaman Shukarullah Beg behaved with good nature and cheerfulness Syed 'Aqil Khan started for Surat from Dholka By chance, Haider Quli Khan intended to lay foundation of city fortification of Surat He gave a brick of foundation for the sake of auspiciousness to Syed 'Aqil Khan as he was a Syed and stayed there for some time, when the Faujdari of Saurath, on the recall of Kunwar Abhey Singh, son of the Maharajah and the paragana of Golwad were granted to Haider Quli Khan by His Majesty He pressed Deputyship of the place to Syed 'Aqil Khan He accepted it The author's father prevented him, out of foresight, from accepting it for it has been said, "Every man to his work" He



said, " He will have to ride long distances, night and day, in performing duties as Faujdar of Saurath. This work will not be done by you. It is better if you resign it." As he had nodded his head in willingness, he did not give it up. He started to proceed there. On the way, the author's father came to see the author at Jamusar where the latter was left ill. Again, he was not disposed to go to Saurath. He reached Kavi which is opposite to Khanbhayat and embarked on a boat. On getting information, Shukarullah Beg sent a sawari for reception. As it was night, he apologized for not coming to meet him and took a promise for the next day for a feast. Next day, they met. There were visits and re visits till he stayed there. Syed 'Aqil Khan reached Dholka and sent letters to Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi, Muhammed Yahya Babi and all Jamadars for summoning soldiers. They came in groups and parties and enrolled themselves in service. He repeatedly pressed hard to summon the author's father. He connived at it and tried to evade it. Due to frequent travels of coming and going, he had to hasten under necessity. He marched with nearly three thousand sawar and arrived at Luliana. Frontiers of Saurath start from here. Syed 'Aqil Khan marched on Palitana and attacked it. A vast booty fell in hands of his soldiers. The Khan had no knowledge of such affairs. He did not collect plundered wealth from soldiers except animals. At midnight, he returned to his camp. He was physically tired for having travelled long distances. Besides absence of collection of plundered articles recoiled on him. The Maharajah, on hearing about his departure to Saurath sent threatening messages to houses of Jamadars who had enrolled themselves as his servants, to the effect that "If disturbance is created in Saurath or some wrong is done to the Naib of the place, all acts will be retaliated from their wives and children. Every one of them received such messages from his house. Out of fear they postponed and delayed every affair and craved for salary. This fact also came to light. From ancient times, there is a firm regulation in Gujarat to count the date of salary of Faujdars' soldiers of Saurath from Luliyana. Their salary became due for payment for a few days' stay and expedition. Syed 'Aqil Khan requested the author's father to show him plan for salary and to extricate him from that dangerous situation. He appointed Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi, the Naib Faujdar of Golwad, entrusted salary to his charge and took receipts. Those who felt below their dignity to serve under him, were paid something for what they did. They returned to Dholka and then reached Khanbhayat.



CHAPTER 163

EXPEDITION OF HAIDER QULI KHAN ON MONJPUR IN BARODA PARAGANA DEATH OF KAZIM BEG KHAN APP- POINTMENT OF HIS BROTHER MA'SUM QULI AS NAIB FAUJDAR OF SAURATH

It was in this year that Haider Quli Khan came out for bandobast of paraganas under his charge from Surat with an equipped army and artillery. He summoned Safdar Khan Balu to accompany him with his squadron from Ahmedabad. He marched ahead of him. Naib Faujdar of Baroda Kazim Beg Khan joined him. He was appointed in charge of vanguard for punishment of rebels. The zamindar of Monjpur did not give a satisfactory reply for payment of legal dues and peshkash with van ty due to a large number of Kolis with him. He came ready for eradication and destruction of him. The zamindar joined in battle with a shield of defence on head and hand of prevention in front. An oven of war was heated with flames of cannons and guns. Many were slain and wounded from both sides. Kazim Beg Khan performed great exploits and carried a cannon further near an entrenchment. A bullet of a gun hit him on a temple and he died. His younger brother Raza Quli, without being dejected, fought with valour and prowess to maintain the trench. This struggle continued night and day for several days. Ultimately, the zamindar retired one night vacating his house. Haider Quli Khan burnt that house with fire of wrath and ordered for destruction of other houses and levelled them with the ground. He then marched to another direction when he received, at this juncture, news of return of Syed 'Aqil Khan from Saurath. Being vexed, he troubled Safdar Khan Bibi with Deputyship of Saurath. He requested for more troops and expenses. When he broached this subject to the younger brother of Kazim Beg Khan, Raza Quli, he accepted it without any excuse for pleasure and wish of Haider Quli Khan. He requested credentials to be given in the name of his elder brother Ma'sum Ali who was in Ahmedabad. He got them. Both the brothers came to Dholka and proceeded towards Saurath. When they reached Amreli, Maharajah's Naib Fateh Singh Marwari got frightened and vacated Junagadh. They devoted themselves to administrative duties. Haider Quli Khan was impressed by valour and prowess of Ma'sum Ali and his brother. It was in this year that Inayatullah Khan who, in a previous year had gone on a visit to the Holy places came to Surat, proceeded to Ahmedabad and went to His Majesty by way of Marwar. Maharajah came out for bandobast and collection of peshkash from zamindars and hastened to Saurath with ascertainment and collection. He arrived at Nawanganar where the matter ended in a war with cannons and guns for several days due to demand of a larger amount of peshkash. After having

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decided it, he proceeded for worship at Dwarka alias Jagat where there is a famous Hindu temple collecting peshkash on the way Syed 'Aqil Khan halted at Dholka on his return due to physical ailment The author's father came to Ahmedabad from Khanbhayat port Tayyeb Khan arrived, being honoured, on the transfer of Muhammed Mu'izz with the post of Buyutat (an office for registering effects of deceased persons, officer in charge of government buildings) The Maharajah's Naibs in the city practised immoderations in many affairs and extorted money illegally An untoward incident took place for a certain affair with a confidential servant of 'Abdul Hamid Khan They got ready for a civil war as the city then was replete with mansabdars and military personnel When the Marwaris anticipated consequences of such an affair, they made peace His Majesty received a report of complaints about many matters and innovations He, therefore, recalled the Maharajah

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CHAPTER 164

SUBEDARI OF SAMSAM-UD-DAWLAH KHAN-I-DAWRAN. DEPUTYSHIP OF ABDUL HAMID KHAN. DIWANI OF HAIDER QULI KHAN.

On the recall of Maharajah Ajit Singh, the Subedari of Ahmedabad was granted by His Majesty to Samsam-ud-Dawlah Khan-i-Dawran Nusrat Jang who held the mansab of 7000 Zat, 7000 Sawar. He was a Deputy to Amir-ul-Umara Syed Husun Ali Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang in management of affairs of the Mir Bakhshi. A mandate of Deputyship, defence and protection of the city and paraganas was issued to Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan on 24th Jamadi II of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-nine. He kept his appointment a secret, collected soldiers for two, three days and then announced it. He removed the Maharajah's Naibs willy-nilly. The Maharajah, on getting intelligence of this matter, was astonished as his departure had drawn nigh. He writhed himself in agony like a serpent. Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan, who was not at ease, from his revolting nature, arrayed cannons at city-gates and put them in charge of experienced men. He strengthened turrets and fortifications and got ready for defence. The Maharajah marched from Sarkhej, passed through sands on the other bank of Sabarmati and encircled Shahi Bagh. Nahir Khan joined him after appointing his brother Shaikh Ruhullah as Naib of the Municipal Office. The Maharajah was seized in a way with vexation at his removal as well as that of his Naibs. He stayed there for some days with designs of a war. Nahir Khan, who managed his affairs, dissuaded him, by advice, from such vain ideas, escorted him and made him march to Jodhpur. 'Abdul Hamid Khan had not devoted himself to any other work except defence and protection of the city due to the Maharajah's stay. He now actively occupied himself with appointment of Faujdars, Thanadars of his Nizamut, 'Amils for conditional mahals of the Subah and administrative duties.



CHAPTER 165

DISCONTINUANCE OF TUESDAY BAZAR AND CONTINUANCE OF FRIDAY BAZAR AS BEFORE

It was decided from the regime of Gujarati Sultans to hold a bazar from before the Bhadra Gate to the Three Gates on Friday as it was a holiday and people gathered together for Friday prayers in the Jame Masjid. Townsfolk and village-folk came from distances of ten and fifteen kurohs on the appointed day and busied themselves with sale and purchase of articles. It was a means for attraction of Friday prayers. This practice continued till the regime of Shah 'Alam. One of the Nazims changed it to Tuesday as it was also a holiday. It continued till now. At this juncture, the Naib Nazim 'Abdul Hamid Khan, discontinued Tuesday Bazar after a lapse of sixty years and proclaimed the bazar to be held on Friday with the sole object of gathering persons for prayers. This practice continues till now. At the close of Zilhajj of this year, Syed 'Aqil Khan and the author's father started for the Capital due to a trouble in search of service or if possible some work in connection with Diwani of the Subah. They tarried a while at Udaipur where they met the envoy of Iran Mir Murtuza who was coming towards Ahmedabad. He had halted there because of internecine war there. They talked of their trouble to the envoy's brother Muhtarim Khan. Haider Qili Khan was at this juncture, appointed Naib of the Subah. As he was very much aggrieved with Syed 'Aqil Khan on account of his return from Saurath, he did not deem it advisable for him to stay and wrote a letter to the author's father to return so that they might both go together.



CHAPTER#166

APPOINTMENT OF HAIDER QULI KHAN AS NAIB OF THE SUBAH

On 6th Safar, one thousand, one hundred and thirty, Haider Quli Khan, on the recall of Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan, received a sanad with the seal of Samsam-ud-Dawlah for Deputyship. Haider Quli Khan stayed at Surat Port in those days. He wrote to Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan, Amin of the Jizya office to occupy himself with defence and protection of the city till his arrival. 'Abdul Hamid Khan handed over charge of his office and determined to proceed to the Royal Court. Syed 'Aqil Khan had encamped in the garden of Meher Ali Khan when on that very day he received a letter from the author's father to return and join him at Modasa. Syed 'Aqil Khan immediately informed him about his coming out and wrote to him to join him on the way. Next day, he and Abdul Hamid Khan started together. Haider Quli Khan marched from Surat for Ahmedabad on 1st Rabi 'I. Meher Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, Salabat Muhammed Khan, Jawanmard Khan, Chronicler Mahfuz Khan, Intelligencers Muhammed Mun'im provincial mansabdars and other servants came to receive him. Nahir Khan's brother Ruhullah Khan left for the Royal Presence as he did not deem it proper for him to stay. Some of those who had come for reception came as far as the bank of Mahi while others were on the other side. They met one another and encamped at Petlad. He stayed there for a certain affair for some days.



CHAPTER 167

AN INTERNECINE WAR WITH SAFDAR KHAN BABI

The juggling heaven played a new game at this stage. A conversation took place between water-carriers of Safdar Khan Babi and Alif Khan Jamadar who had accompanied Haider Quli Khan on the bank of a well where soldiers were drawing water. Some of the base fellows of both the sides who were present there aided and sided their respective water carriers. From oral disputation and contention, the matter turned to sticks, stones, swords and daggers. Turn of support of low and base persons ended in support of human beings. Tumult and commotion fell in the army. Alif Khan's men pressed further and came to the camp of Safdar Khan. As there was no knowledge of this sudden event, every one was at a place for some work. He could not come there. They were, per force, dispersed. Babi's bag and baggage were looted. Safdar Khan stayed at his place due to old age and lack of strength to move about. Some of his servants were with him. Haider Quli Khan learnt about this unfortunate incident. He reproached and reprimanded the rioters and replaced whatever he could of plundered goods. He summoned Safdar Khan to himself, apologized in flattering and fawning terms, expressed shame and said 'Manifestation of good and evil is bound and connected with the will of the Absolute Almighty and Creator of human beings.

A Couplet

*One cannot overcome fate
One cannot grapple with fate*

He should not be displeased with what had happened. He consoled him by talking in persuasive tones.

A Couplet

*Where er God makes a wound
It will not heal up by application of ointment by you*

He was not at all impressed. He declared that he wanted to go to the city to get help for further journey and that he would soon return. His well wishers told him that they would get for him whatever he needed there and then. As he had some other design in mind, the more they said, the less he listened to. He came to Ahmedabad, began to recruit soldiers and collect relatives, strangers, of the city, kashis, kolis in all hurry. He collected nearly four, five thousand horse and foot and several cannons within a few days and encamped at Batwa for arms and retaliation for an impossibility (bringing flowed water to the river). Haider Quli Khan marched from Pethad and encamped near the bank of Khari within



an easy distance. He learnt about his reception with an army and warfare. He did not wish, out of foresight, to inflame fire of war and to raise dust of displeasure any further. He repeatedly sent Meher Ali Khan at night for conversation to set aside quarrel and to polish rust from mirrors of hearts settled at Petlad.

A Couplet.

*We have no designs of enmity with you
You too should not break the cup of friendship.*

Meher Ali Khan made him understand his message with all sincerity and well-wishing. But the will of God meant it otherwise. It proved ineffective.

A Couplet

*He turned reins from the path of obedience
He forgot the path of safety*

Human plan could not set aside Divine decrees. Meher Ali Khan returned at close of night without realization of his object. They decided on war. Haider Quli Khan sent his artillery ahead at that very time and fixed entrenchments. He blocked the enemy's path. Artilleries of both the parties began to roar thunder like after rise of the world-illuminating sun and smoky clouds rose high. Fiery hails began to pour down. Sweat of zeal and revenge excited warriors of both the parties.

A Couplet

*They arrayed their rows on two sides
They spread their armies on earth*

Two seas of warriors became stormy and advanced one another with dashing waves. Both the parties performed wonderful exploits. Safdar Khan's soldiers consisted mostly of kasbatis and Kolis. They got frightened with the sight of battle-field, array of army, discharge of cannons and swivels, whizzing of arrows and the fallen dead. First of all, the party of Kolis and the host of kasbatis who had come for help, removed themselves aside.

A Couplet

*Those wild animals shied immediately
Like wild goats and games from a wolf*

Salabat Muhammed Khan, Jawanmard Khan, Muhammed Asid Chori, all brothers, relatives of brave warriors, residents of the city, intrepid



citizens of the other bank of Sabarmati who were notable, famous, reputable, honourable and always served the Khans because of relation did not approve of disgrace of flight for themselves and stood firm in the battle-field. They saw fright and vacillation in some cowards when they spurred their horses all at once and attacked the centre of the enemy. They arrived at top speed near the elephant of Haider Quli Khan and displayed marvellous feats of valour. He who came forward, saw his hand in front. Handsome youths of both sides rolled in blood on dust of the battle-field. But the array was broken in this assault and dispersal took place. Every one of the chiefs came to a side. Those who escaped sword got scattered like stars of the Greater Bear and sought for refuge. Salabat Muhammed Khan received a slight wound on head. Safdar Khan, who rode an elephant at his place stood opposite with some of his loyal soldiers, turned reins to another direction by occurrence of this event for causing trouble to people. Haider Quli Khan who had no desire of warfare, did not chase them. In short, Safdar Khan, after an escape from that perilous valley, came to the house of Balloo zamindar at Atarsumba and began to get news about his sons. He learnt that Salabat Muhammed Khan, Jawanmard Khan, Muhammed Asad and other relatives pursued one another night and day in suburbs and met together on the other bank of Sabarmati. They removed their families from the city and hastened towards Palanpur. He too proceeded to that side and joined them. Haider Quli Khan marched the next day and came to Isanpur situated at a distance of two kurohs from the city. He halted for three days adjacent to the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhikhan, may his grave be sanctified, situated on outskirts of the city on the bank of Sabarmati. On the first of Rabi 'II, he arrived at Bagh i Shahi and stayed there for one month and a half. He entered Bhadra on 16th Jamadi I and devoted himself to administrative duties. Shukar-ullah Beg, Naib Port officer of Khanbhayat wrote that he should be vigilant of Surat Port also. He managed most of the administrative matters through Syed Faizullah, the mansabdar of the provincial cadre who was very familiar with this region. Due to a war with Babi, order, organization and domination were established to such an extent that no one was bold enough to raise his head in self-conceit. Haider Quli Khan was not without ability. He composed the following line on this victory as a chronogram.

Verse

When banners of Haider became visible- Afghan banners got inverted.

Banners stand for two alifs in the word Afghan. When they get inverted, faghan remains which gives 1130 year

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CHAPTER 168

OCCURRENCE OF A FAMINE POPULAR AS JANBUTRA

It was in this year that a severe famine took place. It is known in Gujarat as Janbutra. Bajra and math were sold at four sers a rupee. This too was obtained with difficulty and hardship. But no one was bold enough to oppress the weak on account of strict administrative control of the Naib of the Subah. It was decided that food-stuff that was brought from outside was to be sold in the house of Rai Raghunath Das, Diwan of Haider Quli Khan. It was obtainable in proportion to luck and fate. It rained untimely which was not useful for cultivation purposes. Plains and meadows became verdant. Most of the poor and the destitute cooked leaves of self-growing vegetables out of distress and thus extinguished fire of starvation. But this food culminated in disease and death. People sold their children for one or two rupees. Signs of an epidemic appeared among the people. Many persons died. In ancient Gujarat, rupee with a hole and of less weight technically known as Chalani and Baqir-khani respectively was current in payment of price of food-grains, ghee, eatable and drinkable commodities. New rupees were coined in this year of famine which are current till now in the same manner. Ghazni Khan alias Muhammed Firoz Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur came to Ahmedabad to remove bitterness and bring about compromise on behalf of Saffdar Khan. He saw Haider Quli Khan and said, "An affair took place according to the will of God. Now

Hemistich

Amity is better, under all circumstances, than war

Haider Quli Khan was not contented with occurrence of this event. He wrote a conciliatory letter with complete pacification and summoned Saffdar Khan with his sons. They came and met him. Iran's envoy Mir Murtuza also arrived at this time from Udaipur and alighted in the garden of Meher Ali Khan. Haider Quli Khan went with nobles to see him. He alighted him in the house of Meher Ali Khan situated on the river bank which was one of the houses of Muhammed Beg Khan freshly acquired. Brother of Mumin Khan, Muhammed Abdullah who was appointed by His Majesty to play host as far as Surat also accompanied him. He was given a present of five thousand rupees. Two thousand were paid to him from the Treasury in the palace. He took the remaining amount of three thousand rupees for which he submitted a permit of payment to Diwan of the Subah who paid him from the government treasury. It was in this year that Rashid Khan who was appointed by His Majesty to carry a letter and some Jewels to the Ruler of Iran arrived so that he might sail from Surat. A royal order was issued to Diwans of the



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Imperial Subahs to the effect that any servant who is not present in his place of service but his gumastah is present, should be removed from service. Sharif Sa'eed, Sharif of Holy Mekka, may God increase its honour and sanctity, died. His son Sharif 'Abdullah was appointed as Sharif of Mekka. He sent Haji Saleh as his envoy with fifteen horses of Arab descent and a letter informing His Majesty about death of his father with a request to continue an annuity of one lac of rupees in his name as was done in case of his father. After reading the letter and seeing the horses, His Majesty ordered the amount to be paid annually from the Surat Treasury in his name. An order was issued to Haider Quli Khan for payment of this year's annuity to be sent with the envoy Haji Saleh in the season of sailing of ships. A mandate was also issued that the amount should be paid every year. Sam'at ud Dawlah learnt about scholarship and accomplishment of Mawlanā Shaikh Nuruddin Muhammed. His Majesty received a pamphlet on horses written by him and sent with his sons Shaikh Muhammed Saleh and Shaikh Nizamuddin Muhammed. A permit for payment of one thousand rupees with the seal of Qutb-ul Mulk for travelling expenses was received by Diwan of the Subah. They left. A royal order was issued that five lacs of rupees should be set aside as deposit from the Jizya Office of Ahmedabad Subah for distribution among deserving men of the Holy Places. Muhammed Hafiz Khan was to convey that amount. Monthly salary of provincial bailiffs of the government treasury was included in lists of expenses of Ahmedabad city. It was ordered that it was a charge on the Subah's Nazim. It should be taken from it. Two thousand rupees to Shaikh Ali Sirhindi conversant with verities and gnosticism and five hundred rupees to Syed Ahmed, sons of the chief among gnostics. Shah Wajih ud Din may his grave be sanctified, were assigned as expenses from the Jizya Treasury of the Subah. On the recall of Mir Ibrahim, Syed Fatehullah was appointed Amin of the Municipal Office. His Majesty learnt from a report of the intelligencer Mahfuz Khan that one of the sons of Mahbub ul Alam, Syed Hamid could not go to the Royal Presence for congratulations due to financial incapacity and dangers of travelling. In previous times, they have usually presented themselves in the Royal Court for congratulations. He was granted a precious robe, fifteen hundred rupees in cash and three thousand rupees as price of a she elephant or the animal. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that the Syed should be given necessary means of transport and be sent to the Royal Court. He proceeded. It was stated before about the departure of Abdul Hamid Khan and Syed 'Aqil Khan to the Royal Court. When the above mentioned Khans reached Akberabad, Syed 'Aqil Khan went to Sirbuland Khan at Patna while 'Abdul Hamid Khan hastened to the Royal Presence. He was appointed shortly as the Faujdar of Saurath. He returned, came to environs of the city, recruited soldiers and went to Saurath. Syed Hamid paid homage, received cash and a



she elephant and was granted leave to depart. He was appointed a Mutawalli of the Shrine of His Holiness Chief of those united with God, Ahmed Khattu, may his grave be sanctified. Haider Quli Khan appointed his own son Kazim Khan to establish order of Mahi District and to chastise and punish rebels and Kolis of Baroda Paragana while Rai Raghunath Das was appointed his Naib. He attended to this work for some time. It became clear from letters of the vakils at the Court that the Subah is transferred from Samsam ud-Dawlah. He wrote to Kazim Beg and Rai Raghunath Das that scribes of the Diwani Office should be sent to Baroda to prepare a booklet of the days of his Diwani with all appurtenances, dependents etc. He appointed Ghazni Khan alias Muhammed Firoz Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur as Naib till arrival of Nazim of the Subah for defence and protection of the city. Kazim Khan came out of Ahmedabad on 1st Rabi'I. Ghazni Khan arrived from Palanpur and took charge as Naib. Envoy Mir Murtuza and Rashid Khan, letter-carrier to the Ruler of Iran came to Ahmedabad one after the other and proceeded for Surat Port.



CHAPTER 170

SALTANAT OF MUHAMMED RAFI UD DARJAT BADSHAH SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH DEPUTYSHIP OF HAIDER QULI KHAN DIWANI OF MEHER ALI KHAN AND NAHIR KHAN

A discord took place between Badshah Muhammed Farrukh Siyar and Qutb ul Mulk Vazir for certain matters whose account is not proper for this book on Gujarat. Amir-ul Umara Syed Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur was leading the Dekhan Campaign in those days. On getting intelligence of the Emperor's indisposition, he hastened to the Capital with his brother with a large army in company of Balaji Rao, the chief administrator of Raja Sahu with fifty thousand Maratha horsemen. They set aside Muhammed Farrukh Siyar and killed him.

A couplet

*You levelled fidelity with the ground, carried tyranny to the sky,
You were neither ashamed of the people nor cared for God*

Muhammed Rafi'ud Darjat, son of Muhammed Rafi'ush Shan, son of Hazrat Khuld Manzil (Muhammed Mu'azzam Shah 'Alam) ascended the throne on 8th Rabi I, 1131 Hijri. A royal order was issued to Nazims and Diwans of the Empire intimating to them about royal accession to the throne and establishment of order in their respective Subahs. Qutb ul Mulk, at the time of change of Saltanat, had assured Maharajah Ajit Singh of Subedari of Ahmedabad and thus made him a partisan. Meher Ali Khan, who was one of the best provincial mansabdars was appointed Naib of the Maharajah till arrival of the absolute Naib. He took charge on 5th Rabi II. Royal accession was celebrated by illuminations on buildings of the canal and a bazar was organised. He actively devoted himself to administrative work. Muhammed Bahadur, son of Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi was appointed patrolling Faujdar. Meher Ali Khan, on the recall of Haider Quli Khan was appointed Diwan of the Subah on 22nd of the above month of autumn of It II of the above year. An order was issued about enthronement of Badshah Muhammed Rafi'ud Darjat with the seal of Qutb ul-Mulk Yamin ud Dawlah Syed Abdullah Khan Bahadur Zafar Janj Commander in Chief, faithful friend on 9th Rabi 'II, First year of ascension.



CHAPTER 171

A COPY OF THE ORDER

May Meher Ali Khan asylum of exalted ministership, seat of valour be protected. A royal order was issued by Muhammed Rafi'ud-Darjat to the effect that Farrukh Siyar, having gone mad, deviated from the path of moderation and behaved in a fashion contrary to the Timuri dynasty. He received punishment for his wicked deed. The throne of Khilafat and world-government obtained embellishment and vernal freshness by auspicious enthronement of His Majesty. It is necessary that all Nazims and Diwans should observe principles of world-organization and devote themselves wholly and solely to establishment of orderly government and administrative work as before with firm determination. They should so establish order and administer the subahs that all ryots should enjoy peace in cradles of security, say prayers for continuity of the empire and occupy themselves to their respective trades and professions. They should hope for our kindnesses by shortening hands of oppressive strong men on weak persons. Hence, it is written in accordance with the royal order that the asylum of ministership should render thanks to His Majesty for all these unlimited kindnesses and favours and should perform his duties in accordance with the royal order. Again, a royal order was received for continuation of the jagirs of mansabdars. A royal order was issued that the jagirs of all government mansabdars are retained as before by the Royal Court. The Diwans should be informed that the mahals of jagirdars are continued as before and that they should not be molested and troubled for new sanads. Metals were coined with the following balanced verse

*The emperor of land and sea Rafi'ud Darjat
Impressed coins in Hind with thousands of blessings*

On 10th Jamadi I, Diwan of the Subah, on the transfer of Meher Ali Khan to the Aminship of Petlad paragana, Dholka and Kasba of Dohad and the Daroghaship and Karori of the Municipal Office and mahal of octroi duties on the recall of Haider Quli Khan were granted by His Majesty to Nahir Khan who held the mansab of 3000 Zat, 1000 Sawar, original and additional through a talk of the Maharajah and Qutb ul-Mulk. Meher Ali Khan was appointed his Naib till the arrival of his brother Ruhullah Khan. A royal order bearing the seal of Qutb-ul-Mulk Yamin ud-Dawlah was issued on 11th Jamadi I of the first year of Ascension to Nahir Khan in respect of abolition of jizya.



CHAPTER 174

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER ISSUED TO THE DIWAN NAHIR KHAN IN RESPECT OF ENTHRONEMENT

In accordance with the perfect wisdom of God the Great, Who is surety for welfare of the world and its people and cause of organization of the world and human beings, the late Shah Rafi'ud-Darjat, may his grave be fragrant, willed that his elder brother should decorate the throne of sovereignty. Accordingly, he ascended the throne at sunrise on Saturday, 20th Rajab. A royal order was issued to the effect that the auspicious title and blessed name of His Majesty in future should be written and recorded in mandates and impressed on the signet of saltanat as Shah Jahan Badshah. All sincere intentions of His Majesty are directed towards welfare of common folk and safety and security of high and low people. All Nazims, Faujdars, and Diwans of the Empire and administrators of state affairs should take a note of kind farmans and organized principles to the effect that the royal servants should continue in their respective posts and continue to administer affairs and perform duties as before out of kindness and generosity. They should make incessant efforts to cherish revenue paying ryots and look after the well-being of the indigent and the destitute, protect travellers and wayfarers, eradicate disturbances, and chastise rebels of cities. Hence, it is written in accordance with His Majesty's order that they should render thanks for royal favours and kindnesses and perform duties as instructed by His Majesty. Gold and silver metals should be converted into coins in all mints of Ahmedabad Subah as under. It should be regarded as an emphatic injunction. The coin should bear the inscription of "Blessed corn of Shah Jahan Badshah i Ghazi". A similar order was issued to the Naib Nazim. Meher Ali Khan was the Naib Nazim on behalf of Maharajah Ajit Singh. Ruhullah Khan, Naib Diwan of the Subah made a loud proclamation, in concord with the Naib Nazim, in the name of His Majesty. Gold and silver were turned genuine with the auspicious titles in mint. A royal order was issued in the name of Nahir Khan for his continuance in absolute authority of Diwan, Daroghaship, Karori of Municipal Office, other offices of octroi duties, Aminship of arrears of revenues of Ahmedabad Subah, Faujdar of Petlad paragona, Dholka within jurisdiction of the Subah. An order was also received for confiscation of the house of jeweller, Kapur Chand Bhansali in concord with the Naib Nazim and royal accountants of the Subah's Diwan. Ten thousand and eight hundred rupees were monthly assigned to Maharani of the martyred king who was the daughter of Maharajah Ajit Singh. A permit to take that amount from the Provincial Treasury of Ahmedabad Subah was received. Three lacs of rupees out of five lacs of rupees for charitable purposes were paid to Muhammed Hafiz Khan. The Darogha received an order for



payment of remaining two lacs of rupees and sending that amount to Surat port. Three thousand rupees were assigned as present to Shaikh Muhammed Ghaus, guide of Hajis, a resident of Holy Mekka from Ahmedabad's Treasury as requested by Mir Jumla Mu'zzam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan Bahadur, Sadr-i-Jahan, Sadar-us-Sudur. An order was received by the minister for continuance of jagir, daily allowances, means of sustenance, presents to all as before without molestation for new sanads

CHAPTER 175

DISTURBANCES CREATED BY THE MARATHA PILAJI RAO GAEKWAD ON ENVIRONS OF SURAT PORT

During these days, the Maratha Pilaji Rao Gaekwad raised disturbances in vicinity of Surat port. He plundered and pillaged villages. Naib Port-officer, Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan sent Syed 'Aqil and Muhammed Panah with an army for resistance and defence. Muhammed Panah being wounded in an engagement was captured by the Maratha. He was released after payment of a ransom. Pilaji made repeated annual incursions from that day. He occupied Sonpara within jurisdiction of Tokruh adjacent to Surat Sarkar and lived there. It was in this year that several carts laden with silk were taken to Ahmedabad from Surat when the Kohis on the ford of Mahi river looted them. Whereupon the Naib Nazim Meher Ali Khan took one lac and five thousand rupees from the Provincial Treasury with attestation and seal of nobles, royal officers and signature of the Provincial Diwan for recruitment of soldiers. He led an army against them. He seized whatever he could of plundered wares from the Kohis and returned them to their respective owners. He took securities from them for not raising disturbances and returned (to Ahmedabad)



CHAPTER 176

SALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY MUHAMMED RAWSHAN AKHTAR TITLED MUHAMMED SHAH BADSHAH SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH DEPUTYSHIP OF MEHER ALI KHAN DIWANI OF NAHIR KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF RUHU- LLAH KHAN

After death of the martyred king as well as of Muhammed Rafi'ud-Darjat, grandson of Muhammed Akber Padshahzadah, Muhammed Niku Siyar led a retired life in fort-citadel of the Capital Akberabad. In this anarchical state, he kept retinues of the fort to himself, he intended to sally forth. He invited most of the rajahs and amirs who in a way were displeased with Qutb ul Mulk and Amir ul Umara due to the martyred king to join him. He corresponded secretly with others. This closed secret was divulged and it was talked about everywhere. Muhammed Niku Siyar also strengthened the fort and raised the banner of saltanat. Qutb-ul Mulk and Amir ul-Umara marched on Akberabad to suppress this revolt in the stirrup of His Majesty Shah Jahan Badshah with artillery from Shahjahanabad. They delayed for some time war with cannons and guns and preparation of trenches for a siege. In the meanwhile, Shah Jahan Badshah died at close of Shawwal month. Qutb ul-Mulk and Amir-ul Umara, therefore, wrote to their brother Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan, Subedar of the Capital that he should bring in all haste one of the noble princes to them to enthrone him. As it was pre ordained by God that Muhammed Rawshan Akhtar son of Muhammed Jahan Shah Bahadur, son of His Majesty Khuld Manzil should ascend the throne, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan approached His Majesty, and reported above mentioned matter to him. He agreed to it. On that very day, arrangements for necessary transport were made and they marched in all haste to the capital. Vazirs and amirs performed requisites of reception and essentials of congratulations. He ascended the throne as Muhammed Shah Badshah on 15th Zik'ad, one thousand, one hundred and thirty one Hijri.

Verses

*When death throws away a crown from head
The sky places it on head of another
Such is the case with turquoise coloured sky
It rotated round heads of Sam and Ham (sons of Noah)*

He ennobled Qutb ul Mulk and Amir ul Umara as well as others with grant of gorgeous robes and manifold favours. The glorious office of minister-



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ship and Amir-ul-Umrai was granted to Qutb-ul-Mulk and Syed Husain Ali Khan. It was decided that the year should be counted from the death of Muhammed Farrukh Siyar. Royal mandates and orders were issued to Subedars, Faujdars and Diwans of the empire to give them tidings of enthronement. Subedari of Ahmedabad was granted as before to Maharajah Ajit Singh. Diwani was retained with Nahir Khan. Meher Ali Khan devoted himself to administrative duties of Nizamat.

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CHAPTER 177

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER TO DIWAN OF THE SUBAH NAHIR KHAN, ON ENTHRONEMENT

His Majesty Muhammed Rawshan Akhtar ascended the throne. A royal order was issued to the effect that the blessed name of Muhammed Shah should be inscribed and recorded on mandates of Saltanat. First of all, all the servants of Khilafat and officers of Saltanat should make prostration to Almighty God as a means of continuity and permanence of this kingdom and perform dues of benedictions as far as possible. Secondly, ease and solace to all people should be made a means of pleasing the Creator. No moment should be spared in achievement of it. The Diwan should act in accordance with dictates of the royal order. Services of all men, small and great are retained as before with the same salaries as stated in their sanads. Allowances to pensioners should be given according to regulations. None should be molested on ground of renewal of sanads. A royal order was received in respect of continuance of jagirs, services, daily allowances, means of sustenance, gifts as before without any molestation on ground of a sanad. Meher Ali Khan Naib of the Subah, Ruhullah Khan Naib of the Diwan, scribes, royal officers proclaimed loudly the blessed name of His Majesty. They apprized small and great young and old of the enthronement. The Khatib (preacher) recited the holy Khutaba with auspicious titles in eloquent and sweet language and thus raised up the pedestal of pulpit. Faces of gold and silver received fresh magnificence and limitless rank with impression of auspicious coins which received importance of currency. The following couplet was inscribed on coins at the commencement of Ascension.

A Verse

*King of time, Muhammed Shah
Shuck Coins in the world through Divine Grace*

Afterwards, it bore this inscription. Blessed coin of Muhammed Shah Badshah i Ghazi. After abolition of the Jizya, daily allowance receivers were paid from the Provincial Treasury. Now it was ordered that those who held a permit of royal revenue office should get their daily allowance from the Provincial Treasury. A royal order was issued at this time that expenses of Mahfil of the 12th night of His Holiness, the asylum of Messengership, Chief of the Prophets Mercy to both the worlds should be fixed at one hundred and twenty rupees in every month in every Subah. The Diwan received an order in this respect that this good deed should be done, till appointment of a mutawalli in concord with the Qazi and other pious men. Qazi Inayatullah, on



the transfer of Khairullah Khan, was appointed Qazi by His Majesty The Diwan of the Subah received an order that one lac, eight thousand and five hundred rupees should be paid to the officers for preparation of royal clothes every year Brother of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan, Abul Mafakhir Khan was appointed, on the transfer of Fatehullah, as Darogha of cloth-weaving factory An order was issued that the Diwan of the Subah should pay every month one hundred and eleven rupees as expenses of the majlis of 11th night of the foremost among the pious Ghaus-i-Samadani Muhiyuddin Abdul Qadir al-Hasani, al-Jilani It was during this year that Naib of the Diwan Ruhullah Khan sent hundis of four lacs and eight thousand rupees from revenues of mahals of the Crown-lands Mace-bearer Farrukh Beg Khan came with a paper of peshkash of zamindars and demands of mansabdars as well as to escort the treasure sent

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CHAPTER 178

ARRIVAL OF ANUP SINGH BHANDARI, NAIB OF MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH ARRIVAL OF NAHIR KHAN DIWAN

In the month of Jamadi II of the above year, Anup Singh Bhandari arrived at Bagh-i-Shahi as Naib of Maharajah Ajit Singh in company of Nahir Khan, Diwan of the Subah, Syed Ghulam Husain Khan, Faujdar of Godhra and Thasra, Syed Rustam Ali Khan Bahadur, Faujdar of Baroda, Matlab Khan, Faujdar of Kadi, Sheruddin Khan Bakhshi and Intelligencer by way of Marwar. Next day, Meher Ali Khan and Ma'sum Quli together in a litter on an elephant and with an arrayed army hastened to receive him along with Ruhullah Khan, brother of Nahir Khan, royal officers, and provincial mansabdars. Bhandari entered the Bhadra Fort and devoted himself to administrative work. Nahir Khan submitted a petition to His Majesty about his arrival with Bhandari, safety of the road, taking a bond from zamindars, emphasis on defence of the city in co-operation with Bhandari and adoption of good behaviour with residents. After a few days, there was an exchange of words between Bhandari and Meher Ali Khan in connection with accounts and expenses of establishment during Bhandari's Deputyship. Both of them were displeased with each other. He kept an excellent squadron with him for sake of reputation. Bhandari passed his days and left the affair to passage of time. Meher Ali Khan did not deem it for his good and well being to stay. He, therefore, went to Khanbhat of which he was a Port-officer. Qazi Mustafid Khan, brother of the Chief Qazi Abdul Hamid Khan, was appointed, on the transfer of 'Inayatullah, as the City Qazi. During this time, the case of Muhammed Niku Siyar was decided in the Capital. Subedari of Ujjain was granted, on the recall of Nizam-ul-Mulk, to Syed Dilawar Khan. Nizam ul Mulk was summoned by His Majesty. He had no peace of mind due to hostility and therefore, he did not think it advisable to go to His Majesty. He proceeded towards Burhanpur. On receiving news of Nizam-ul Mulk's departure, Syed Dilawar Khan pursued him at the instruction of Amir-ul-Umara. He fought with him but died. Nizam-ul-Mulk went to Aurangabad. Nephew of Amir ul Umara Syed Alam Ali Khan who stayed in the Dekhan as Naib General understood designs of Nizam-ul Mulk and began to collect an army. He informed Amir-ul-Umara about facts Qutb-ul-Mulk and Amir-ul-Umara, therefore, reported to His Majesty and decided that Nahir Khan, Diwan of the Subah should immediately send hundis of five lacs of rupees from the revenues of the crown-lands, octroi duties of Ahmedabad Subah for expenses of the army to Syed 'Alam Ali Khan at Aurangabad. Maharajah, Nazim of the Subah should send a cavalry of ten thousand horse to Surat. When the cavalry of ten thousand horse of the



Maharajah proceeds to Surat, it should be paid every month by the government from the Provincial Treasury. One lac and fifty thousand rupees for three months for this purpose should be set aside. Every month the number of horse-men should be counted and paid accordingly. Five thousand horsemen should be kept ready at Surat and the remaining five thousand should be posted at a distance of fifteen kurohs at fords and passages, near and far from where entry of the enemy is possible. His Majesty had learnt through a petition of Anup Singh Bhandari that most of the cannons and swivels of the government, lead and gun-powder in the city needed repairs. He was granted five thousand rupees for it. A royal order was issued that the Diwan Nahir Khan should hasten to Surat with a cavalry of three thousand horse and infantry of the same strength and defend with loyalty the passages and fords of the Subah's frontiers so that none of the enemy should enter the Subah from the other side. Soldiers should be paid from the Provincial Treasury. A royal order was issued in this respect. Anup Singh Bhandari took one lac and eighty-five thousand rupees and Nahir Khan four lacs, ninety-two thousand, three hundred and eighty-three rupees with signature of the Diwan as expenses for this purpose from the Provincial Treasury. Nahir Khan appointed Ma'sum Ali, son of Kazim Beg as Risaladar. His original and additional mansab was 700 Zat, 200 sawar without condition. He was given the title of Kazim Beg Khan. He was proposed for the Thanadari of Mundah. He devoted himself to recruitment of soldiers. He went to Surat. After his arrival at Surat and stay there for a few days, he heard news of a war between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Syed Alam Ali Khan and death of the latter. He returned to Ahmedabad. It was heard from reports of certain scribes that Nahir Khan took that amount by a forged permit which he himself issued in his own name. An order was received by the Diwan for removal of gumastahs of the Chronicler and the news-reporter who sat in offices of octroi duties and miscellaneous taxes. Abdul Hamid Khan, Faujdar of Saurath proceeded to the Royal Court for a certain matter.

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CHAPTER 179

MURDER OF KAPUR CHAND BHANSALI NAGAR SHETH AT INSTIGATION OF ANUP SINGH, NAIB OF THE SUBAH

Kapur Chand Bhansali Nagār Sheth arrived from the capital. He was some days at Saurath with Abdul Hamid Khan. When he left for the Royal Court, Kapur Chand came to Ahmedabad and did work as Sheth. The Naib of the Subah extorted illegal fines and charged citizens with false accusation and thus oppressed them. He became a source of trouble and hardship to ryots and common-folk.

A verse

*He who does not possess a merciful heart
Lays accusation of wool on silk*

He, as a chief, prevented him from such actions and obstructed him. Bhandari was puffed up with himself on account of friendship and concord of the Maharajah with Qutb-ul-Mulk and Amir-ul-Umara who observed greater complaisance with him. Thus, he did not stop his harassment. He regarded him as his obstructant and wanted to get rid of him. Kapur Chand understood his unrighteous intention from indications and so stopped his visits to the Bhadra. He employed nearly five hundred unemployed persons as sawar and pyadah and kept them around his house. Many a time he used to visit a temple for worship situated in Behrampur on foot in company of those persons. Whenever Marwari tyrants who were not afraid of God dragged a citizen, he sent his own men to release him on the road with force and violence. As disturbance and riotousness were kneaded in his temperament, he opened his lips in harshness and severity. Nearly one month elapsed in this way. Bhandari employed one of his companions by name Khwaja Bakhsh by deceit as the Marwaris are noted for it. He went to him in guise of a courier with several faked letters addressed to Kapur Chand and took them to his house in darkness of the night. By chance, he reached the place at a time when he got up to go inside the house. At that time, he advanced to him, handed over the letters and kept him busy reading them. His guards were in their respective houses. There was none at that place. He got an opportunity when he found him alone. He stabbed him fatally on his side with a javelin and finished him to death. He jumped out of a window of the diwankhana overlooking a lane and ran away with a shout. He reached his place safely by the time people came to know about his foul deed. His servants dispersed to their respective houses that very night. Kapur Chand's dependents and caste-fellows lifted his



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corpse on supposition that none may know about it at the close of night for cremation to the gate of the city and waited for its being opened Bhandari's men learnt about it They prevented them from so doing and molested them They ran away keeping his dead body there It was lying there for three and a half hours after the day had risen It was ultimately cremated with permission of Bhandari

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CHAPTER 180

MURDER OF AMIR-UL-UMARA SYED HASAN ALI KHAN AND CAPTURE OF QUTB-UL-MULK APPOINTMENT OF ITIMAD-UD DAWLAH MUHAMMED AMIN KHAN BAHADUR AS VAZIR ISSUE OF ORDERS AND ESCHEAT OF PROPE- RTY OF SYED GHULAM HUSAIN KHAN AND RUSTAM ALI KHAN IN AHMEDABAD

When news of Syed 'Alam Ali Khan's death and occupation of Aurangabad by Nizam-ul-Mulk at a time when the affair of Niku Syar was decided, were received by Qutb-ul-Mulk and Amir-ul-Umara at Akberabad, the bright day became dark to their world-seeing eyes. Both the brothers, after consultation, saw their welfare in this that Qutb-ul-Mulk should go to Shahjahanabad while Amir ul-Umara should march to the Dekhan against Nizam-ul-Mulk with the Emperor. Qutb-ul-Mulk hastened with permission to the Capital. Amir-ul-Umara hoisted banners for the Dekhan. They marched a stage or two. In the month of Zilhajj, I'timad-ud-Dawlah Muhammed Amin Khan found His Majesty's disposition deviated due to the unpleasant event of the martyred king and domination of both the brothers, got an opportunity to obtain permission from His Majesty to do away with Amir ul-Umara. He took some of the amirs such as Haider Quli Khan and Sa'adat Khan into his confidence and co operation. They assigned this duty to a Turani Mughal by name Haider Khan. He waited for an opportunity. One day when Amir-ul-Umara came out from the Royal Presence in a Palki to go to his tent with some of his servants. On the way to Urdu bazar, he advanced to him for submission of a petition. He began to walk side by side with the Palki. When he began to read his petition, he stabbed him on side with a large knife and finished him to death. With a push of his hands, he made the Palki roll on dust of destruction. Dignified office of the greatest ministership was entrusted to Muhammed Amin Khan. On getting intelligence of this event, Qutb-ul Mulk picked up Prince Muhammed, son of Muhammed Rafi' ush Shan, son of Khuld Manzil for the saltanat, collected a large army by wealth and grant of increased mansabs within a few days and marched for revenge. Both the parties met on the way. After a war of saltanat, Qutb-ul-Mulk was captured as ordained by decrees of fate.

Verse

*The world has no exhibition like deed
It is not worthy to attach heart to it*

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His Majesty, shadow of Holy God reached the Capital victorious and



triumphant and acceded to the throne of Khilafat. Royal orders bearing the seal of I'tsmad-ud-Dawlah were issued to Nazims and Diwans of Imperial provinces in connection with continuance of jagir, daily allowance, means of sustenance, presents and gifts to all as before without new sanads. New sanads were not to be demanded. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah Nahir Khan for continuance of expenses of the twelfth night of His Holiness the Prophet, may benedictions of God be on him as well as the eleventh night of His Holiness Syed Abdul Qadir Gilani as before, immediate despatch of the Provincial Treasury by means of Hundis, escheat of property and wealth of Qutb-ul-Mulk Amir-ul-Umara and their relatives. Wealth and property-removable and irremovable - of Syed Ghulam Husain Khan, Faujdar of Godhra as well as of Syed Rustam Ali Khan, Faujdar of Baroda. Port-officership of Surat was granted, on death of Amir-ul-Umara to Bakhshi ul-Mumalik Qimruddin Khan. He also nominated Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan as his Deputy. Muhammed Amin Khan died a natural death in the month of Rabi' I of the year one thousand, one hundred and thirty-three. Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed as the Vazir. 'Inayatullah Khan was appointed as Naib Vazir till Nizam-ul-Mulk's arrival from the Dekhan. During this time, Meher Ali Khan, the Port officer of Khanbhayat, collected an army, marched on Ahmedabad spreading a false report on his appointment as Diwan and Naib Subedar on supposition that the Subedar and the Diwan will not be continued in the name of the Maharajah and Nahir Khan due to death of Syed Husain Ali Khan and capture of Qutb-ul-Mulk whose complaisance with the former was known to him. On spread of this news, a kind of disturbance took place in collection of revenue of the crown-lands and bandobast in the Nizamut. Meher Ali Khan encamped at Vatwa at a distance of three kurohs from the city. Nobles and mansabdars went and saw him. He conversed with Bhandari. It was agreed upon by both that they should not oppose each other till the arrival of genuine sanads from the Royal Court. Meher Ali Khan went to his own house in the city. False news are false news. An order was issued against him and in confirmation of Bhandari. Khwajah 'Abdul Hamid Khan was raised to the office of the Chief Qazi, Asad Quli Khan, father-in-law of Samsam-ud-Dawlah who was raised to the rank of Amir-ul-Umara was appointed, on the transfer of Abdul Hamid Khan, as Faujdar of Saurath on 3rd Jamadi II. Muhammed Sharif Khan was nominated by him as Naib Faujdar. Port-officership of Khanbhayat, on the recall of Meher Ali Khan, was granted with the Risala of Mir Bakhshi to Kazim Beg Khan. His brother Riza Quli Khan was appointed as Faujdar of Baroda. Nahir Khan, the Diwan received a permit with a seal of the Naib Vazir 'Inayatullah Khan for a tankhwa of one thousand rupees and an elephant or two thousand rupees to be given as in'am to the seat of scholarship and accomplishments. Shaikh Muhammed Saleh and Shaikh Nizamuddin Muhammed, sons of Mawlana Nuruddin



CHAPTER 181

SUBEDARI OF MUIZZUD-AWLAH HAIDER QULI KHAN BAHADUR ZAFAR JANG DIWANI OF HIS SON JA'FAR QULI KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF SHUJA'AT KHAN INTERNICINE WAR WITH ANUP SINGH BHANDARI AND NAHIR KHAN

On the recall of Maharajah Ajit Singh Qamruddin Khan and other Amils the Subedari of Ahmedabad, Port officership of Surat, revenue offices of Crown lands were granted by His Majesty to Muizzud Dawlah Haider Quli Bahadur Zafar Jang in Rajab of ore thousand, one hundred and thirty three Hijri. He held the mansab of 1000 Zat 7000 Siwar, do aspah, se aspah. He was favoured with a special robe, a jewel studded Sarpech, and an elephant from the royal stable. His younger son, Ja'far Quli Khan was appointed, on the recall of Nahir Khan, as Diwan of the Subah. At the request of Muizzud Dawlah Kazim Beg Khan alias Masum Quli was favoured with a mansab, original and additional of 2500 Zat 2550 Sawar with and without condition, Port officership of Khanbhayat Faujdari of Mundah grant of a banner, drum, title of Shuja'at Khan and Deputy of Muizzud Dawlah. Syed Faiz ul lah held the mansab of 500 Zat 100 Sawar without condition he was conferred upon the title of Syed Fayyaz Khan and appointed as Faujdar, and jagirdar of Ahmednagar. A royal order was issued about appointment of Muizzud Dawlah as Subedar, Shuja'at Khan as Naib Nazim and Diwan Muizzud Dawlah wrote letters to all best mansabdars to join Shuja'at Khan in capturing and imprisoning Bhandari and Nahir Khan. Shukh ul Islam Khan continued as Naib Port-officer at Surat. Shuja'at Khan lived in those days at Khanbhayat. Above mentioned information got circulated in Ahmedabad through letters of agents of His Majesty and of butlers. Meher Ali Khan always kept with himself some Arab troops as well as some horsemen and footmen for the sake of prestige as he felt himself to be unsafe from Bhandari. By chance a Marwari and a servant of Meher Ali Khan quarrelled in the market for purchase of a bundle of hay. He got wounded. News of recall had spread. People were tired of rascality of the Marwaris. This quarrel ended in internecine warfare. On hearing news of this quarrel, Meher Ali Khan collected soldiers his servants and others from all sides. A war with cannons and guns ensued. Vagabonds and roughs in a motley of crowd surrounded the Bhadra Fort. The Marwaris lost their stability. They were about to pour in. On seeing this state of affairs Anup Singh Bhandari did not think it proper to come out of the Bhadra Gate and the road of city bazar openly through fear of being attacked by masses, jumped out of garden window inside Bhadra situated towards bank of Sabarmati and encamped at Shahi Bagh. Meher Ali's men and the common folk entered



the fort and plundered whatever the Marwaris could not carry with them Bhandari had added a portion to the palace on the east at an unsuitable place This was destroyed at the suggestion of Meher Ali Khan Next day, hot words were exchanged between Safdar Muhammed Khan, Naib Faujdar of Godhra and Nahir Khan for return of some money They prepared trenches and began to fight with arrows and guns At close of the same day, Shuja'at Khan came at top speed from Khanbhaiyat Nahir Khan, relying on his sincerity and bond of brotherhood, conjectured that he would rescue him without loss to his reputation He awaited his arrival His conjecture proved false and it yielded a contrary result Friendship and sincerity changed into enmity and fierceness and familiarity turned into unfamiliarity. Memories of old associations were laid in the vault of oblivion He sent his own men to the house of Nahir Khan at the instruction of Mu'zzud Dawlah who had suffered captivity and imprisonment at Nahir Khan's hands They plundered bag and baggage of those who were connected with Nahir Khan and were away and near his house For three days, a war continued between them with cannons and guns Some of his camels, horses and furniture of his house were destroyed Nahir Khan's men were mostly reputable, good and nobly born They stood with firmness and fought with valour and manliness They performed marvellous exploits They failed to understand forcible action and secret intentions of Shuja'at Khan Well-wishing counsellors intervened and kept both the parties from fight It was decided that Nahir Khan should pay him one lac of rupees Gulab Rai Peshkar and one of his relatives Shaikh Salamullah were kept as hostages in the house of Syed Muddasir Nahir Khan came out of Ahmedabad and encamped at Awaraj He joined Anup Chand Bhandari at Sidhanpur (Sidhpur ?) where he waited for him They then proceeded further Shuja'at Khan devoted himself to administrative work of the Nizamat and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars He appointed one of his companions Muhammed Hadi as Naib Diwan of the Subah and patrolling Faujdar along with his younger brother Qasim Quli As there was no purity of hearts since long between Shuja'at Khan and Safdar Khan Babi, Shuja'at Khan regarded time as propitious and so wrote to Mu'zzud Dawlah to transfer his jagirs and those of Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jirwanmard Khan to his name and his brothers with their administration and intervention of Nizamat He nominated his brother Ibrahim Quli as Naib in the city and came out for bandobast, collection of peshkash and taking securities from Kolis for not committing rebellious actions He led an army on Khira within jurisdiction of Muhammed Babi and extorted ten thousand rupees He marched to another direction After a few days, Salabat Muhammed Khan learnt about letters of Shuja'at Khan, he proceeded to the Royal Presence and to see Mu'zzud Dawlah He reached in all speed and straight went to see Mu'zzud Dawlah He was much pleased at his arrival He pacified him and



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solaced him. He honoured him with homage to His Majesty, with an addition to his mansab and continuance of his jagirs. He kept him with himself to accompany with him to Ahmedabad. It was at this time that Raza Quli was ennobled with original and additional mansab of 2500 Zat, 2000 Sawar, title of Rustam Ali Khan Bahadur, grant of a flag, a drum while Ibrahim Quli was honoured with original and additional mansab of 1500 Zat, 700 Sawar and the title of his own name. Brothers of Shuja'at Khan were thus honoured through Mu'izzud Dawlah. Raja Raghunath Das was appointed Naib Port-officer at Surat. He came here to inspect accounts of Shaikh ul-Islam Khan who formerly was the Naib of Syed Husain Ali Khan and then that of Qamruddin Khan and now he was on his behalf. He strictly examined the accounts and demanded nearly seven, eight lacs of rupees from him and his companions who were source of his work. Shaikh ul-Islam Khan submitted the amount and came out of that place. As he had no content from Mu'izzud Dawlah, he did not deem it advisable for him to live in the Subah. He went to Pattan. After Mu'izzud Dawlah's arrival he took his dependents and attached ones to Udaipur and lived there. Qasim Ali, younger brother of Shuja'at Khan attacked Pethapur and died in a struggle. Shuja'at Khan repeatedly set their place to fire of wrath out of revenge. Qazi 'Ilmuddin was appointed as petrolling Faujdar. He established bandobast among Zamindars of Sabarmati District and proceeded to Saurath for collection of peshkash. On return, he intended to march on Kutch. Zamindar of Kutch sent his vakils to him and agreed to pay him six lacs and seventy five Mahmudis. Asad Quli Khan, Faujdar of Saurath, nominated on the transfer of Sharif Khan, Syed Muddasar one of the auxiliaries of the Subah as Naib. He went there and actively devoted himself to establishment of order. Raja Raghunath Das came to Ahmedabad after arrival of Tahwwur Khan whose name was Shukarullah Beg and who was appointed Naib Port-officer at Surat. Mu'izzud Dawlah was granted Faujdari of Kadi, Patra Chanwal, paragana of Halwad alias Muhammednagar, thanadari of Tharad, Rajanpur, Bhamubi, Penhapur, and Kheralu on the recall of Bakht Singh, son of Maharajah Ajit Singh and others in addition to that of Subedari. Najib Ali Khan, a relative of Mu'izzud Dawlah was appointed on the transfer of Sher ud Din as Bakhshi and chronicler. As proposed by Mu'izzud Dawlah, Muhammed Bahadur, son of Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi was ennobled with a mansab of 500 Zat, 270 Sawar with and without condition and a grant of Thanadari of Sadra, Virpur and the title of Sher Khan.

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CHAPTER 182

DEATH OF RAJA RAGHUNATH DAS'S SISTER'S SON DIWAN OF MUI'ZZUD DAWLAH.

It so happened at this time that hot words were exchanged between some men of Raja Raghunath Das, Diwan of Mui'zzud Dawlah and those of Qazi 'Ilmuddin, the patrolling Faujdar near Karanj Bazar. Some persons of both parties came to their help and so this wordy dispute culminated into war. On hearing of this contention, sister's son of Raja Raghunath Das, as his fate was nigh, thoughtlessly arrived on the scene with a party of Arab Sawars in aid of his own men and joined in war of arrows and guns. Many of both sides were wounded and slain. By chance, sister's son of Raja Raghunath Das was slain in this struggle. Raja Raghunath Das, on suspicion that his murder was committed at the instigation of Ibrahim Quli Khan, became very angry and moved from his place for wreaking vengeance. He occupied himself with preparation of trenches and the war was about to ensue. As Ibrahim Quli Khan was not at all responsible for this untoward incident, he sent some well-wishing advisers to him saying, 'Whatever ought not to take place, had taken place by dispute of the rabble. I had no knowledge of it at all. They explained to him by narrative and reasonable arguments that an internecine discord is a cause of ruin and ill-repute. Mui'zzud Dawlah who is about to come to this side will be grieved to learn about it. You are the Diwan while he is the Naib. There is no remedy against heavenly decrees. Next day, Ibrahim Quli Khan rode to see Raja Raghunath Das and apologized. The riot subsided.



CHAPTER 183

ARRIVAL OF MUIZZUD DAWLAH AT FRONTIERS OF THE SUBAH HIS ATTACK ON DABHALI DEATH OF ALIF BEG KHAN BY CHANCE ENTRY OF MUIZZUD DAWLAH IN AHMEDABAD

Having obtained a grant of the Subah from the Royal Court Mu'izzud Dawlah resolved to come by way of Malwa. After travelling long distance, he arrived at the environs of the Subah. Nobles, mansabdars and Faujdars hastened to receive him. They met him one after the other. Mu'izzud Dawlah entered Thasra paragana assessing and collecting peshkash. By chance, his army happened to march through Dabhali inhabited by Muslims. A quarrel took place due to transgression of some vagabonds in the army. The army was on the point of plundering it. As the place was low, they besieged it from four sides and began to fight. Headman of the villagers came forward and met them. Being satisfied with this, the soldiers stayed there with comfort with bag, baggage and wives and children when suddenly a disturbance took place. Helplessly, they had to defend themselves, their reputation and property. By chance, Alif Beg Khan who was raised to an exalted mansab and title came to fight riding an elephant. He was shot dead by a gun. It was heard that as the place was narrow, a cannon ball of the army came that side and proved fatal for him. In short, Mu'izzud Dawlah got exasperated on hearing news of Alif Beg Khan's death, he issued a strong order for plunder of that village. A severe engagement took place. Ultimately, the village was set fire to, small and great, young and old of the village were captured. Mu'izzud Dawlah ordered that they should be brought before him and killed all of them by swords. Their houses were levelled with the ground. There did not remain any trace of population due to fire.

Verse

*There did not remain any jumper except wind
There did not remain any human being*

This incident proved a cause of fear and fright for other zamindars and rebels. They came of their own accord and presented themselves. They gave securities for absence of rebellion and transgression and for submission and payment of revenue. No disturbance was caused so long as Mu'izzud Dawlah stayed there. Order and security prevailed on roads. In short, Mu'izzud Dawlah reached environs of the city by continuous marches. He stayed at two three places and marched to Patta Chanwal, habitation of rebellious Kols. He managed them as he wished. He proposed Faujdari of the place for Rustam



Ali Khan He then proceeded to enter Ahmedabad. He entered the Bhadrā fort on the last of Ramazan with all pomp and glory, array of army, artillery, huge elephants, appurtenances of magnificence, means of amirship of deceased Amir-ul-Umara Syed Hasan Ali Khan and Qutb-ul-Mulk and devoted himself to administrative duties. He sent Bangali Khan as Faujdar of Godhra and Khudayar Khan as faujdar of Kadi. An Abyssinian Almas Khan whom he had enlisted as a royal servant and honoured him with the title of Fawlad Khan was appointed as Kotwal of the city. He made a wonderful impression of his charge. None of the vintners, bhang-dealers, vagabonds and rascals was bold enough to sell intoxicants and eat or drink them. None had daring to molest any one or cause harm to an inferior.

Verses

*If a patrol does not create disturbance in adversity
The Qazi will commit adultery on the Night of Power.
If a ruler does not beat with a stick
In intoxicated base fellow will vomit in the Ka'aba*

Shuja'at Khan was free from collection of peshkash in Saurath. He returned to Ahmedabad on hearing about Mu'izzud Dawlah's arrival and halted at Sarkhej for appointment of an hour of meeting. Some of the soldiers and recruits who like the people of Gujarat kept hairs, tresses and ringlets, got themselves shaved through fear of the Kotwal and his administrative strictness. Shuja'at Khan came and met him on an hour elected by astrologers. Mu'izzud Dawlah favoured him with a gorgeous precious robe, sarpech, a jewel embroidered turban-ornament, an elephant, and a palki seized from Syed Husain Ali Khan. He appointed him Naib administrator of state affairs. He entrusted him with management of revenue and financial matters. It was during this time that he laid the foundation of a palace within a palace known as Baradari of Mu'izzud Dawlah overlooking the bank of Sabarmati on the east in the Bhadrā Garden. As the parganas of Petlad and Dholka were assigned in tankhwah to the risala of His Majesty, a royal order was issued to the Diwan Ja'far Quli Khan to send revenues of the said parganas by means of Hundis to His Majesty.



CHAPTER 181

CAPTURE OF HORSES OF THE ROYAL STABLE BY MUI'ZZUD DAWLAH CONFISCATION OF JAGIRS DISOBEDIENCE OF ROYAL ORDERS HOISTING A BANNER OF INDEPENDENCE

Faris Khan, Darogha of Horse Purchase bought some horses of Arab descent for the Royal stable at Surat and despatched them by way of Ahmedabad to the Royal Court. Mui'zzud Dawlah seized them after their arrival at Ahmedabad. He bound those of his choice in his stable. He gave away some of them as present to others. He confiscated jagirs of royal mansabdars, provincial military commanders, lands granted for means of sustenance to eminent Syeds, holy men and distributed them to persons of his own choice. He set aside submission and obedience to royal orders and raised the banner of absolute authority. This innovation remained as his memento and a deed of boldness on the part of other Nazims. Bangali Khan, Faujdar of Godhra who had come to Ahmedabad due to physical ailment died. Muhammed Hadi Naib Diwan of the Subah confiscated his three elephants, some horses and household articles and appropriated by Mui'zzud Dawlah. In the 1195 Hijri Mui'zzud-Dawlah started for establishment of order, administrative control of rebels, assessment of paraganas, collection of peshkash from zamindars towards Betah, Hanula and Dunderpur with Shuja'at Khan forming a vanguard. He took eighty thousand rupees as peshkash from the zamindar of Lunawada and fixed one lac of rupees as peshkash on the zamindar of Dunderpur. When he advanced further to the frontiers of Udaipur, servants of Maharana Jagat Singh received him with a gift of an elephant, several horses and presents. As the zamindar of Dunderpur was a confidante of the Maharana, they left messages for his regard. Mui'zzud Dawlah accepted the gifts for complaisance of the Maharana and absolved the zamindar of Dunderpur of payment of peshkash. He returned and marched to Vijapur paragana and district of Sabarman. At this juncture, Mir Muhammed Baqir, elder brother and Muhammed Muqum, sister's son of Burhan ul Mulk Sa'adat Khan freshly arrived at Surat port from Persia, proceeded to Ahmedabad halted there for a few days to make preparation for travelling and started for the Royal Court. Mir Muhammed Baqir was awarded the title of Siyadat Khan and the fourth Bakhshi. Muhammed Muqum was titled as Abul Mansur Khan. He rose to the dignified post of the Chief Minister during the reign of Ahmed Shah. God willing, it will be recorded in its proper place. Raja Raghunath Das, Diwan of Mui'zzud Dawlah constructed a step-well as an act of goodness adjacent to Panch Kuwa between Sarangpur and Kalupur Gates. Rain water collected in a ditch of the fort on the other side of the wells is sweet and easily obtainable for the people. Mui'zzud



Dawlah was in Pattan for assessment and collection of revenue. He learnt about kingly wrath through letters of agents in the Royal Court due to appropriation of horses and escheat of jagirs under threats and got afraid of it. His eyes woke up from sound sleep of negligence. He collected the horses, summoned Faris Khan from Surat and entrusted them to him and took a receipt from him with his seal. He gave permits for return of jagirs after defacing them and returned to Ahmedabad for deliberation and improvement of his deed. He halted near Bagh-i-Shahi and began to think of the future. Dead body of the Chief Qazi Abdul Hamid Khan, who died on 23rd Zilhajj, 1134 in the Royal Presence, was brought to Ahmedabad on 3rd Safar. He was buried in the garden of his father Qazi 'Abdullah.

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CHAPTER 185

SUBEDARI OF JUMLAT-UL-MULK, NIZAM-UL-MULK. DEPUTYSHIP OF HAMID KHAN BAHADUR. DIWANI OF FIDWI KHAN AND MUMIN KHAN.

It was repeatedly reported to His Majesty about immoderate deeds, of Mu'izzullah, his appropriation of the Royal Stable, escheat of jagirs, actions of self conceit, want of submission to royal orders. Nizam-ul-Mulk who held the office of Chief Ministership after death of Muhammed Amin Khan requested His Majesty for the grant of Ahmedabad's Subedari to him on the recall of Mu'izzud Dawlah. His request was acceded to. He started with a large army and a heavy artillery for improving disturbed state of its affairs. Mu'izzud Dawlah, on hearing this news, ended nights into days at Bagh-i Shahi in anxiety of it. He reviewed his companions and found them not powerful enough to resist Jumlat-ul-Mulk. By thinking too much of far-fetched ideas, frenzy seized him and he began to behave in an uncongenial manner and to utter distracted words. Physicians began to treat him. Raja Raghunath Das led a retired life due to his son-in-law Bhogilal managing affairs of the Diwani. On seeing this state of affairs, he displayed his loyalty towards him by leading him in that very state to the Royal Presence by way of Udaipur. When news of Nizam-ul-Mulk's arrival in vicinity of Ujjain spread, the city-nobles, provincial mansabdars, Meher Ali Khan, Salabat Muhammed Khan, Jawanmard Khan, sons of Safdar Khan Babu started to receive and meet him. Shuja'at Khan and Rustam Khan went as far as Dunderpur in company of Mu'izzud Dawlah out of regard for his claims and then returned to Ahmedabad. They too proceeded to receive Nizam-ul-Mulk. When Nizam-ul-Mulk learnt about the departure of Mu'izzud Dawlah, he stayed there, thought of Naibship of the Subah and the Diwani and waited for the receptionists. He wrote to Safdar Khan Babu for defence and protection of the city till appointment of the Naib. He entered the Bhadra Fort. Meher Ali Khan who had started to meet him was delayed at Dohad due to illness. Nizam-ul-Mulk appointed Hamid Khan as the Naib of the Subah and Fidwi Khan as the Diwan. They were appointed in the spring of Tushkan II corresponding to 7th Jamadi I 1135 Hijri. He fixed paragana of Viramgam in place of Dholka as the Crown-land. Shahpur Khan was appointed Faujdar and Amin of Viramgam. His brother Rehman Quli Khan was nominated Naib. He took paragana of Dholka, Broach, Jamnagar, Maqbulabad and Bulsar as his unconditional jagir as they were fertile and arable. He appointed Rai Nawindah as administrator of those muthals. Paragana of Idar was made a crown-land. Syed Aqil Khan was appointed as its Faujdar. He assigned Faujdari and Jagirdari of Godhra to his brother-in-law Mutawassil Khan. He appointed 'Ubaid Khan as intelligencer on



his behalf along with Hamid Khan Qawidil Khan was nominated a Bakhshi and Chronicler. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was appointed as Kotwal. He returned to the Capital. Hamid Khan reached Dohad. Meher Ali Khan who was ill at Dohad accompanied him. He arranged for a meeting between Shuja'at Khan and Rustam Ali Khan and summoned them. They had gone out for reception to Godhra. Shuja'at Khan and Rustam Ali Khan reached Thasra and joined them. Hamid Khan encamped at Kankariya Tank in the Garden of Meher Ali Khan. He was busy with his hospitality. He entered the citadel on 9th Jamadi II and actively occupied himself with administration of affairs in connection with Nizamat and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars. Asad Ali Khan, father-in-law of Amir-ul Umara, Faujdar came in company of Hamid Khan. He recruited soldiers and made arrangement for their weapons. Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan lived in Udaipur from the beginning of Mu'izzud Dawlah's regime as governor. He came to Ahmedabad. As Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, a favourite of His Majesty was appointed a karori in charge of collection of taxes, duties etc of the whole empire, Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan was appointed a Darogha of Municipal office and Karori of Ahmedabad city. Mumin Khan, on the recall of Mu'izzud Dawlah, was appointed Port-Officer of Surat. He came to his charge. It was previously stated in narrating events of the year 1130 that Haider Quli Khan was appointed Naib of the Subah and that the author's father went in company of Syed 'Aqil Khan. After reaching the Capital of Akberabad, Khawajah Abdul Hamid Khan went to see His Majesty while Syed 'Aqil Khan proceeded to Azimabad to see Mubarez ul-Mulk Sirbuland khan. By chance, Mubarez-ul-Mulk had left that place under an order of the martyred king and proceeded to see His Majesty. They met at a distance of twenty kurohs and then reached the Capital. As the wishes of Mubarez-ul-Mulk were not fulfilled (As Mubarez-ul-Mulk did not say what was in his mind), he was appointed as Subedar of Kabul. He took Syed Aqil Khan and the author's father with him to Kabul and appointed them to the work and services of the mahals of the Panyab and Peshwar. They spent as many days as destined. Mubarez-ul Mulk resigned his post as Subedar this year and came to His Majesty. As the author's father had service of long standing with Muhammed Jahan Shah and his two predecessors, he paid homage to His Majesty through Bahroz Khan, a favourite of the Emperor. He was granted a mansab of, original and additional, 1000 Zat, 300 Sawar and awarded a title of Ali Muhammed Khan. His brother Muhammed Jafar was favoured with additional and original mansab of 700 Zat, 100 Sawar and the title of Jafar Muhammed Khan in absentia. As the author's father had a greater inclination to come to Ahmedabad, he was, at a request appointed an amin of municipal office on the recall of Hayat Ali Khan and given a robe. He was ordered to send a few pieces of clothes and tankhan. The author's father sent sanad of service to Jafar



to Firdwi Khan with the seal of Nizam ul-Mulk in respect of removal of Karora of Nazim and stoppage of a money-till and mahals of custom duties which were posted by former Nazims. Hence, the Karorah of Municipal Office and octroi duties were abolished. It was not a practice formerly to post servants of an intelligencer in mahals of octroi duties in the imperial Subahs. His Majesty entrusted this duty to Ali Ahmed Khan Kukah in addition to his duties of an intelligencer of the Kutcheri of the highest Diwan. Orders were sent to the Diwanis of the Subahs to assign these duties to their Naibs. Firdwi Khan appointed his gumashtah for it. Kabir Ali was appointed as a Chronicler. Meher Ali Khan who was ill for some time died. Mustafid Khan Qazi nominated his son Abdul Ahad Khan as his Naib and went to the Royal Presence as summoned. He was raised to the exalted rank of the Chief Qazi. His son was appointed as a city-Qazi. At the request of His Majesty's favourite, Hafiz Khudmatgar Khan, revenues of the Municipal Office and octroi duties were to be utilized for carrying out recommendations of His Majesty, royal robes, purchase of articles for government. Its management was entrusted to the care and responsibility of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan. Wajihuddin, on the transfer of Pir Muhammed was appointed Darogha for property and wealth.



CHAPTER 186

WAR BETWEEN A SQUADRON OF MUMIN KHAN PORT-OFFICER OF SURAT AND THE MARATHA PILAJI RAO GAEKWAR DEFEAT OF MUNIM KHAN'S SQUADRON ARRIVAL OF KANTHAJI AT DOHAD RUSTAM ALI KHAN'S APPOINTMENT AT PORT OFFICE OF SURAT DIWANI OF MUMIN KHAN ARRIVAL OF ALI MUHAMMED KHAN FROM HIS MAJESTY

Pilaji Rao Gaekwar was formerly a source of disturbance and mischief in the district of Surat. Having attained in a way power and position during these days, he resorted to plunder and pillage of neighbouring places, massacre and waylay of travellers. Munim Khan, the Port officer despatched a squadron under command of Izzat Muhammed Khan and a party of his companions to warn and chastise him. They fought as they could but were defeated. Some of them got wounded and slain and some got captured but got themselves ransomed. Pilaji's ascendancy increased in that district. He occupied Sonpara of Bularuh within jurisdiction of Surat Sarkar situated at a distance of thirty-two kurohs from the port and which belonged to a zamindar. He built a fortress on a small mountain situated on an elevated place at a distance of one kuroh. He made it his habitation by building a fortification below around the population. He gradually occupied the piragana of Ayawal and other paraganas of Surat Sarkar. He strengthened himself by building forts at Rajpipla, Panch Mahal and Sader Biral with gates at Konda Bajpur, and Sakal Kahanha. Kanthaji Maratha reached Dohad and Godhra and resorted to plunder and pillage and exaction of safety money known as Khandani. He became a source of war-mongering. It was in this year that the Maratha incursions began in this Subah. Munim Khan, Port officer of Surat was appointed, on the recall of Fidwi Khan the Diwan of the Subah with a snad from 10th Shawwal of Lul II of that year. Before his arrival, he wrote to a merchant Haji Muhammed Saleh to take charge. He himself arrived at Ahmedabad from Surat Port on 16th Ziqa'd and devoted himself to his duty. Rustam Ali Khan, on the transfer of Munim Khan, was appointed as Port officer of Surat. He hastened from Baroda to Surat and assumed his charge. He actively occupied himself with appointment of Faujdars, Thanadars and establishment of order. A preacher Syed Ali, in whose nature mischief and revolt were kneaded, collected masses who are like animals by shouts of 'religion, religion' and created riots. Rustam Ali Khan arrested him bearing in mind that slight evil for the sake abundant good as permissible. He did not cause harm to his life out of regard for his



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being a Syed. Having overthrown him like a bird, he imprisoned him in Baroda. His disciples consisted of a large number of Arabs, Rumis and Hindis created a riot by witnessing this condition of their spiritual guide and indulged in warfare. A war continued for full one day with arrows and guns. They had no strength to resist and therefore, came out of the city. Rustam Ali Khan's impression of powerful domination was created upon residents. At this juncture, the author's father Ali Muhammed Khan, Amin of the municipal office arrived from His Majesty. Qawidil Khan, Bakhshi-Chronicler left for the Dekhan after appointing Mir Husam-ud-Din as his Naib.

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CHAPTER 187

SUBEDARI OF MUBARIZ-UL-MULK SARBULAND KHAN BAHADUR DILAWAR JANG AND DEPUTYSHIP OF SHUJA- 'AT KHAN INTERECINE WAR WITH HAMID KHAN DIWANI OF MUMIN KHAN

For certain matters, an account of which is not proper in these pages as the book is limited only to the history of Ahmedabad Subah, Nizam-ul-Mulk proceeded to the Dekhan without permission of His Majesty I'timad-ud-Dawlah Qamruddin Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang was appointed to the glorified office of the Chief Minister by His Majesty. Under rules and regulations of the empire, the Vazir it not transferred, Nizam-ul-Mulk was elevated to the post of an absolute Wakil with the title of Asaf Jah Mubariz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khan, who was distinguished with the mansab of 7000 Zat, 7000 Sawar du-aspah, se-aspah, was appointed, on the transfer of Nizam-ul-Mulk, to the Subedari of Ahmedabad with a grant of a royal robe, a jewel-studded Sarp-eh and an elephant. Shuja'at Khan, under a royal order, was appointed as Naib of the Subah. Necessary orders with a letter of Mubariz-ul-Mulk to Shuja'at Khan were received through the author's father Ali Muhammed Khan along with a sanad of administration of the mahals of the Haveli paragana of Ahmedabad, Dholka, Broach, Jamusar, Maqbulabad, Bulsar, conditional mahal of the Subah of Kadi paragana. Shuja'at received them with due decorum and took the mandate of Deputyship. He informed Hamid Khan about it and then actively devoted himself to management of Nizam's affairs by appointing Kotwal, Patrolling Faujdar and Thanadars. Ali Muhammed Khan submitted the court's sanad sent with him by Mubariz-ul-Mulk to the office of Diwani and received its similitude (copy) as a receipt. He sent Ja'far Muhammed Khan to Broach, the author to Dholka and amils to other mahals. Every one went to his respective charge. Shuja'at said to Hamid Khan to vacate Bhadra. As it was monsoon, he demanded respite for a few days. Shuja'at Khan refused to grant him respite and laid foundation for trenches and war. Fire of warfare blazed forth from both sides. The oven of warfare remained heated for three full days with a fight with cannons, guns and destruction of houses of men dwelling near the Bhadra Fort. Some of Ahmedabad's residents who abhorred Shuja'at Khan's guidance (government) instigated their own men to side with Hamid Khan. Ali Muhammed Khan thought with foresight that the matter might slowly and slowly prolong and the city might be subjected to plunder, approached Safdar Khan Babi and there summoned Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan and said, "The appointed man is different and he will come. If the fire is subsided by peace, it will be better and most proper. It will be a means of joy to the appointed man." He then went to Shuja'at Khan making them ride their



horses. He was dissuaded from a fight and thus the quarrel ended. Hamid Khan came out. He stayed at Dohad till end of monsoon. He informed Asaf Jah about the occurrence and waited for his reply. Shuja'at Khan came out in season and harvesting of food-grains with seven, eight thousand horse and foot consisting of best Jamadars of Gujarat, Kasbas, Arabs and Dekhanis for establishment of order, collection of pe-hkash from zamindars of Sabarmati district and left Ibrahim Quli Khan as his Naib in the city. He sent Ram Rai with a force of one thousand horse and foot as Faujdar of Munda and to block up the path of Hamid Khan in case he designed to come to that side. He himself marched further. His Majesty appointed Tale'yar Khan, on the transfer of Qawidil Khan as Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah. Amanatdar Khan was appointed as Deputy. Mubariz-ul-Mulk needed money. Jiwan Chughal advanced him two lacs of rupees on a mortgage of the paragana of Dholka, Broach, Jamusar and Maqbulabad. His naibs wrote for aid and charge. Mubariz-ul-Mulk referred to Ali Muhammed Khan who arranged for their charge. He came to Ahmedabad from Dholka on 1st Muharram 1137 Hijri. A gorgeous robe was sent to Shuja'at Khan with mace-bearers on the occasion of auspicious Jashan. Shuja'at Khan had nearly collected seven, eight thousand men of Gujarat. He over-awed Hamid Khan by anger and removed him from Bhadra. Rustam Ali Khan engaged in action with Pilaji Rao Gaekwar twice or thrice and had chased him. Both the brothers earned name and fame among all sections of people. Shuja'at Khan found out His Majesty's displeasure against Asaf Jah. He reported to His Majesty through some of the grandees to the effect that "If we two brothers are to be utilized against him, a risala should be sent to us. We have nearly twenty thousand horsemen ready with us. Another force can be collected. We are ready for a war against Asaf Jah whenever ordered." This proposal was approved of. Three lacs of rupees were assigned from Surat port treasury for the purpose. Shuja'at Khan appointed his own son Ahmed Quli as Risaldar and sent him to Rustam Ali Khan at Surat so that he might recruit soldiers and make other preparation in concord with him. Mubariz-ul-Mulk learnt about this claim and self-glorification which caused delay for his departure. He wrote a detailed secret letter in his own hand without knowledge of one to Ali Muhammed Khan in whose vigilant brain and sound judgement he had confidence as to whether they would be able to execute what they had professed. Further, would they be able to undertake such a great affair with all their boast, vainglory and nonsense. The author's father passed on that letter after reading it to the author for perceiving the closed secret with all exertion. After meditation and deliberation with all sagacity and knowledge (for the copy was prepared by the author) he wrote a reply that the substance of their claim is this: there is no doubt and suspicion in valour, prowess and soldierly qualities of these two brothers for they are personally brave



and intrepid but to be a soldier is a different matter from being a commander Further, persons who have gathered around Shuja'at Khan consist of Gujaratis and Kasbatis who would never array themselves in a war nor remain steady in a battle-field On mere seeing the points of the Marathas' lances, they would show their backs to the battle-field without a fight The commander being a soldier will necessarily fall slain Rustam Ali Khan has a squadron consisting of Arabs, mercenaries and some reputation-seeking Gujaratis They faced assaults of Pilaji Maratha several times In short, they have adopted mode of their warfare In short, Shuja'at Khan was busy with assessment and collection of peshkash in the district of Kadi Having thought of a preparation, Mumin Khan the Diwan and Ali Muhammed Khan, administrator of mahals wrote to Mubariz ul Mulk and the scribes that there is an urgent affair for consultation and therefore, he should come * 'Izzat Muhammed Khan, Naib of the Diwan and others started as summoned and met them Shuja'at declared his mind saying that expenses of establishment are more and that they are not sufficient He insisted on Hamid Khan's stay at Dohad He thought of an assembly He wrote a letter bearing the seals of Mumin Khan, Ali Muhammed Khan, Amanatdar Khan Bakhshi and Chronicler, Kabir Ali Khan intelligencer He took two lacs of rupees from the provincial treasury He allowed the Khans to go The author's father said at departure, with exigency of time and advisability of situation that they should really proceed to Kapadvanj and Lunawada for bandobast Hamid Khan waited for an opportunity He had not yet collected an army It would be better if he went to some side Shuja'at Khan placed a finger of approval with external regard but internally, he attributed it to some distant affair He said to his favourite servants, "Such and such a person does not wish that we should be in the Subah Hamid Khan's stay in the neighbourhood is a good evidence for us He has some other wish in mind What importance has it to strike a stricken person

Verse

*When life becomes dark for a man
He does what he ought not do*

He marched to another direction At this juncture, Shaikh 'Alan envoy of Sharif of Mecca, may God increase its sanctity and honour arrived at Ahmedabad from Surat with some auspicious relics and presents He then proceeded to the Royal Court Ali Muhammed Khan sent with him some jellies as recommended by Mubariz ul-Mulk Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi who knew what was there in the mind of Hamid Khan He did not deem it proper for him to stay in the city, he retired to Golwar with his dependents, mahal of his father's jagir.

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CHAPTER 188

ALLIANCE OF KUNTHAJI MARATHA WITH HAMID KHAN WAR WITH SHUJA'AT KHAN AND HIS DEATH OCCUPATION OF THE SUBAH BY HAMID KHAN AGREEMENT TO PAY CHAUTH TO THE MARATHA OTHER EVENTS

It was previously stated about Hamid Khan's departure from the city, Asaf Jah's story, Hamid Khan's stay at Dohad till end of monsoon and his expectation of a letter Asaf Jah thought of remedy of an event before its occurrence due to transfer of the Subah, boldness of Shuja'at Khan in not respecting his uncle Hamid Khan, coming out under these circumstances with a request for a risala (letter) from His Majesty and displeasure of His Majesty with him

Verse

*Source of a stream should be stopped with a spade
When it gets full, it becomes difficu't to cross it on an elephant*

He induced Kanthaji Maratha for aid and alliance with Hamid Khan for destruction of Shuja'at Khan on an agreement for payment of chauth of the Gujarat Subah. He always wished for such a graceful act He accepted it with a sincere heart and undertook it He waited for the monsoon to end Asaf Jah gave detailed information about vengeance, alliance with Kanthaji and Pilaji and also in regard to him He too was moved by a nice sense of honour and engaged himself in preparation for it He informed those who were in accord with him as well as those who were in discord with Shuja'at Khan in Ahmedabad about his ideas He summoned Mir Natthu and Muhammed Salabat, Rohila jamadars of Malwa for service This closed secret slowly and slowly became talk of all sections of people Kanthaji Maratha reached Dohad with a large army and entered into a pact with Hamid Khan for payment of chauth which was corroborated on oath He advised him to march on Ahmedabad Maratha's alliance with Hamid Khan and his march on this side became clear and evident Ibrahim Quli Khan repeatedly informed Shuja'at Khan about it and wrote to him to return He turned to Ahmedabad Hamid Khan reached Kapadwanj at a distance of twenty kurohs with a Maratha army He made Shaikh 'Ali the envoy who was with him to return Letters of his well wishers continued to reach him from Ahmedabad asking him to start as it was an opportune time

Verse

*Face to face like docile sheep
Behind back like war tearing w lf*

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It corroborated his intentions Shuja'at Khan brought himself by continuous marches to Dabhoda at a distance of nine kurohs from the city. He had no true information and exact place of Hamid Khan through negligence and want of espionage, he encamped through greed of collection of peshkash in accordance with a saying "when decrees of fate come, sight becomes blind "

Verse

*Greed binds up eyes of an intelligent man
Bird and fish are caught by greed*

Had he come to the city without camping, he would have reached in time. As divine will had differently willed, fate did its work. He marched to the city on Thursday, 26th Rabi 'I. Most of the soldiers and men of the camp bazar retired for the night. Shuja'at Khan reached Moth Medrah at a distance of four kurohs from the city. As none had information about the enemy's approach, soldiers and men of the camp bazar in groups proceeded in all haste to their respective houses with ardour and joy. Organization of army's array and provisions was broken and got inter mingled. Every one took his own way when in the meantime Maratha cavaliers known as Hol made their appearance and started beating them from behind. On this sudden occurrence, people got confused and ran in all speed through fear to take themselves at any rate to the city. Many cowardly soldiers and Kasbats spurred their horses warmly along with the people and escaped. Maratha cavaliers poured on the centre and began to plunder and carry away the booty. Shuja'at Khan made ceaseless efforts to array the army but it became impossible for him due to a thicket of thorny shrubs, intervention of baggage and thronging of camp-bazarmen. Every one had a passion to escape with safety from heart breathing, dreadful battle field. At this time, absence of a commander was regarded as a boon and they made themselves invisible. Shuja'at Khan was on one side with a small force that he had. Hamid Khan, getting an opportunity, came face to face with him with his squadron sitting in an iron litter on an armoured elephant and reached him speedily like a sudden calamity and firm heavenly decrees.

Poem

*Sound came out from a drum of awe
It was a sound which deprived the sky of consciousness
Death came from right and left
Calamity descended from sky to earth
Many a morn of fortune ended in evening
Many completed their days of sustenance*



A war ensued between elephants of both the commanders Shuja'at's elephant gained ascendancy Hamid Khan rode his elephant further Shuja'at Khan was in a litter with a one fold garment A young child was also with him Bravery and manliness were kneaded in his personality He brought his elephant in front of him Arrows began to be darted from both sides Husain Quli son of Shuja'at Khan was in command of a vanguard consisting of three thousand brave cavaliers, famous jamadars such as Nawrang Miyanah, Ne'mat Lodi, Masti Rodi, Syed Fayyaz Khan, Shurani Khan, famous men and brave persons He saw Hamid Khan's elephant coming face to face with that of his father from above his elephant, he made utmost efforts to impel his companions who were with him to spur their horses but they heard less, the more he said No one was graced to go to his help He had necessarily to go but arrived there at a time when the action was out of control In short, arrows of Shuja'at Khan proved ineffective even they reached due to hindrance of litter's props As his time had come nigh, some arrows of Hamid Khan one after the other proved fatal for Shuja'at Khan Some who were with them, got slain in war, some got wounded, some escaped safely while some were captured by the Marathas

Verse

*By one rotation of indigo-coloured sky
Neither the camp remained steady, nor the army*

Hamid Khan's soldiers surrounded his elephant and finished him to death by blows of spears and lincets Three hours of the day were left when the carriers of jelly, which Ali Muhammed Khan had sent with the Sharif's envoy for Mubarriz ul Mulk, got an opportunity to enter the city and disclosed the event He spoke of the event to Ibrahim Quli Khan, who for the reports of arrival of Hamid Khan and the Marathas, was in the building of Karanj Bazar for two days for recruitment of soldiers and defence of the city He did not receive true information After massacre, plunder, capture of families of Husain Quli and Mustafa Quli, sons of Shuja'at Khan, Hamid Khan encamped in the evening at Shahi Bagh with the Maratha force Two hours of the night had passed when Shuja'at Khan's head was sent to Sifdar Khan Bibi who conveyed it to Ibrahim Quli Khan

Verse

*Behem so said secretly
That ere cannot sleep in a house in a dark night*

Ali Muhammed Khan wrote out facts of the event at that very time to Mubarriz ul Mulk and despatched it with swift couriers He had written before



what he had sagaciously gathered, that came to happen. It verified his statement. Ali Muhammed Khan and Safdar Khan together went to Ibrahim Quli Khan and said, 'To sit now in Karanj, to fight when the game is out of control and the dice of plan is in an intricate position, others will not side with us at an opportune time, under these circumstances nothing will be achieved. We should proceed to Khanbhayat in this dark night and then to Surat where we shall reach our dependents. We shall make amends for whatever is possible according to exigency of time in concord with Rustam Ali Khan.' He, being seized with self-respect and sense of honour, did not allow this disgrace for himself and said, "when it is not possible to prevent Hamid Khan from entry into the city, whatever is to happen, will happen in the same place where we are alone."

Verse

*Death is pleasanter than life of this kind
Which brings shame to us*

At last, he got up with great weariness (disgust) and went to the house of Shuja'at Khan. Next morning at sunrise, Safdar Khan Babi and scribes saw Hamid Khan. Maratha forces had scattered themselves like ants and locusts and were busy plundering villages and suburbs. They entered those places where name of the Maratha was not heard at all. From that day, this Subah is subjected to kicks of calamities. It is now completely occupied by them. In short, Hamid Khan wrote a preliminary letter for blotting out ill repute to the vakil of the court to the effect that Shuja'at Khan on his way to the city was slain in the vicinity by Kanthaji Maratha. His army was routed. As he happened to be in that district he went at top speed, on getting this intelligence, to that place and defended the city. The city remained safe from Maratha calamity due to His Majesty's good luck. By chance, his letter reached the Vakil earlier than the letters of others. He immediately reported it to His Majesty on account of which he was applauded and praised and favoured with a robe and a coral ear-ring. After two days, facts were disclosed in true colours. His Majesty inquired about this event from Mubarriz ul Mulk. He reported to His Majesty, "I have regarded him as killed and dead since long." He then placed the letter of Ali Muhammed Khan before His Majesty. In short, Safdar Khan saw Hamid Khan next day with Ibrahim Quli Khan. He permitted them to go with deceitful and fraudulent word in guise of solace and encouragement according to exigencies of time. Hamid Khan entered the Bhadra Fort with Maratha forces with all decoration on 1st Rabi 'II. Mumin Khan, Diwan of the Subah and Fidwi Khan, former Diwan, built houses and made Ahmedabad their place of habitation. Nobles of the city Hindus and Muslims willy nilly went and saw him. Chauth and



Sardeshmukhi of Kanthaji were fixed in all revenue offices of the city and paraganas on this side of Mahi river. Dekhanis, in groups and crowds entered the city without obstruction and fear and entered in transactions with ease and convenience in lanes and bazars. They sold everything what they had brought from outside and army of Shuja'at Khan. They sold materials of the shrine of Shaikh Ahmed Khattu, may his grave be sanctified, such as a cover of the tomb, pavilion, lantern and brass railings fixed around the tomb. After some time, Kanthaji made his gumashtahs work for Chauth at various places. He then proceeded to besiege Viramgam for plunder and pillage and exaction of Khandani. Kasbatis and residents of the place had no fort and place of shelter for defence and prevention. They came out for protection at the advice of Udekaran Desai. They agreed to pay three lacs and fifty thousand rupees as safety-money, technically called Khandani by the Dekhanis. He appointed harsh severe tax-collectors and treasurers within a short time and began to collect money. He then left for another place. Desai, with foresight in him, collected something in addition to their demand for building a fort around population. Thus a strong fort was built within a short time. Hamid Khan proclaimed the phrase of disobedience and openly beat the drum of revolt and hostility. He discharged accountants and taluqdars of the king. He seized entirely all the mahals and paraganas and put them in charge of his men. He sent for records of all government offices from the Diwan of the Subah and appropriated the revenue office, arrears of revenue office and jagirs. From that day, the Subah's mahals did not come to His Majesty's Sarkar. The Nazims kept them in their charge.



CHAPTER 189

DEATH OF IBRAHIM QULI KHAN

Hamid Khan planned to seize property and wealth of Shujr'at Khan, Rustam Ali Khan, Ibrahim Quli Khan, their dependents and workers. His confidential man and manager of affairs Aqa Hadi summoned the Khans and imprisoned them. He had in mind the capture of Ibrahim Quli Khan. On getting intelligence of his improper intention, he began to meditate and saw no alternative for preservation of reputation except to end life. He set his heart on death along with some of his reliable persons who too agreed on it. Having abandoned a preliminary meeting with Hamid Khan, he decided to finish him at the time of his coming out. If he remained alive, so far so good otherwise he would have lost his head for the sake of reputation.

Verse

*Let us see whose neck the lofty sky
Brings in curve of its lasso*

It was heard that a jama'dar by name Muhammed Ali was a companion of Hamid Khan. He became a medium and joined him. In short, Ibrahim Quli Khan mounted his horse nearly three hours after the day has risen on Thursday 4th Rabi 'II to execute his firm intention. He hastened to the fort with a few fellow men. When he reached the gate of the Building's garden where the Nazim sat, mace-bearers and gate keepers stopped many persons from whose sleeves they smelt blood and from whose forehead they read a different intention. They entered the garden without caring for their prevention. As is the nature of dog like mean fellows they collected together and behaved with impudence for prevention. They spoke injudicious and nonsensical words and began to be insolent. Ibrahim Quli Khan was patient but his capacity failed him and he felt distressed. He wounded one of them by throwing a small sword which he had in his hand. His companions also drew forth their swords and ran in all haste towards the diwankhana building. Commotion and tumult arose high. By chance, their plan was contrary to fate, Hamid Khan had not yet come out. He was in the room of privacy. Those who sat outside expecting his arrival got perplexed at witnessing this scene and kept themselves aside. Some of the favourites who had access to his private room wished to take them selves to Hamid Khan. They went jumping from their seats like rue seeds. Ibrahim Quli Khan learnt that Hamid Khan was not outside, he reached entrance to the private room adjacent to a bath-room. He encountered Rai Nawandah administrator of Asaf Jah's mahals, Bharamal, 'Amul of Dholka, Girdharlal diwan, Patya, manager of affairs and zamindar of Jhribua



who had come with the Mirathas Patya fell slain Rū Nāwandah and Bharamal got wounded. He entered the private room. At this juncture, those who were brave and bold and were ready to sacrifice life, saw death with their own eyes. Every one of them thought of a safe escape and got dispersed. Several escaped by way of a window overlooking the river bank of Sabarmati while others escaped by whatever side they found way. Ibrahim Quli Khan alone entered the private room with boldness at his command and came inside like a roaring lion and a fierce tiger. When Hamid Khan learnt about the scuffle he came out by another way and informed his own men about occurrence of this event. He ordered massacre and captivity. He did not find him there. Imagining him to be in the mahalsara, he came inside the house. The more he sought for him the less he found him. Necessarily, he intended to come out. At this juncture people arrived from four sides and felled that brave youth on the ground by darts of arrows, discharge of gun-bullets and blows of swords. Muhammed Ali Jamad'ar a companion of Hamid Khan, and Farid Afghani Jamad'ar a resident of the other bank of Sabarmati who breathed of well wishing of Hamid Khan lay slain by chance in this scuffle along with Ibrahim Quli Khan. A party of Purabiyas who coveted arms and clothes from friends and foes were brought under ruthless swords. Gates of the Bhadra were closed. None was bold enough to go in and come out. They began to search for the companions of Ibrahim Quli Khan. By chance, the author's father went to the fort as summoned a few days before the occurrence of this event but could not meet him. Thinking it to be an advisable course, to maintain contact, he went that day as he was not aware of Ibrahim Quli Khan's design and waited for Hamid Khan to come out when all of a sudden this scuffle took place. Ashraf Ali Khan, son of Mehr Ali Khan who had come for a meeting through 'Aqil Khan, Faujdar of Idar failed to meet him. Through fear that they too might be slain for nothing through fault of being companions of Ibrahim Quli Khan, they kept themselves aside with Ashraf Ali Khan, when the scuffle was towards the haram, in a store room through acquaintance the author's father had with the wardrobe keeper Mahram Khwajahsara. They halted there for a moment. When they saw solitariness on this side, they intended to come out of that vortex and reach themselves to a horse. They came to a garden gate where there was a horse for riding. They found no horse. In the beginning of the scuffle, four handmaids removed the horse inside the house. Servants too had dispersed. Necessarily, they turned to the kitchen gate with intention to go on foot when five, six Purabiyas poured on them from front side with drawn swords. One of them knew them. They came from behind and prevented them by raising a hand. In spite of that, a slight wound was received on head. It passed on well. He again took them back to the wardrobe room. At this juncture, Hamid Khan came out in expectation and ordered that at the corner



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of Ibrahim Quli Khan and other persons should be dragged to Kotwali chabutra and thrown there. At night, his corpse was consigned to the grave with his permission at a place where a foundation of his house was dug. He ordered to arrest persons who kept themselves hidden in corners and sides. They arrested Abdul Ghaffar Khan who had accompanied him for the post of a Kotwal and followed him along with some wealthy sheths. They were set free. 'Aqil Khan, who had brought Ashraf Ali Khan with him, took him with himself. The author's father alone remained. 'Ubaid Khan came and took him with himself to a place in Bhadra. They started when they saw a stranger near the drum-house, the Purabiyas attacked them like crows from all sides in spite of the fact that 'Ubaid Khan was known to all of them. They knew him properly but to no effect when at this juncture, the hazari of that party came and stopped them. 'Ubaid Khan lost his turban in this riot. He reached home safely when nearly two hours of the day were left. He was escorted by a servant of 'Ubaid Khan through a window overlooking the river to the author who was anxious about him. He reached home after four hours of the night. In short, it was a strange commotion and riot, which can truly be said to be a semblance of the day of judgment. It continued from dawn to dusk. Next day, Hamid Khan sent some persons to the houses of Shuja'at Khan and Ibrahim Quli Khan to confiscate movable and immovable property. They arrested their servants, imprisoned them, and took fines. He appropriated gold and silver of the treasury and articles of government factories. He extorted a fixed amount with force by way of a tax known in Gujarat as Bewrah from all sections of people by appointing strict and merciless tax-gatherers. The author had never heard the word Bewrah from the day he arrived in Gujarat. But now the Nizims impose this unpleasant tax on various excuses such as differentiation in trade, community, head counting, house counting etc. The world was subjected to destruction by various calamities.

Verse

*Whatever you saw was yet a particle
Whole affair is still in fate*

But the beneficence of the most merciful Lord looks over all to eradicate these evil practices. May ease spread among the people. Amen! Oh Lord of both the worlds

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CHAPTER 190

RUSTAM ALI KHAN COMES TO KNOW ABOUT DEATH OF HIS BROTHERS AND GOES TO AHMEDABAD HAMID KHAN COMES TO FIGHT WITH HIM WAR BETWEEN THEM AND DEATH OF RUSTAM ALI KHAN

When the above information reached Rustam Ali Khan, the Port officer of Surat and Faujdar of Baroda and Petlad near the hill of Khanapur with all its details such as death of Shuja'at Khan, and Ibrahim Khan and capture of Namus, he was in chase of Pilaji, who in those days had acquired power and position and created mischief and disturbance in that district. Bright day became dark like the darkest night to his world seeing eyes. He did not speak about that secret openly due to exigency of time but internally, he burnt like a lamp of mourners even though he did not feel so much grief at the death of his brothers as for the captivity of Namus and sons of Shuja'at Khan. Helplessly, he gave up pursuit of Pilaji and returned to Surat. The cause of his return immediately became clear and patent to high and low people. When Pilaji got acquainted with it he spurred his horse and arrived at neighbouring region and created more disturbance than before. Rustam Ali Khan occupied himself with consultation for preparation of artillery and equipment of army. All experienced and far sighted men opined that he should march with a halt at Surat for best preparations of warfare during three months of monsoon and return of the Marathas to their respective places. It was probable that the affair may not end in warfar on assumption of Hamid Khan's stand. Whatever is destined will come to pass. Thorn of his brother Namus's captivity pricked the heart of Rustam Ali Khan. He regarded delay as a mark of cowardice and want of self respect out of zeal and sense of honour. He, therefore, did not agree with his counsellors. He determined to march. First of all, Pilaji was a thorn on his path. He should march fighting with him. Having behaved with amity with him, he invited him with heart pleasing promises to accompany him. After coming and going of a mediator by name Mustufa Khan, Pilaji accepted the proposal though he was not alone able to fulfil the promise and to resist. It was settled that both of them should meet after crossing the river Narbada and corroborate pledge and pact face to face on oath. Rustam Ali Khan left his son Behram Khan as his Nub at the port and crossed Narbada by continuous marches. Pilaji too reached there as agreed upon and encamped at a distance. Both met together as desired near Baroda. He stayed there for some days to manage certain affairs. At the intercession of certain persons, he released the priest Syed Ali who was incarcerated in Baroda. He promised not to create disturbance. He was permitted to go to Surat. Pilaji Rao met him between Kargia and Bajwa and



strengthened pledge and pact personally on oath and faith. Under an agreement, Rustam Ali Khan had to pay Pilaji one lac of rupees and an elephant as well as presents of clothes and jewels. Rustam Ali Khan sent Mustufa Khan with Pilaji who was responsible for this treaty and a mediator. He advanced further, crossed Malu river and encamped. Next day, Rustam Ali Khan also crossed the river and arrived at Adis in Pethad jurisdiction. Pilaji encamped at a small distance on one side. By chance, Hamid Khan on that very day was occupied with requisites of artillery in company of Kanhaji Maratha, Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi whom he had summoned then, Syed Fayyaz Khan, Shurani Khan and other nobles. He thought with foresight that the battle will be fought on two fronts. He left his dependents in the house of Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghosni who formerly was a companion and a commander of a force of Rustam Ali Khan along with his brothers Muhammed Ilah Din and Muhammed Ashraf who were in Ahmedabad and recommended him for guarding Namus. He left Salder Khan Babi as Naib in the Bhadra and proceeded with march on march for a war. He encamped at a distance of two kurohis from the camp of Rustam Ali Khan. That very night he sent his men to Pilaji with letters of Asaf Jah about his companionship and alliance and acquainted him with his designs. He regarded this fact as a boon of time and good luck. When he was not in a position to fulfil pledge with Rustam Ali Khan alone, he regarded a great achievement to set aside the rival in this manner and to obtain a piece of territory and met Hamid Khan that very night. He strengthened pact with him, took a robe and an elephant and returned to his camp at close of night. Immediately, this matter in its actual form reached Rustam Ali Khan. His perfidy came out of the curtain of doubt. He replied "I did not expect aid and help from him. The object was to come as far as this place and that is achieved. Victory and triumph are heavenly. One should not be afraid of how and when, more or less."

Hemistich

It horn does the friend want and towards whom he is inclined ?

By chance, Mir Nathu and Muhammed Salabat Rohila, who had come from Malwa in Hamid Khan's service as summoned by him arrived at this time. He collected a good force with him besides the Marathas. Next day, Rustam Ali Khan marched at sunrise by beating drums with four thousand cavaliers and the same number of infantry men. Sardar Muhammed Khan and Kamgar Ali Khan formed the vanguard, Ahmed Quli, son of Shuja'at Khan was in command of the right wing while Kazim Beg Khan was in charge of the left wing. Muhammed Panah was in the rear. He himself was in the centre with a party of brave warriors. Hamid Khan arranged the artillery in



front with a squadron at night and began to fire Rustam Ali Khan, per force, engaged himself in array of his army of rows leaving bag and baggage that were ready and prepared for travelling in a small fortress within its capacity with a party of Arabs

Verse

*When the centre and wings of both the armies were arrayed
Beating of drums and blowing of trumpets arose*

Dragon-like cannons began to sprinkle fire from both sides Rustam Ali Khan hit the enemy's artillery like lightning and wind in great heat He seized the enemy's artillery at the first assault with slight beating Hamid Khan's Diwan Girdhar Lal died along with others On witnessing this state of affairs, Mir Nathu and Muhammed Salabat Rohila who formed the vanguard advanced in front Sardar Muhammad Khan brought his elephant near the elephant of Mir Nathu and blows of swords were exchanged between the two elephant riders Soldiers of both the armies engaged in personal fight Fire of warfare blazed forth and dread of the resurrection-day spread over the scene There was difference of showing the face between soul and body and head and body Hearts fell in agitation and commotion through dread of that life-breaking event

Poem

*World champions fighting like Rustam
Drew forth their swords from sheaths
Every one received a draught of sword
They did not dis appoint any one from themselves
Thirsty lipped of death tasted water
In that battle from their swords
It is clear to the aged sky
Unceremoniously in this earth
That such a war and such warriors
Neither time saw nor the earth
Battle field got so heated
That a sharp sword emptied its body*

By chance, Mir Nathu fell slain at the hands of Sardar Muhammed Khan Rustam Ali Khan brought his elephant face to face with that of Hamid Khan with all agility and alertness He got down from an elephant, mounted a horse, read the phrase "Flight in time is a victory" when he saw Mir Nathu dropping dead, his companions flying, and rushing of the enemy at top speed like a sudden calamity and took himself aside



Hamistich

Flight in time is a victory

Maratha sardars, who had great fear and terrible fright of Rustam Ali Khan, were distant spectators of the war. They did not take part in the battle. In short, Rustam Ali Khan came to Hamid Khan's camp with victory and triumph. He set free sons of Shuja'at Khan, Husain Quli and Mustafa Quli and Aqa Hadi who were in chains and fetters there. They pillaged bag and baggage of Hamid Khan and his soldiers as much as they could. He halted there for five, six hours and stood with rejoicings of victory. When he found none in front of himself, he returned to his camp with several cannons, lead and gunpowder and sealed the remainder. Some soldiers and shop-keepers of Hamid Khan came there with their kit and loads and saw Rustam Ali Khan. They accompanied him with safety and security. Kanthaji, finding the field empty after departure of Rustam Ali Khan, looted Hamid Khan's camp, captured horses, opened others' baggages and destroyed them within twinkling of an eye. At this juncture, Pilaji got an opportunity to plunder Rustam Ali Khan's commissariat. He did not leave anything except what was in a fortress under protection of a party of Arabs. Cannon carts were set fire to and sealed. He took away whatever lead, gun-powder and other materials he could and burnt the rest. When Rustam Ali Khan came back he found no trace of provisions, bag and baggage. Some of the looters told him what happened. Necessarily, he pitched a small tent at the tank and formed a circle. He engaged in looking after the condition of wounded. Kazim Beg Khan and others whose death was ordained died. In short, Hamid Khan came out of that battle field and went to Kanthaji. He rebuked and reproached him and reprimanded him very much for his sight-seeing of war and plundering his army. He began to apologize and make amends for what was lost after rumination in men and money and gave him some tents and other necessities what he obtained from every one along with an elephant and a horse for ride. He then brought him to his army. For two days no Maratha who had crossed the river Mahi through fear on the day of battle made his appearance round about him. In the meantime, another Maratha squadron under command of Pawar and Samusiyah joined him. As news of Shuja'at Khan's death had reached the Dekhan, the Marathas in groups and parties came to Gujarat with designs of plunder and pillage. They came in such large numbers that nearly seventy to eighty thousand cavaliers collected together till close of the day. On the third day the Marathas brought a few cannons in front and started warfare. From this side also, they began to fire cannons. As the enemy's hordes were more, the army besieged them halo like and stopped their entry and exit and blocked up passage for bringing hay and food grains. A large number of Muslim



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soldiers succumbed to death due to continuous fire of cannon at night and want of place for refuge. In short, after occurrence of the above event, roughs and ruffians of the city and plunderers who had accompanied Shuja'at Khan saw this heavenly calamity in accordance with their wishes became riotous. They began to plunder and pull horses, bag and baggage, cause harm and injury to confidantes and other persons connected with Hamid Khan. A mass attack took place. They poured on the Bhadra Fort and carried away materials of his furniture house and ward-robe house. S. fder Khan Babi, being afraid of the muiny, went to his house from Bhadra with great difficulty. All the officers of Hamid Khan, who were in the city got frightened, and concealed themselves at various places. Rustam Ali Khan had written to Mumin Khan, Diwan of the Subah and Mir Ibrahim, one of the confidential men of Shuja'at Khan about his victory and protection and defence of the city by remaining at Bhadra. The Diwan of the Subah recruited cavaliers and infantry men and appointed his son Muhammed Baqir Khan in charge of vanguard and for night patrolling. He employed Mir Ibrahim and Syed Nurullah Jamadar and came to the Bhadra Fort. Every day, false news of Hamid Khan's death used to come. If Rustam Khan had started for Ahmedabad on the first day of victory, his arrival would have been possible but the divine will and eternal desire were not so ordained. He halted at the tank of above place for complete eight days and saw the places. He engaged in war with cannons and guns from all sides from dawn to dusk. At last, he marched on 1st of Jamadi II and big drums and kettle drums began to moan in mourning for those who died afresh.

Verse

*Beating of drum and blowing of trumpet were raised
Two iron mountains moved from their places*

As the Maratha forces had surrounded them like a sea of calamity, they had to proceed further fighting from morning to evening. So whatever side a way was found, he waylaid it. He arrived on that day at a place Nayad within jurisdiction of Chaurasi of Khanbhayat with distress and hardship of fighting. Next day, he arrived at Kalamsar (Karamsad) and then Napah in Petlad paraganah. During these days, he was not free even for a moment from war with cannons and guns both at night and day. The oven of war was always hot.

Verse

*There was war in this way every day
The ground was stained with blood and the air was dark*

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Market-men and others who had come for protection from Hamid Khan's army, got an opportunity to escape. Every day, number of soldiers got reduced. Those whose fate was ordained, died. In this march, Muhammed Hadi rode an elephant in the rear. The elephant got bewildered through cannonshots and whizzing of arrows and he showed symptoms of madness. He went out of control of the elephant driver. He fled towards the enemy's army. He was caught there. An elephant also died as a result of cannon fire. Rustam Ali Khan failed to get commissariat from headman of Vaso, seventeen kurohs from the city. The paragana was in Rustam Ali Khan's Jagir. Muhammed Hadi who was released on the first day of battle intended to render valuable service. He, therefore, said to him that if he is allowed to go to the above place, he would bring provisions and a party of soldiers kept ready by him. If they halted, through necessity at one or two places, the army would also get rest. A party of soldiers who had arrived from Ahmedabad for succour in war, might also join. He, therefore, turned to that side. Hamid Khan and the Marathas learnt about this arrangement and therefore, they wrote to him with great threat. Some of the city nobles were internally in concord with Hamid Khan. They made efforts to destroy supply of provisions to Rustam Ali Khan. They falsely frightened him. Being frightened, he set fire to the village at night and marched further. On Tuesday, 5th of the above month, Rustam Ali Khan reached the tank at Vaso in great hardship with four hundred cavaliers and the same number of Arab infantrymen fighting the enemy in darkness of night as war was very difficult on that day as Kamgar Ali Khan and his brave soldiers were laid slain. He found no trace of population and signs of provisions. He encamped in a helpless state. He had a small force. The enemy had multitudinous hordes. None had boldness to pour upon the other. But the trenches from four rounds were brought nigh. Cannon balls and gun bullets began to pour like fiery hails throughout the night. Those whose time was nigh, died. They were buried on the bank of that tank. Next day, there was no opportunity to march and so he stayed. That place was recently destroyed. It was a very big place. People obtained a small quantity of grass and corn and lived on that. He marched next day on Wednesday, 7th of the above month when the eastern sun drew out its gold painted sword from sheath of a dark night.

Poem

*Soldiers got near from two sides
One was a black cloud which arose
Its rain consisted of swords and arrows
The world turned a sea of tar
From steel arrows and eagle feathers
Bright face of the sun turned black*

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He covered a distance of half a kuroh with effort and struggle fighting and reached a small tank known as Sui Talawadi and encamped. It was a narrow space. Determination of the soldiers was shaken. Most of them washed their hands of horses and accoutrement, nay, of life by seeing this heart-breaking dreadful state of affairs. They began to change dress under curtain of a dark night. "He who escaped with his head, he gained." Next morning which was Thursday, Rustam Ali Khan, inspite of this state, did not make his forehead of valour and stability dusty with abhorrence because intrepidity and manliness were inborn with him. He showed inclination for drinking coffee after performance of morning duties when Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni arrived on horseback and said, "It is time for riding and warring." Having shown the cup of coffee with kindness to him, said, "One should sit on this ground of carpet of firmness so that what is ordained to happen will happen." Sardar Muhammed thought it advisable for riding and insisted on it. He, therefore, sent for an elephant. Again he declared that it was time to ride a horse and to attack. That mountain of honour and dignity, that cavalier of the plain of valour and prowess mounted the Rakhsh horse like Rustam of the age. Uttering "Allah, Allah," he spurred on his horse towards the enemy. But a complete dispersal took place among those who escaped his sword on his assault. The Maratha forces with all their hordes got scattered. Some got slain, some got wounded and some were arrested. Some escaped with life with the help of horses. Sardar Muhammed Khan died on battle-field due to fatal wounds. Rustam Ali Khan had made an assault on another direction. The Marathas fled like a devil with utterance of the phrase "there is no power but the power of God, high and great" from attack and fury of that lion of the forest of battle. They gave him a passage and faced him. None dared to step to come face to face with him. They attacked him from all sides, wounded him with arrows and lances and martyred him with exchange of sword-blows. Husain Quli and Ahmed Quli, sons of Shuja'at Khan became captives of destiny's grip a second time. The Dekhanis severed head of that royal rider of the plain of manliness and bravery from body and brought it to Hamid Khan. Pilaji sent one of his hands to his residential place of Songhad by way of a document and evidence of name and fame. Hamid Khan sent his head to Ahmedabad with his men. His dead body was consigned to the earth at Vaso where his tomb is still noted and famous and a place of perambulation of every comer and goer. When this wild news of head of that leader of bravery and a fresh flower of nobility reached Ahmedabad at sun-set on Friday, small and great, young and old, friends and strangers were seized with a strange state of tumult and commotion and a wonderful wildness. There was mourning in every house. Lamentation arose from every house. This exalted head was exhibited for full one day at Kotwali's chabutra and was



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buried by the side of Ibrahim Quli Khan. Muḥammad Saeb whose poetic name was Must'ed, composed the following epic on date of his death

Poem

*From date of this epic and this story
Wherein there is no contradiction
From men of good faith
I describe so that it may be remembered
In the year 1137
Chief of exalted men departed from the world*

In short, favourites of Hamid Khan who had concealed themselves in oblivion and had lowered their heads in collars of bewilderment in nooks of dread through anxiety of evil consequences came out with rejoicings. They engaged in making amends for what they had suffered with increased revenge. Syed Nurullah had brought out Mir Ibrahim from Bhadra with himself and escorted him to his house. He remained secluded. Hamid Khan marched with Maratha armies to the city and came to Bagh-i Shahu. Next day, he entered the Bhadra. Sardar Muhammed Khan, who was in a wounded state from battlefield by Muhammed Salabat Rohila, was escorted to his house. Kanthaji and Pilaji came out for recreation with Maratha forces to ride on elephants of Rustam Ali Khan and to see the city. They met Hamid Khan. In accordance with terms of agreement, Kanthaji was assigned the collection of Chauth on this side of Mahi while Pilaji was to collect it from the other bank of Nerbada, mahals and Sarkar of Surat. Mumin Khan, Diwan of the Subah and Fidwi Khan, the former Diwan, individually gave present of a female elephant within their capacity along with clothes, and some other things as Hamid Khan constantly complained of his articles being plundered. The Marathas spread themselves in all paraganas of the Subah like ants and locusts without confusion of mind and anxiety, without fear and fright, engaged in plunder and pillage, exacted safety-money technically called Khandani with cheerfulness. Kanthaji and Pilaji employed their own men in their respective offices. Hamid Khan bound a tiara of revolt on his forehead, cast a scarf of rebellion on his shoulder, donned a cap of arrogance on head, breathed a breath of "I and none else" in this Subah, raised a banner of absolute authority. He openly beat the drum of hostility and devoted himself with independence and absolutism to management of affairs and preparations of military equipment. He exacted with force and fury eighty thousand rupees in cash along with special clothing apparel which were under care of Shaikh ul-Islam Khan. He agreed to pay that amount on condition of permission to a visit of the Holy Ka'aba, may God increase its honour and sanctity. He went



to Khanbhayat and thence to Surat by a boat. He opened rooms containing government money and appropriated for himself with what was fit to be taken. Papers which had previously been taken were lost in this chaotic condition. He took fresh papers from the Diwan's office and seized Khalsah etc. and other jagirs of the Subah. He resorted to Bewarah for exaction from wealthy persons and capitalists. He collected vast amounts of money by illegal and tortuous methods which otherwise could not be legally collected. During these days, he poisoned to death Ahmed Quli and Husain Quli, sons of Shuja'at Khan. He guarded Mustufa Quli Khan who was young. He appointed Murlidhar, a Gujarati scribe who was capable as his Diwan and honoured him with a robe. Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi who deemed it inadvisable with well being to stay in the city went to Viramgam as Faujdar. When news of Shuja'at Khan's death and secondly of Rustam Ali Khan reached Trimbakrao son of Khanderao Senapati whose servants Kanthaji and Pilaji were; he marched with vast armies to this side and came in vicinity of the city. He sent word to meet Hamid Khan. He met him on sands of Sabar-mati opposite to city fortifications. He hastened to Khanbhayat with all the Marathas-former and subsequent and besieged it. Qasim Khan who was there on behalf of Hamid Khan engaged in protection and defence of turrets and citadels. By chance, a discord took place among the Marathas about a certain matter which terminated in civil war. Trimbakrao, son of the Senapati lay slain in this scuffle. The Dekhani hordes got dispersed and went to their respective homes. The said port remained safe against this calamity.



CHAPTER 191

MUBARIZ-UL-MULK SARBULAND KHAN BAHADUR DILAWAR JUNG OBTAINS PERMISSION FROM HIS MAJESTY TO VISIT GUJARAT GRANT OF ONE CRORE OF RUPEES FOR EXPULSION OF HAMID KHAN AND CHASTI- SEMENT OF DEKHANIS ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER AND ORGANIZATION IN THE SUBAH

When news of death of Rustam Ali Khan was reported to His Majesty, a royal order was issued to Mubariz ul Mulk Sarbuland Khan, Nazim of the Subah to the effect that he should hasten to Ahmedabad with an equipped army and a brave force to expel Hamid Khan and punish and chastise the Dekhanis. He was granted one crore of rupees from the imperial treasury for organization and achievement of this object. It was settled to pay him immediately a sum of fifty lacs of rupees. The remaining amount was to be paid to him in monthly instalments of three lacs of rupees. Mubariz ul Mulk despatched the two brothers Syed Saif ud Din Ali Khan and Syed Najm-ud din Ali Khan and Syed Najabat Ali Khan, nephew of Syed Abdullah Khan Qutb ul Mulk who was imprisoned in the Mubarak fort but was released for help. All of them were favoured with gorgeous robes of honour, continuation of their former mansabs, grant of jagirs and Faujdaries. Mubariz-ul-Mulk continued flow of fountain of recruitment of soldiers. Under royal mandates Maharajah Abhay Singh, Rajah of Marwar, Chhatra Singh, Rajah of Naror, Gandarp Singh and armies of the Maharana were appointed for preparations of war. It was settled that His Majesty also will march. Mubariz ul Mulk was to go ahead in command of the vanguard. He marched with fifteen thousand brave cavaliers and as many infantrymen along with equipped artillery. He halted for nearly nine months round about vicinity of the capital, Rewan district and Kot Potli in expectation of the royal cavalcade. When a report of Mubariz ul Mulk's march with a large army reached Ahmedabad, it was time for the Marathas to go back to their respective homes. Hamid Khan said, "His Majesty has despatched an army to this side. It is necessary that you should return to this place immediately on cessation of the rainy season. As the news of Mubariz ul Mulk's arrival was continuously spread, people began to pay visits to likely appointees especially the author's father by way of flattery and practicability. The author's father saw through foresight that perhaps a hypocrite may poison Hamid Khan's ears against him in a different way which may become a cause of his displeasure. He went to pay respects to him at an alternation of every two days. He went to Kadi in company of Abdur Rahim Babi who was appointed Faujdar of Kadi on behalf of Hamid Khan on 15th Sha'ban. The author and his two deceased brothers were also with them.



They stayed there for twenty days Salabat Muhammed Khan Babr who was at Viramgam learnt of their arrival there He invited them They reached there on 7th Ramazan He kept them with entreaties The author's father wrote to Mub ariz-ul-Mulk about their stay at Viramgam He received a reply in connection with appointment of certain persons as couriers, spies and news of the city and Hamid Khan That was done It was urgent for Salabat Muhammed Khan to proceed to Golwar (Gohulwad) at close of the same month He went there appointing his nephew as Naib Safdar Khan Babr died a sudden death on Id-ul-Fitr day Faujdari of Viramgam was transferred from Salabat Muhammed Khan The author's father left Viramgam due to absence of Salabat Muhammed Khan He went to Radhanpur as it was near and he had not yet received true information about Mub ariz-ul-Mulk's arrival Jawanmard Khan Babr detained him with himself till receipt of Mub ariz-ul-Mulk's arrival His Majesty's march to this side was cancelled due to certain state affairs, A mandate was issued to Mub ariz-ul-Mulk to march He delayed. Whereupon harsh mace-bearers and ahadis were appointed as sentinels to make him march He marched and arrived at Ajmer News of his arrival at Ajmer was confirmed



CHAPTER 192

INFLICTION OF A WOUND ON THE BEST AMONG LOVERS OF TRUTH MAWLANA NURUDDIN

One of the events of this year was an infliction of wound on the chief among lovers of truth and the leader of scholars Mawlana Nuruddin. Substance of it is—An Afghan by name Arbank used to visit the madrasah in company of the Patrolling Faujdar. He thus formed association with some students. One of them instigated him out of prejudice that the Mawlana, in accordance with the true statement “Say, no reward do I ask of you for this except the love of those near of kin” was free from love of the Prophet’s and the Saint’s family and accused him of heresy. At the time of return after Friday’s prayers, he came to the madrasah’s compound, illiterate as he was he inflicted serious wounds on the Mawlana’s head and hand. Mawlana’s sister’s son Sher Muhammed and servants of ‘Ubaid Khan who had come for prayers felled him dead on the ground. The Mawlana was removed to the house in a wounded state for treatment. The Faujdar learnt about it. He brought the Afghan’s dead body to Kotwali’s chabutra. It became a source of disturbance by demand of blood money, rioting and attacking the Mawlana’s house. Nearly two thousand disciples and faithful followers of the Mawlana consisting of soldiers collected together at his house for prevention and defence. This continued for full three days. The kotwal intervened and dissuaded the Afghans from this step. The Mawlana did not deem it advisable to stay in Ahmedabad after healing of wound and recovery. He lived at Sanand at a distance of six kurohs from the city. In Muharram of 1138, Hamid Khan proceeded to Jhalawar for collection of peshkash. He issued strong orders to Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan Babi to join him. They moved from their respective places to join him. Several days were spent outside when a report of Mubarez ul Mulk’s march from Ajmer and his arrival at Marwar district got circulated.



CHAPTER 193

ARRIVAL OF MUBARIZ UL MULK AT THE SUBAH'S FRONTIERS APPOINTMENT OF SHAIKH ILAHYAR BAKHSHI IN COMMAND OF THE VANGUARD DEPARTURE OF ALI MUHAMMED KHAN AND HIS MEETING WITH HIM AT DANTIWARA RETURN OF HAMID KHAN TO AHMEDABAD HE MARCHES TO THE DECCAN RETURN FROM MIDDLE OF THE ROAD WITH KANTHAJI MARATHA OCCUPATION OF THE CITY BY SARDAR MUHAMMED KHAN GHORNI AS DEPUTY OF MUBARIZ-UL MULK WAR BETWEEN HAMID KHAN AND THE VANGUARD FORCE DEFEAT OF THE VANGUARD

Mubariz-ul-Mulk marched from Ajmer and intended to come to Ahmedabad by way of Marwar. Every day a report of the appointed Subedar's arrival with a large army got circulated in the Subah. Bandobast of Hamid Khan's Faujdars and Amils was greatly disturbed. Qazi 'Ilm-ud-din spread news of his appointment as Naib Faujdar in Pattan and took charge. He removed the Faujdar appointed by Hamid Khan. In this manner, Faujdars and Amils were removed from many places. Continuous letters poured in to the author's father with great emphasis for him to reach soon. As he had settled with Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan to go together and he wrote in reply the cause of delay for expectation of their arrival. He acquainted the Khans who were with Hamid Khan. The day on which Mubariz ul-Mulk encamped at the town of Vadgam, Syed 'Aqil Khan who had gone to the Royal Presence to bring remaining amount of money from the government, was honoured by His Majesty with an addition in mansab and grant of Faujdari of Godhra Sarkar and Thasra on the transfer of Mutawassil Khan. He reached this place with an amount of three lacs of rupees. As the Subah's frontier was near that place, he did not accept excuse of the author's father for his not coming and so he summoned him with sternness. Necessarily, he left Radhanpur at mid night and reached Pattan. Next day, he proceeded to Sidhpur. At close of the day, he received news of Shaikh Ilahyar Bakhsh's arrival with a large army and several cannons by way of an advance-guard so he went and saw him. The Shaikh detained him for expediency as he was familiar with the district. He summoned local cavaliers and footmen as well as Qazi 'Ilm-ud din from Pattan and employed them in government service to guide him on roads and passages. He had to stay for two days on insistence of Shaikh Ilahyar when an emphatic letter was received afresh. He proceeded to Dantiwara when another letter was received at a distance of two kurohs from the camp informing him that he learnt from the letter of Shaikh Ilahyar about

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his being with the advance guard and further that he should remain there and do whatever is advisable to do. As he was near the army, he went and saw him and supplied him with detailed information about events. He obtained a letter for the Deputyship of Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni who was in Ahmedabad and sent it to him with a hint that he should occupy the city at an opportune time. Hamid Khan, on hearing a report of Mubariz-ul-Mulk's approach, returned to Ahmedabad. Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan Baba separated to receive the incumbent Subedar. Hamid Khan eagerly awaited arrival of the Marathas. He saw no trace of them inspite of emphatic letters. At the arrival of the incumbent Subedar at the frontiers and the vanguard near the city, he thought of evil consequences due to his wicked deeds and actions. He nominated Rup Singh as his Naib and recommended Sardar Muhammed Khan to aid and assist him. He then proceeded to Mahmudabad. Shaikh Ilahyar advanced to Sidhpur at the insistence of Mubariz-ul-Mulk. Sardar Muhammed Khan received a letter about his appointment as a Deputy. The advance guard had come at a distance of thirty kurohs. For preparation of his work, he said to Rup Singh that the army has approached and that he has marched at top speed to this side. It was advisable for his welfare to escape safely with his head. He imagined it to be a good fortune and so he went away. Sardar Muhammed Khan occupied the city and occupied himself with defence. Hamid Khan inquired about Kanthaji near the Mahi river. He joined him in all haste. They both set out for the city. Rup Singh met them on the way and acquainted them about his removal and approach of the vanguard. Hamid Khan encamped with Kanthaji at Shahi Bagh. The more he said to Sardar Muhammed Khan in respect of molestation of the city, the less he paid attention to it. He was despaired of opening of the gate. Shaikh Ilahyar received news of Hamid Khan's return with the Marathas and occupation of the city by Sardar Muhammed Khan at Kalol a distance of fourteen kurohs. Through exigency of time, he put the army in charge of Ghulam Ali Beg, Khwajah Muhammed Aman and Raizadeh Harkaran. He arrived at the other bank of Sabarmati expeditiously by an above road under cover of a dark night with a cavalry of one thousand select, brave and excellent horsemen. He entered the city by Raikhad Gate. The fortified persons received added strength. Residents of the city regarded it a night of festivity and they did not contain within themselves through rejoicings of being free from the injustice of Hamid Khan. Ghulam Ali Beg and other chiefs marched from Kalol and encamped at Adalaj, a distance of five kurohs from the city with trenches round about the camp. They sent swift couriers to Mubariz-ul-Mulk to inform him about the event. He started from Dantiwara but halted at two places for a pedestal of a cannon cart "Fateh Lashkar" being broken and then marched to Sidhpur. Here he met Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan Baba with brothers and sons with equipped army through Ali Muhammed Khan



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They arrived at Visnagar with two marches. They halted there for a day through mistake of provisions having gone to Mehsana. They decided to halt at Bistrayan situated at a distance of twenty kurohs from the city. On the way, it was disclosed to them about arrival of Hamid Khan with the Marathas, engagement with him and defeat of the vanguard along with death of Khwajah Muhammed Aman by the wounded of the battle-field. Further that Hamid Khan attacked them with the Marathas after their entrenchment. A war with cannons and guns ensued. From morning till mid-day, both sides kept oven of war heated by igniting fire. Through fear and fright of the Dekhams, feet of stability of some kasbatis who had enlisted themselves in service lost balance and sought for place of refuge. They created a shaking in props of steadiness of others. Ghulam Ali Beg, Khwajah Muhammed Aman and Raizadeh Harkaran, on seeing this state of affairs, arranged rows of army in the thick of battle with all intrepidity and valour. They assaulted the enemy.

Poem

*Mischief rose from its place with beating of a drum
It put hand in the collar of warriors
Arrows began to break off from bows
Lightning began to jump from the rain-bow.
Gujarati and Dahelvi warriors
Raised banners of war
Many were slain and slew also
Many excellent youths died*

They approached Hamid Khan's elephant and struck swords with both hands. Khwajah Muhammed Aman and Raizadeh Harkaran died with a name. Ghulam Ali Beg received severe wounds, broke the enemy's rows bravely and reached the city with some others. Those who escaped the sword plundered, reached Ahmedabad and got scattered hither and thither. Some of them returned to Bistrayan with struggle. In short, Mubarez ul Mulk held a council of consultation at night after acquaintance with facts for a plan, preparation of war and further march.

Verse

*He acquainted experienced men with secrets of heart
He opened lid from off the box of consultation*

He summoned Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan on the advice of Ali Muhammed Khan who himself was well-informed and in accord with men of this part of Country. After corroboration of pledge and pact on oath, Faujdari of Viramgam was granted to Salabat Muhammed Khan and that of

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Pattan to Jawanmard Khan He conciliated both the brothers with a grant of robes for both duties. Permits were issued for summoning Rajput zamindars and Kolis of distant and near places with their advice and responsibility. They decided to hasten to Vyrapur and then proceed by bank of Sabarmati as the straight path of the river was not sufficient for the army. Ali Muhammed Khan, Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan were appointed as sentinels as they were acquainted with paths and passages. Next day, they beat the drum of departure and joined the bank of Sabarmati. Thence they proceeded further by continuous marches. Hamid Khan returned to Shahi Bagh from Adalaj after his victory. Victory of the city was not possible. The Subedar's army and recruitment of Sardar Muhammed Khan had come together. It was rumoured that the incumbent was coming with twenty thousand brave cavaliers with all preparations against the Marathas who resorted to guerrilla mode of warfare. He had no confidence in his four or five thousand men to discharge their responsibility properly. Besides, salaries of soldiers were in arrears. Many other persons had deserted him as they did not want to follow him. For example, a Gujarati Diwan Murlidhar Das, being afraid of evil consequences, that perhaps, he might be captured by soldiers fled. The day on which he heard news of Mubarez ul Mulks' arrival at Pethapur at a distance of twelve kurohr, he went to Mahmudabad with intention to proceed to the Dekhan with Kanthaji. He then crossed the river Mahi and went away. Mubarez ul-Mulk reached environs of the city on 6th Rabi 'II of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty eight and encamped adjacent to the garden of Muhammed Amin Khan to the north of the city on the Sabarmati bank. Mumin Khan, the Subah's Diwan, Abul Mafakhar Khan the judge 'Abdul Ahad Khan, the Qazi Amanatdar Khan, Bakhshi and Chronicler, Kabir Ali Khan the intelligencer, Shaikh Ilahyar, Sardar Muhammed Khan, Syed Fayyaz Khan, Shirani Khan, nobles eminent Syeds holy men, provincial mansabdars Khushal Chandraji Sheth, leading banker, Hindu and Muslim merchants went and saw him. Mubarez ul Mulk stayed there for a few days for appointment of Faujdars, Amils and Thanadars and held consultations with experienced men and well wishers in respect of handobast of rebellious Dekhanis. He did not deem it advisable to enter the city. He left that place and went near the shrine of Shah Bhukan, may his grave be sanctified, to the south of the city on bank of the Sabarmati. He appointed Fidauddin Khan who was later on titled as Mumin Khan, Najmud Dawlah and Subedar of Ahmedabad which will, God willing, be mentioned at its proper place, as Patrolling Faujdar by giving him thirty thousand rupees as monthly expenses for establishment. Kalab Ali was appointed as kotwal. Soldiers whose kit and equipment were worn out due to long period of travelling, occupied themselves with preparations of materials.

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CHAPTER 194

RETURN OF KANTHAJI MARATHA WITH PILAJI. MUBARIZ-UL-MULK APPOINTS HIS SON KHANAZAD KHAN WITH AN ARMY TO REPEL THEM. ASSUM- PTION OF DUTIES BY FAUJDARS AND AMILS. HIS ENTRY INTO THE CITY.

When Kanthaji found that there was none in his pursuit, he made Hamid Khan cross the river Mahi. Pilaji too who had arrived at this time, returned with him. They engaged in looting and plundering the surroundings of Muslim army and harassed passers-by by killing and binding them. Twice or thrice, Fidauddin, the Patrolling Faujdar had to engage in a severe battle with them near the citadel of Nainpur and Rajpur when on his rounds for protection of suburbs with his squadron. Mubariz-ul-Mulk appointed his son Khanazad Khan with nearly 10000 strong cavaliers and the same number of footmen along with Syed 'Aqil Khan as Diwan, Jawanmard Khan, Sardar Muhammed Khan and Syed Fayyaz Khan with a risala of three, four thousand Gujarati cavaliers to punish, chastise and expel the Marathas. He despatched the following persons to assume charge of their respective duties: Muhammed Iraj as Faujdar and Amin of Dholka, Nuruddin Muhammed Khan as Naib Port-officer of Khanbhayat and Ali Mardan as Faujdar and Amin of Petlad. He entered Ahmedabad on 22nd of the above month and devoted himself to management of revenue and financial matters of Nizamat. He occupied himself with capture of Hamid Khan's amils and servants who were local men. He demanded money from them. Ali Muhammed Khan was appointed as the Diwan of Nizamat. He kept the city office of octroi duties entirely in charge of the Diwan of the Subah for meeting expenses of the royal factories. He appropriated the remaining mahals of the city and paraganas-minor and major of the crown-land and the arrears of revenues. Khanazad Khan engaged himself in array of provincial troops and then marched to Dholka. On the way, the Muslim soldiers repelled the Marathas when they attacked them from right and left wings, vanguard and rear-guard. He reached Dholka. He made Muhammed Iraj assume duties. He marched further. He fought with the Marathas on the way and reached Sojitra within jurisdiction of Petlad. The Dekhanis exerted themselves to their utmost to raise disturbances and fought a hard battle but they were chastised. He made Nurruddin Muhammed Khan attend to his duty at Khanbhayat and Ali Mardan Khan at Petlad. He marched further in pursuit of Marathas. They failed to bear brunt of Muslim attack and cross the river Mahi. Khanazad Khan returned to Ahmedabad as written by Mubariz-ul Mulk after bandobast of several mahals and appointment of Faujdars. He encamped at Rakhiyal at a distance



of two kurohs to the east of the city. At this juncture, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan and Najabat Ali Khan who were appointed as auxiliaries, followed him and arrived at the Shahu Bagh. Mubariz-ul-Mulk sent his second son Shah Nawaz Khan to receive them and bring them to the city. After meeting, feasting and consulting, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan accompanied Khanazad Khan with three thousand troopers to chastise and punish the Marathas who came back after return of the army and had encamped within a hedge of thorny bushes near Kapadwanj with Kolis. The place was strengthened by stout trees like a fort. They created disturbances. He decided to march. They also left their bag and baggage under refuge of that strong place and advanced to meet them. They fought beyond their capacity. The Muslim army gained ascendancy over them and made them retreat to that strong hedge-fortification. The Marathas engaged in war with support of a tree fortification and a wood-fortress. The sun of the enemy's fortune reached border of decline due to blows of thunder like, lightning pouring artillery which had cast fire in their harvest. They had no more strength to bear their brunt and they lost their steadiness.

Verse

*Enemy's soldiers in that battle
Received no help from fortune*

Helplessly, they departed leaving field to the rival Muslim soldiers made an assault and made their camp as their own. The Marathas had no power to stay. They were pursued, besieged with their provisions and made them cross Malu. They reached the mountainous district to Mohan. Shaikh Husainuddin was appointed Faujdar of Baroda. Others were appointed at Broach, Jamusar and Muqbulabad.



CHAPTER 195

RUIN OF VADNAGAR BY FIRE AND OTHER EVENTS

At this juncture, Khanazad Khan was engaged in a scuffle with Maratha forces in a district of Ila Mohan Antoji and Bhasker Marathas came from Idar with another squadron. He reached Vadnagar, an eminent place and habitation of Nagar Brahmins wealthy men, rich bankers, best merchants who dealt in business of lacs in every city and region. They besieged the town. Residents of the Kasba who lived in the city, requested and complained for a squadron for protection. Mubarez ul Mulk failed to protect the town for want of a squadron. In spite of the fact that Vadnagar had a strong fort yet there was no qile'dar and a party of soldiers. They helplessly freed themselves by agreeing to pay a sum of four lacs of rupees as khandani. The Marathas departed by the same road they had come. Kanthaji and Pilaji failed to discharge their responsibility against the Muslim army and saw no benefit in war with them, they got separated from one another and took to brigandage. If a Muslim squadron went in pursuit of one, the other created mischief and disturbance in another direction. Kanthaji, therefore, proceeded to Idar by way of Godhra and thence he went to Vadnagar. Pilaji returned to Baroda and crossed the river Mahi. The Muslim army necessarily pursued Pilaji as he intended to proceed towards the city and reached Kharabhaiyat. But Pilaji went in all haste to the fort of Saurath. Kanthaji had besieged Vadnagar. The residents had not yet recovered from the first onslaught, they got confused and restless and preferred flight to stay. They left their ancestral habitation and got scattered like stars of the Greater Bear under cover of a dark night. That morning when the army of day began to attack the negro of dark night, the Marathas entered the town without any hindrance. They became owners of whatever the real owners could not carry. Vadnagar was an ancient prosperous town. They got large sums of money from house hold materials and by digging buried treasures. They were not content with that. They set fire to the town. The town got burnt with all its excellent houses beautifully painted in an artistic fashion. Residents and owners roamed about like exiled persons with roasted hearts and weeping eyes. Those who had means went to Mathura and Benaras. The rest got settled in towns and villages of the same region. It is popularly known among people of this region that Ahmedabad had two golden wings one Vadnagar and the other Umrethi. There lived in these two Kasbas most of the bankers and wealthy merchants who had capital of lacs. Through passage of time and descent of calamities both are now broken and scattered dust (ruined and desolate). In short, Khanazad Khan reached Kharabhaiyat but returned to Ahmedabad as summoned. He alighted in the house of Shuja'at Khan. When a report of above events was



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received by His Majesty, Khanazad Khan was honoured with an addition in mansab which with the original and additional came to 6000 Zat, 5000 Sawar and conferment of the title of Ghalib Khan. Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan also was exalted with a notable addition. Pilaji and Kanthaji departed as the time to go to their respective homes had come. Mubariz-ul Mulk was internally displeased with Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan. He, having noticed it, went to the Royal Presence. Khanazad Khan proposed Faujdari and Amiri of Broach for one of his companions 'Abdullah Beg and secured a robe for him from Mubariz ul Mulk. It was in Ramzan of this year that Panah Begum, daughter of Ruhullah Khan, wife of Mubariz ul Mulk died. She was the uterus sister of 'Ayesha Begum who was married to Prince Muhammed 'Azim us shan son of Khuld Manzil. She was buried by the side of the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhikhan, may his grave be sanctified.

Quatrain

*Oh death ' you have desolated a thousand houses
You plundered soul in the kingdom of existence
Every precious jewel which came to the world
You carried and concealed it beneath the earth*

During these days, bitterness and displeasure arose between Mubariz ul Mulk and Sardar Muhammed Khan while talking about the salary of establishment to be taken from the city's income. The author's father was the originator of it and a means for sending a letter of his appointment as a Deputy. He got displeased with him also. He appointed Muhammed Sa'eed Beg as Diwan of Nizamat in his place. The author's father stopped his visits to him and led a retired life at home. Nearly two months elapsed. During this time most of the affairs which were managed with his counsel and consultation went wrong. Mubariz ul Mulk imprisoned Khushal Chand Nagarsheth at the inducement of certain self interested persons and appointed the leading silk merchant as Nagarsheth. Enemies of Khushal Chand undertook to expose him publicly and defame him on condition of taking one lac of rupees. A party of soldiers did this kind of work. Mubariz ul-Mulk began to hesitate about his public exposure. As he had complete confidence in the author's father's good management and well wishing, he said in absence that such and such a man was afflicted by him and so he led a retired life. If he was summoned, he would come. Some of the friends who were present when he made such a statement, they declared to him that he would have no excuse. They secretly conveyed this information to him saying that he should come when somebody came from him to summon him. Mubariz ul Mulk sent Matbu Khawajah Sara to him. He went and saw him. After making a clean breast



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of displeasure, he consulted him in regard to the case of Khushal Chand. He declared that the object of self-interested persons was to defame him. He will ruin himself by jealousy. They would gain their object thereby. If the object was extortion of money from him, it was possible. Thereby money would be obtained and contumely of self-interested persons would remain. As this course was conducive to advisability, it was much approbated. Sixty thousand rupees were fixed for this purpose. He hastened to the capital after arrival in company of dismissed Jamadar Muhammed Lauf Pawar. Three lacs of rupees were granted to him per month from bankers of Ahmedabad as written by Mubariz-ul-Mulk and reported to His Majesty. Khanazad Khan got displeased with his father for a certain affair and went to the Court. Mubariz-ul-Mulk, on the transfer of Muhammed Sa'eed Beg, appointed Muhammed Salman as Diwan of the Nizamat. In the year 1139, Mubariz ul-Mulk went out for collection of peshkash, establishment of order, taking security from zamindars and rebels toward Kadi and Vijapur. This was the time for the Marathas to come. Kanthaji came to this side and reached Mahi river, began to make peace and proposed for continuation of the fourth part known as Chauth. He sent his vakils for the purpose. Even though Mubariz ul-Mulk had an equipped army and war materials to such an extent that he could have defended himself in war in the best manner possible. As divine will had ordained for domination of the Marathas due to blameable deeds and actions of citizens, Mubariz-ul-Mulk felt disposed for peace. He settled with Suratsingh, a man of Kanthaji the collection of Chauth on this side of Mahi river except chauth of the paraganas of Haveli and mahals of the city which was assigned in cash uninterruptedly in exchange of it. He obtained letters for intervention of his tax-gatherers to Faujdars and Amils. Mubariz ul-Mulk attended to his work. After being free from the Sabarmati district, he marched to Jhalawar and Saurath. He besieged Vadhwan in jurisdiction of Viramgam, residence of the zamindar Arjun Singh. He distributed entrenchments and planted artillery. Salabat Muhammed Khan, Faujdar of Viramgam was in the vanguard with Shaikh Ilahyar Bakhshi. They proposed communications with Arjun Singh. Udekaran Desai was sent for this purpose. He entered into conversation twice or thrice but did not bring an acceptable reply or expostulations of Salabat Muhammed Khan and Desai were kept hidden in a way. They became suspicious. The sun rose up to the meridian in expectation of this matter. Mubariz-ul-Mulk sent the author's father for information and inquiry. Desai narrated terms of the zamindar in such a manner that it smacked of pride and vanity. This fact proved naphtha on fire. He returned. By chance, they happened to pass by a place where artillery was kept ready with a wick to be ignited awaiting orders. Mubariz-ul-Mulk gave an order to the Darogha Muhammed Taqi Beg to fire cannons. No sooner did he give order, the cannons were fired. Dragon-bodied, thunder-like cannons began to roar, foundation

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of the fortified ones was shaken. The same broth was in the cup from all sides. Warriors, having girt up loins tightly in advancing entrenchments vanished themselves. The author's father saw Mubariz-ul-Mulk and declared true state of affairs and trend of conversation. It was applauded by him. He came and sat in front of entrenchment. Next day, blows of cannons shook props of refuge. Water of the step well which was the source of watering for the besieged and their animals got dry. Walls at many places gave way as they were then weak and raw. First of all, animals were removed through anxiety of water but it proved of no avail. At close of the third day, Arjun Singh who was not satisfied with expostulation of Salabat Muhammed Khan, sought protection and security without assurance through a promise, and sought refuge of Chhatra Singh, Rajah of Narur who was one of the provincial military commanders and requested him to intervene with humility. Mubariz ul Mulk connived at his life at intercession of the Rajah and was pleased with his payment of legal dues, peshkash and penalty. He consulted the author's father for fixation of amount. He declared that he personally stood at the entrenchment for three full days and as such not less than a lac of rupees per day should be taken. After remonstrance and expostulation, it was agreed on the same amount. Confidential men of the Zamindars came as hostages till payment of the amount. He then marched further. Zamindars of other places, on hearing the case of Wadhwan bade adieu to all consciousness from their skulls presented themselves without quarrel and contention and paid the peshkash. Vakils of Jam, zamindar of Ilumnagar known as Nawanagar accepted payment of three lacs of rupees through Salabat Muhammed Khan. He collected peshkash that year according to his heart's content. Mubariz ul Mulk returned to Ahmedabad and then marched to villages of Kolis on the river Vatrak. He took securities for not creating disturbance from them. He entered the city. Muhammed Iraj Faujdar and Amin of Dholka came as summoned with head men and desais for submission of accounts. Ryots of Dholka had expressed their displeasure at rascality of the Faujdar and Amil. The author's father was proposed to accede to their request and summoned. As he suffered from physical ailment for two three days on account of which he was too weak to walk, sit and stand, he submitted an apology. Further, his excuse was rejected. He had to go under pressure. He talked with him about matter of the paragana concisely which did not come up to assignment of artillery. He then returned with a robe. He drafted letters and sent them to workers there. Mubariz ul Mulk appointed Aqa Muhammed Amin Beg, on the transfer of Muhammed Salman as Diwan of the Nizamat while Muhammed Amin Beg's post as Superintendent of the artillery was given to Shaukh Ghulam Husain alias Mujahid. Every one of them was favoured with a robe and an elephant. Muhammed Zaman son of Muhammed Amin Beg was appointed, on transfer of Fidauddin



Khan, as patrolling Faujdar. Sadruddin Muhammed Khan, on the transfer of Husainuddin, was appointed as Faujdar of Baroda. Fidauddin Khan was put in charge of Petlad on the transfer of Ali Mardan. When a report of payment of Maratha chauth and conclusion of peace with Kanthaji reached His Majesty, he issued an order for stopping payment of three lacs of rupees per month and which amount was paid twice, thrice. Mubariz-ul-Mulk had a large army and many servants, income from mahals and peshkash did not suffice him. He laid foundation of extortion, fines, penalty, and revived the despicable innovation of Biwarah. Market of slanderers and house-destroyers who were unfamiliar with God became brisk. He despatched Muhammed Amin Beg and Ilahyar Bakhshi with an army for assessment and collection of peshkash as well as taking securities from kolis of the Mahi District (for not raising disturbances).

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CHAPTER 196

ARRIVAL OF THE MARATHA UDAJI PAWAR DISTURBANCES AND MISCHIEF AT BARODA AND DABHOI OCCUPATION OF BARODA BY PILAJI GAEKWAR

Pilaji Gaekwar collected Chauth from the other bank of river Mahi on behalf of the Senapati. He tried since long for its settlement and ratification. At this juncture, Bajirao, principal manager of affairs of Rajah Sahu sent Udaji Pawar towards Ahmedabad with instructions to settle chauth in his name by means of a war. He entered Baroda district. Pilaji too arrived here. A quarrel took place between the two which terminated into war and battle. 'Abdun Nabi Beg, Naib Faujdar of Dabhoi which was included in Burhan ul Mulks' jagir, contended with Pilaji Rao in regard to Chauth. He allied himself with Udaji and prepared himself for a war. He gave him place in the Dabhoi fort and engaged with him in manly fight and brave war several times. As ordained by decrees of fate, 'Abdun Nabi was killed. The fort of Dabhoi came into sole possession of Udaji Pawar. Kanthaji too came from his native place at this juncture and joined with Pilaji. Both together besieged Dabhoi. Sadruddin Muhammed Khan was appointed by Mubariz-ul Mulk as Faujdar of Baroda. He arrived at the bank of Mahi river. He crossed the river at Fazilpur and intended to reach Baroda that very night. Pilaji learnt about his arrival and design. He despatched an army against him to stop him on the way. His army poured on him on the road and killed and wounded many of his soldiers. They plundered most of his lag and baggage. Sadruddin Muhammed Khan brought himself to Baroda with a great struggle fighting with the enemy in dark night. He diligently occupied himself with defence of the fort, turrets and citadel. He made Udaji who was an enemy of Pilaji and nearby in the Dabhoi Fort as his ally to defend himself against Pilaji and Kanthaji. He captured his men at Baroda. Pilaji and Kanthaji fought at two fronts and ignited fire of warfare more than before. Udaji thought it advisable to solve this difficulty through concord and summon of succour from Mubariz ul Mulk. He sent his reliable men to him with a message that if an army were despatched to that side, they would be able to expel Pilaji and Kanthaji together. He also sent his own son as hostage for his satisfaction. Mubariz ul Mulk was satisfied with it. Udaji sent his brother Anand Rao with his son for corroboration of terms of agreement and bringing the army from Ahmedabad. He reached the Kakriya tank. He met him after two days and broached the topic of pledge and pact face to face. Mubariz ul Mulk gave a robe and a horse to Anand Rao and nearly a hundred robes to his companions and permitted him to



depart At the time of appointment, the author's father had stated that the assignment of the Dholka paragana was not sufficient for defray of soldiers' salary as well as maintenance of artillerymen Hence whatever revenue was collected should be conveyed to the government without delay and postponement At this time of war, the artillerymen made strong demands It was the time for action Necessarily, three lacs of rupees were assigned on Dholka Again, the paragana of Dholka was at this time retained as before as the jagir of Asaf Jah It was learnt from letters of vakils at the Court that it became a cause of displeasure to Mubariz ul Mulk and therefore, he wanted to make the paragana barren and desolate He, therefore, assigned it to the risala of artillery The author's father found out his innermost intentions that it was a clear breach of agreement and so he wrote that he should immediately come to the place Mubariz-ul Mulk put Dholka in charge of Shaikh Ghulam Husain, the Darogha of Topkhana He sent his adopted son Din Muhammed as its Faujdar He collected a large sum by harassment besides the settled amount He gave away villages on monopoly of small amount to girasias on settlement He collected a considerable sum by this means also Fertile villages went into their possession which implied sale to them The matter was not inquired into because it was an assignment for the artillery In short, when it was decided to send an army at Udaji's request, Mubariz ul-Mulk wrote to Muhammed Amin Beg and Ilahyar who had arrived at Dhandhuka after establishment of order in the Mahi district, ascertainment of revenue collection of Jhalawar and collection of peshkash of Saurath zamindars to return to hasten to fight with Kanthaji and Pilaji Kanthaji, on getting intelligence of it, appointed his adopted son Krishna with an army to plunder and pillage his commissariat and to block his passages for receipt of fodder and food grains round about his army He made an appearance round about them and resorted to guerilla warfare which was the Maratha characteristic In this way, a severe war ensued between them on the bank of Vatrak He suffered a serious defeat, extricated himself from that dangerous situation with great effort, proceeded towards Baroda and sent its report to Mubariz-ul-Mulk Pilaji and Kanthaji designed that the Nazim's army should not join Udaji and hence they regarded resistance to the army as most important They, therefore, lifted siege from Dabhoi and marched expeditiously against it They encountered the Muslim army on its way to Baroda at Nadiad and engaged in warfare with it Muhammed Amin and Ilahyar kept the Kasba behind their back and heated the oven of warfare for one week A great havoc was caused in that battle to round about Kasbas and villages Kanthaji opened peace negotiations through Fidauddin Khan, Faujdar of Petlad with whom he had in a way formed acquaintance He began to move the matter about settlement of Chauth He wrote to Mubariz-ul-Mulk about it to sound his opinion He sent him away as there was no scope through exigency of time to upset plans with that party Mumin Khan hastened from Petlad to Nadiad to settle this dispute Kanthaji



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gave a present of a female elephant to Fidauddin Khan and sent him away. Udayi was despaired of Mubariz ul-Mulk's help and stabilized himself in the Dabhoi fort and engaged in war with Pilaji Sadruddin Muhammed Khan, Faujdar of Baroda also tried to defend himself as far as possible through his corroborated pledge and support with whom he had pact on oath. He did not desist from warfare inspite of Mubariz ul Mulk's writing to him. At last, when this war prolonged for some time, he found himself unable to discharge this responsibility, he went with Udayi to Malwa as there was no way of retreat for him. Fort of Dabhoi and Baroda came into possession of Pilaji. Mubariz ul-Mulk marched to Saurath for establishment of order and collection of peshkash at the time of season and harvesting of corn. He again exacted one lac of rupees from the zamindar of Nawanagar through Salabat Muhammed Khan. As he rendered valuable services in matters of settlement of peshkash, Mubariz ul Mulk gave him an elephant. Mubariz ul Mulk, Diwan of the Subah who was ill for some time died at Ahmedabad on 17th Ramzan. Mubariz ul Mulk received news of his death near Nawanagar through reporters. He, therefore, despatched Aliwardi Khan, who had accompanied him under orders of His Majesty as Diwan for the army, to manage Diwan affairs at Ahmedabad. In short, Mubariz ul-Mulk came as far as Porbander and Jhanba on sea coast in Saurath. It has a strong fort. It was difficult to reach the place riding because of a thicket of acacia trees. He went there by cutting down the forest and burning thorny bushes. The zamindar had no strength to resist him, he embarked a boat and fled to another place by sea. He seized several cannons of hard metal, other materials, provisions which he could not carry for want of time. Mubariz ul Mulk halted there. When the zamindar failed to present himself before him, he engaged diggers and pick axe bearers to demolish the fort. He was under the impression that the zamindar, through fear of destruction of the fort, might approach him in helplessness and humility but it proved of no avail. Secondly, he ordered appointment of a faujdar at the advice of right thinking men as well as to repair the fort. On hearing this, the zamindar presented himself. He gave a peshkash of one lac and twenty five thousand mahmudis as well as a security. Mubariz ul Mulk returned. On the way, he demanded in marriage the daughter of Partab Singh, zamindar of Halwad who was famous in his community for nobility and with whom former Nazims had entered into relations with him. He summoned the bride in the army and married her. Out of regard and prestige of Partab Singh, he exempted him from payment of peshkash, took him to Ahmedabad with himself and permitted him to go after some days with a robe, a horse and several jewels. Mubariz ul Mulk had seized jagirs of amirs and mansabdars of the Royal Court as well as of the Province during the days of Hamid Khan's rebellion. Complaints against him were repeatedly made to His Majesty. The vakil laid stress upon their return every



now and then. As it proved ineffective, His Majesty issued an order to distribute his old unconditional jagirs in the Punjab. Every one got its assignment in proportion to his claim. The Provincial mansabdars, who were disappointed, spent their lives in starvation due to poverty and indigence. Some of them left the place and began to wander in search of livelihood. Those who could not go out, failed to get a bread at night and slowly departed from this world. Kanthaji and Pilaji appointed their own Naib at various places for collection of Chauth and went to their native places. Krishna, the adopted son of Kanthaji occupied the fort of Champaner situated on top of a lofty mountain. It was very strong. He made it his residential place and became, at most times, a source of disturbance and mischief and subjected Marwar as far as Jalor to brigandage and banditry. It was in this year that 'Abdullah an unworthy son of the mansabdar Khizryar Khan, who had taken to the path of folly in company of vagabonds and rascals, engaged in committal of wicked deeds. He could not commit vicious deeds in company of his fellow men with ease of mind and cheerfulness due to fear of his father who was a veteran old Persian. When the sun of his father's life reached the top of the wall, he waited for it to go down in the veil of dust. Its manifestation, to which none found his way, is hidden in the curtain of invisibility. In accordance with the saying that waiting is more severe than death, he prepared himself to murder his father at the instigation of satanic-minded persons who are not aware of God's existence. He waited for an opportunity to seize it by forelock.

Verse

*First of all an admonition of the old man is
That one should avoid company of an uncongenial companion*

At the close of the month of Ramazan, his father took breakfast. Every one went to his respective place for rest. That wicked fellow came down upon him like a sudden calamity with a blood-thirsty dagger in hand covering his face with a veil. Khizryar Khan got frightened and wanted to take himself aside. He rushed upon him with haste and stabbed him twice in succession on his back and side. He overthrew that old man. He shouted out to his servants while taking himself aside. They did not hear him as they were fast asleep. By chance, a Negro slave who was awake came at a time when he had done his work and wanted to go out. The Negro saw a stranger in darkness of night with that physiognomy and bewilderment and threw his sword at him. He wounded him on shoulder. That unfortunate fellow went with fast paces and hid himself on the terrace with his back against the wall. When a torch was brought, they found Khizryar Khan dead due to fatal wounds. The murderer was not known then. The Negro declared that he had wounded him and that

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Darbar and resided in Bagh-i-Begum situated within city-fortifications. Both sides authenticated agreement through responsibility of merchants and nobles. Bahram Khan went to the garden through necessity. Tegh Beg Khan entered the Darbar and began to manage affairs of Port-officership and government. During these days, the river Tapti rose in flood and entered the city. Boats were phied in lanes and bazars. Many persons sought refuge through fear of life on terraces of lofty buildings and trees. Wealth and lives of many persons became as if they were of the drowned. This continued for full three days. Bahram Khan conveyed loaves for Muslims and fried grams for Hindus by boats to those who were on terraces and branches of trees. After two days water again rose but to a lesser height and remained for a day. In 1141, Mubariz ul-Mulk appointed Jawanmard Khan Babi as Amin and Faujdar of Petlad in place of Fidauddin Khan. Mir Fakhruddin was appointed Faujdar of Kadi in place of Tarikhan. The Patrolling Faujdarship was granted to Himmat Dil Khan on the transfer of Muhammed Zaman. As the assessment and collection of revenue of Haveli paragana of Ahmedabad were entrusted to Himmat Dil Khan in addition to his duties as Patrolling Faujdar, he failed to live in accord with headmen and ryots. They fled and lead secluded lives. Assessment and collection of revenue were neglected. The author's father was connected with the Haveli paragana during the regime of His Majesty Khuld Manzil as it was in the jagir of the Prince Jahan Shah Bahadur. The ryots were satisfied and contented with his behaviour with them. Mubariz ul Mulk learnt about it from other sources. This duty was, therefore, forced on him with instructions to stay for a few days at Nainpur fortress, summon headmen and ryots and devote himself to improve matters in concord with Himmat Dil Khan. He therefore stayed there for days and nights and summoned the muqaddams. Remonstrations about assessment took place. One day, the author's father went to Mubariz-ul Mulk in the evening and explained the affairs of the paragana. In the midst of conversation, Mubariz ul-Mulk without any occasion, sent for the author and his brother Muhammed Isma'il at nearly two hours after night fall. He granted a robe of Faujdari and Aminship of Haveli paragana to the author and a robe of Karoni of Nizamat for the duties of Municipal Office, octroi duties, cattle-market and mint to the author's brother. Next day, they actively devoted themselves to performance of their duties. After a lapse of one month, work of assessment of Surat paragana was issued. Mubariz ul Mulk came out to establish order in the Malu district, encamped at the Chandola Tank and stayed there for some time till arrival of soldiers and materials of artillery when he made an additional demand of ten thousand rupees on the paragana Haveli. The author's father declared that there was no scope for an addition on the paragana that year. If there was no trouble, there would be a clear addition next year. As money was needed then, he said that it should be managed from the Faujdari. It could not be recovered in Faujdari without resorting to exaction, illegal methods.



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and fines and so the author's father refused saying that he was not capable of doing harm to people. As divine will had ordained to punish people on account of their unworthy deeds and wicked actions, he submitted resignation of his post. Zambil Khan, a companion of former Diwan Mumin Khan in whose temperament hard-heartedness and viciousness were kneaded together accepted this responsibility on an addition of ten, fifteen (rupees ?) He harassed and tyrannized over ryots, common-folk of paraganas, and residents of suburbs in various ways and forcibly imposed fines on them. He exacted money by giving monopoly of passages and fords to persons who did not recognize God. Once or twice in a year, he extorted money by means of biwarah. It was levied sometimes on imports of merchandise, sometimes it was collected on ground of head counting and house counting. The Bohras were engaged on a small and great scale in sea trade with various countries. They were wealthy and as such biwarah was levied on them per force and violence. Willy-nilly, they had to pay it. A hardware merchant by name Hasan belonged to the Bohra community. He was notorious for slander and contumely of his own community. They were tired of him. By chance, he was going to his house at night. He lay slain on the road. Heirs of the slain accused their own leaders of his murder. Mubariz-ul-Mulk, therefore, arrested their leaders and leading merchants and imprisoned them. He imposed a fine of three lacs of rupees by beating and torturing them. Harsh and hard-hearted tax-gatherers were appointed to collect fine from them. One of their leaders died of flagellation. Giving of cash money, selling articles, house hold goods and everything else that was known to absolve them from responsibility became causes of distraction and ruination of those people. During those days, Mubariz-ul-Mulk stayed at Jandola Tank. He received news that the Faujdar of Petlad, Jawanmard Khan marched on Balor. A war ensued with arrows and guns. By chance, a gun-bullet hit him on the left thigh. He got wounded. After this attack, he returned to Petlad. As the cup of his life was full to the brink, he died after a few days. His dead body was brought to the grave-yard of his ancestors situated near the city Idrah. His elder brother, Salabat Muhammed Khan consigned his corpse to the grave. After that, he remained in his own tent in mourning and mourning full of grief and sorrow. After a lapse of three days, Mubariz-ul-Mulk, in accordance with the custom, went to him for condolence and solace. He favoured him with a robe, a sword, a javelin and a sturdy horse. He also gave a robe and a horse to Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni. He brought both of them to his tent along with his Sawari. He got a tent planted for their stay adjacent to that of his own. At the request of Salabat Muhammed Khan, he proposed name, mansab and jagirs in the name of his eldest son Kamaluddin. Kamaluddin was favoured with a mansab of 700 Zat, title of Jawanmard Khan and the paraganas of Sami and Munjpur. His second son, Muhammed Anwar was granted a mansab of 500 Zat, title of Safdar Khan and Faujdari of Radhanpur.

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He then marched to Kaniz within jurisdiction of Hateli at a distance of nine kurohs from the city and encamped there for a few days. Household matters of Mubariz ul-Mulk were not managed to his heart's content due to inexperience of his domestic servants, he therefore, pressed the author's father to improve matters. He gave him a robe of a Head Steward (Mir-i-Saman). He appointed the author as Naib. He then marched further and encamped at Nadiad. Headmen of Petlad pargana met him. He stayed there to examine their accounts. As Jawanmard Khan held Petlad solely for himself, his peshkar Rai Kishordas took the responsibility for payment of monopoly dues upon himself after his death. Mubariz-ul-Mulk marched doubly and encamped upon Mahi bank. He then rode to Bhadarwa which was under jurisdiction of the zamindar Sardar Singh. The Muslim army stormed the place from four sides. As the place is in the centre, war continued with cannons and guns for the whole day till evening.

Verse

*When Sultan of the night occupied the royal throne
He conquered the world from the moon to the fish*

Mubariz-ul Mulk pitched a tent in front in the same plain and alighted there. Next day when the eastern sultan hoisted his golden banner from the eastern horizon for conquest of mid day kingdom, brave warriors tightly girt up loins of courage for assault and attack and prepared themselves for warfare when a message for obedience and submission as well as for payment of pesh Lash arrived through Salabat Muhammed Khan. The peshkash was fixed at twenty thousand rupees. As the approach of monsoon was nigh and fodder for animals was obtainable less in that district, he returned as the return was commendable. He came to Ahmedabad collecting peshkash from the zamindar of Umeiha and other places on the way and devoted himself to administrative matters. He gave charge of the Fort officership of Khanbhayat to his relative Syed Nawazish Khan on the transfer of Nuruddin Muhammed Khan as well as the Fanydari of Petlad due to death of Jawanmard Khan. Rai Kishor Das, who held the paraganas of Petlad under his charge after the death of Jawanmard Khan, was entrusted to Salabat Muhammed Khan for recovery of the remaining amount. As he failed to pay the amount, Mubariz ul Mulk summoned him to the Bhadra Fort and imprisoned him. He poisoned himself to death thinking of disrespect shown to him and of his loss of reputation. Kanthaji returned from Saurath and was on his way to his native place. He reached Sanand to a distance of six miles from the city and happened to pass by vicinity of the city. By chance, elephants of Mubariz ul Mulk's sarkar were taken to Ghayaspur at a distance of



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three kurohs to bring fodder. They met the Maratha horsemen technically known as Hol who marched on with brigandage and banditry on all sides. They carried away three elephants. Mubariz-ul-Mulk, on getting intelligence of it, intended first to chase them and got his army ready, and held a council. Ultimately, he despatched the Diwan Muhammed Amin Beg, Bakhshi Ilahyar, Darogha of Topkhana Ghulam Husam and other sardars. They hastened at top speed and arrived at Mahmudabad at night. Mubariz-ul-Mulk received information at midnight that the Marathas got frightened of chase after capture of elephants and departed in all haste and hurry encamping at one stage instead of at two. At that very time, the author's father was sent with instruction to reach the army at dawn and get him information about departure of the Marathas and that he should do whatever he deems proper for the occasion. Next day, the army returned. As the circumcision ceremony of Zorawar Khan, youngest son of Jawanmard Khan had not taken place with rejoicing in accordance with custom prevalent among them, the subject was broached before Mubariz-ul-Mulk. He took upon himself to celebrate it with rejoicings for solace and conciliation of their hearts. The child was circumcised on the same day. He looked after him in the fort till he was healed. He gave seven thousand rupees to his uncle Salabat Muhammed Khan to carry out all usages. After some time, a male child was born in the house of Salabat Muhammed Khan. Mubariz-ul-Mulk gave five thousand rupees to him for a birth-day feast and rejoicings so that he might spend that amount on feasting and joyous celebration.

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CHAPTER 199

ESTABLISHMENT OF AUTHORITY OF BAHRAM KHAN AS PORT-OFFICER OF SURAT WITH THE HELP OF THE LEADING MERCHANT MULLA MUHAMMED ALI

Last year, the leading merchant Muhammed Ali removed Bahram Khan as Port officer. It was decided that the person in whose name, the new sanad would be issued by His Majesty would be accepted as the Port-officer. It was mentioned before that Bahram Khan had shifted his residence to Bagh i Begum. He wrote to the vakils of the Royal Court for the sanad and waited for it. It has been said,

Hemistich

An enemy becomes a cause of good if God wishes

The object of the leading merchant in adoption of war like attitude was for building a fort at Athawa. He began to build it. The Qile'dar Belkar Khan and Tegh Beg Khan objected to it on the ground that there was no old regulation for it and that there was an order of His Majesty that no one should build a fort without royal permission. The leading merchant did not expect this from them and so he felt hurt. As the work could not be proceeded further without permission of the Hakim, he began to move the matter with Bahram Khan on condition that he should not object to its building. He placed the finger of approval on his eyes and accepted it. The leading merchant spent nearly eighty thousand rupees for managing to obtain a sole sanad for him. He succeeded in obtaining it within a short time. As per agreement, Bahram Khan established himself as Port officer once again after a period of ten months. The leading merchant occupied himself with ease at heart to build a fort at Athawa. He built strong fortifications with turrets and citadel. Side by side with it, several bazars sprang up on the road. Excellent buildings and a lofty glass-house eminent on the river Tapti were constructed. He appointed a Qile'dar, a Kotwal and retinues and dragon like cannons were planted on turrets. He resided there most of the time. Merchants and others populated the place. It prospered splendidly within a short time. He decided to unload his imported goods there. An accountant wrote a register of its rules and regulations. From day to day, the port of Surat began to lose its importance. The author's father thought of proceeding to Hajj of the Holy House of God, may God increase its holiness and sanctity. He wrote to the favourite of His Majesty Behroz Khan who was the means of approach to His Majesty for obtainment of permission and appointment of the author as the Naib Amin for the Municipal Office. He reported the matter to His Majesty. He obtained a royal order to the Diwan of the Subah for appointment of the



author as Naib and also to the Port officer of Surat for absence of molestation and sent them to him. But Mubariz-ul Mulk did not permit him to go that year on a promise that he would not object to his departure next year. He frustrated him in execution of a worthy idea. In the year 1142, Mubariz-ul-Mulk transferred Zambil Khan who had transgressed the limit of tyranny and oppression and had become very notorious and appointed Shaikh Mujahid Darogha i Topkhana to his post. His adopted son, Dalilullah was appointed as Naib while Shaikh Muhammed Fazil Jamadar was appointed Kotwal of the city in place of Muhammed Ashraf. He proceeded towards Kolwa after the monsoon was over and the season of raising and harvesting crops had set in. The Zamindar of Sihor, Bahadur Singh came forward and paid the peshkash. He allowed him to depart when he had accompanied him to a certain distance. Mubariz-ul Mulk collected peshkash on the way and arrived at Madhavpur near Junagadh. He attacked that place. It was a good place and so he collected a large booty. Mubariz ul-Mulk was displeased with Fidauddin Khan on a matter of accounts of Petlad. Formerly it was in his charge but now he was honoured with his father's title of Mumin Khan during the regime of His Majesty Khuld Makan. He dismissed him from service. He separated himself from him on the way and came to Ahmedabad. Mubariz ul Mulk wrote that he should not stay in the city and therefore, he started for the capital. Mubariz-ul-Mulk left Madhavpur to collect peshkash from the zamindar of Kutch situated between the border of Gujarat and the subah of Tatta. The zamindar held a number of talukas, and villages under him. His income was large. He had a strong fort of Bhuj which contained all requisites of artillery and war materials. He was the foremost zamindar of that region. His country was famous for Kutchi horses in the world. The zamindar, on becoming acquainted with the designs of Mubariz-ul-Mulk, sent his vakils before his entry into region who accepted on his behalf to pay peshkash of ten lacs of mahmudi coins so that he might return to the place whence he had come. He did not accept terms. Some of the zamindars who had expostulation and claims of rivalry with him began to upset his work by pointing out verdant gardens and abundant amounts of money-saying that he would soon be managed according to heart's desire. He firmly determined to overcome hardships and difficulties of the path pointed out to him by local men and experienced persons out of greed and undertook to cross the brackish desert technically known among Gujaratis as rann. The desert was extensive to a distance of twenty five kurohs. It was waterless, fodderless, man-devouring and intelligence depriving.

Poem

*Ornament and transfiguration were in that valley
Its gazelle was great and its phoenix was real*

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CHAPTER 199

ESTABLISHMENT OF AUTHORITY OF BAHRAM KHAN AS PORT-OFFICER OF SURAT WITH THE HELP OF THE LEADING MERCHANT MULLA MUHAMMED ALI

Last year, the leading merchant Muhammed Ali removed Bahram Khan as Port-officer. It was decided that the person in whose name, the new sanad would be issued by His Majesty would be accepted as the Port-officer. It was mentioned before that Bahram Khan had shifted his residence to Bagh-i-Begum. He wrote to the vakils of the Royal Court for the sanad and waited for it. It has been said,

Hemistich

An enemy becomes a cause of good if God wishes

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Poem

*Orionousness and transpicuousness were in that valley
Its gazelle was ghoul and its phoenix was owl*

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*The land was moist with waterless sulphur
Its air was more fierier heating than hell*

Verse

When the object is achieved, pain turns into pleasure

Dust raised by movement of a flock of sheep is antimony for wolf's eyes
He regarded all stages easy as sages have said

Hemistich

No pains, no gains

Every one took supply of water according to his capacity. Night spread out from one end to the other the indigo coloured shade in front of the vault of the artistic sky for their rest. They marched with intention to cross the desert in the morning. In spite of elaborate preparations, many died of thirst. When they saw villages of Bhujnagar in front of them, they plundered and pillaged them and set fire to them. He besieged the fort and distributed entrenchments among experienced men. The artillery was planted. Both the parties kept the oven of war heated by day and night with fire of cannon. However much, the zamindar promoted means of peace yet his efforts failed because of demands of revenue. Helplessly, he too made round about villages desolate and set fire to them. He left no trace of grain and grass spared. Every day excellent horsemen drove away the cossacks and blocked passages for receipt of corn and hay. One had to go to a long distance for bringing food grains, grass, fuel and other necessities of the camp which was known in Hindi technical language as *Kahi*. Mubariz ul Mulk despatched a strong squadron. Many a time, the zamindar's horsemen got information (about their movements). They engaged in berthing and carrying them away in narrow mountain passes. The matter was prolonged several times in negotiations on an excuse of fraud practised by the zamindar. Nearly one month and a half passed in this manner. Shortage of grass and food stuff was keenly felt in the army. Condition of soldiers and guntrappeds worsened from day to day. Many cannon pulling oxen and mules perished. At this juncture, he learnt about the transfer of the subah through letters of vakils at the court. He had necessarily to give up the siege. He returned by way of Radhanpur where the land was less brackish. He arrived at Radhanpur. He personally went to see the dependents of Jawanmard Khan who were there for solace and condolence. He then returned to Ahmedabad. It was on the 19th Safar of this year that Syed 'Aqil Khan who enjoyed the mansab of 3000 Zat, 1000 Sawar and was the Faujdar of Godhra died a natural death. Chief of those who were united with God Shah Ali Reza Sirhindi died on 20th Ziq'ad. He was buried in the compound of his house which was given to him for residence during the regime of Jahandar Shah.

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CHAPTER 200

DEATH OF SOME BOHRAS OF THE BIG JAMA'AT IN THE JAME' MASJID ARREST OF SHAIKH 'ABDULLAH OF THAT JAMA'AT WHO LED A SECLUDED LIFE FOR THIRTY YEARS AND WHO WAS PRESENT IN THAT ASSEMBLAGE

Soldiers had suffered great hardships at the siege of Bhujnagar. Their demands for the past and the present had increased (their salary was in arrears). They made severe demands. Mubariz ul Mulk settled a sum to be exacted by means of biwarah from ryots and common folk which was formerly resorted to several times in order to suppress disturbances of soldiers. As this unpleasant innovation and unlaudable tax was levied from the past on members of big Jama'at of Sunni Bohras in proportion of one third of what was levied on Hindus, tax collectors were appointed to collect it. As the recall of Mubariz ul Mulk was definite, the Bohras became bold enough collectively to show outwardly their strength for non-payment of biwarah which was repeatedly imposed but inwardly on supposition that a report of Mubariz ul Mulk was certain and continuous he would be afraid of a public rising and thus he would connive at this imposition. They all assembled together in Jame' Masjid. By chance a certain Shaikh 'Abdullah of that Jama'at who had renounced the world and who was dressed in garb of faqirs and garment of recluses, it was said that he led a secluded life in corner of his house for thirty years and abhorred association and social intercourse with people, he learnt about assemblage of Muslims. He regarded his presence in the assemblage as a good deed and a legal action and considered a sin to keep himself away with indifference from such a virtuous deed. He honoured the assemblage by his presence. He uttered frivolous and absurd things. He conveyed certain lies to the audience. The assemblage regarded the sudden arrival of that holy man after so many years' life of seclusion as divine help and an act of undoubted inspiration. Others who had nothing to do with this affair, took part in the gathering for the sake of God. They attributed meaningless, disjointed words of the deceitful shaiikh (holy man) as his miraculous performances. He was given a chief seat in the gathering. They obeyed him having tightly worn the belt of obedience on waist of life and placed a scarf of submission on shoulders. The deceitful shaiikh constantly wished for such a day with midnight and early dawn prayers. He began to behave with arrogance with bloated beard. He gave good news of help of invisible forces and engaged in instigation and misguidance of those people. He used to say, "The dismissed one who is the cause of harm and injury will be brought captured if he does not go out of the city." This statement was like naphtha on fire. Those fools of weak faith believed him. They unanimously accepted, like a cock who



crowd without any occasion, diabolical delusions of hypocritical, deceitful shaikh and sang his tune They apprised one another with good news saying

Hemistich

What wonder is there about the miracles of our shaikh

Mubariz-ul-Mulk summoned the Diwan of the Subah 'Abdul Ghani Khan, the judge Abul Mafakhar Khan, Qazi 'Abdul Ahad Khan, Bakhshi Chronicler Amanatdar Khan and intelligencer Hadî Khan who was appointed to this post on the transfer of Kabir Ali Khan to himself. He sent mild messages with Shaikh Fatahullah, brother of Amanatdar Khan repeatedly to the Shaikh to this effect "I have exempted the Bohras from biwarah out of respect for the shaikh. These persons should go to their respective houses with ease at heart." However much softness and mildness were several times shown, harshness, severity and sternness of the shaikh got doubled. He imagined that his forceful words had their own effect and that the arrow of desire hit the target of acceptance. On this supposition, he was joyous beyond limit. His malignant self gained ascendancy over his valuable reason. He displayed his miraculous powers with all vanity by hint and suggestion of eyebrows and movement of his beard to those persons. He spoke with harshness and sourness smiling sardonically with knots on eye-brows. He replied in a frivolous and absurd manner saying, the Biwarah should not be imposed on others and that the city must be vacated by him. By this trick, he desired the Hindus to join him and prove his claim upon them so that they might become submissive and obedient to him. He could thus become a leader and source of riotous behaviour. Mubariz ul-Mulk, after hearing his arguments, appointed Ilahyar Bakashi with a force of cavalry and infantry to block up means of communications of the people and not to allow that assemblage to disperse and to allow any one to enter the masjid. He rode from the Bhadra Fort and passed by the Three Gates when animal-like common-folk nay misguided fellows regarded frivolous words and vain statements of the shaikh as true and had engraved those words upon their hearts as stone-impressions. On seeing the approach of the army, they rushed forth with warm support of divine forces, went up to terraces of shops situated on the market-road and emboldened themselves by throwing brickbats and clay-pieces. Ilahyar ordered his companions to capture and bind them for the sake of chastisement. When they began to be arrested and bound, they got despaired of the help of divine forces. They placed miracles of the Shaikh on the vault of oblivion and took to flight.

Verse

*Never expect strength of an army from citizens
How can a spark play the role of a star*

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Those who were on the terrace, near the gates of the masjid and on roads watching the scene fled away along with the runaways. The shaikh who sat with his favourites in the arch, remained with a small party. Ilahyar soon ordered to control the gates of the masjid in all haste and sent away other persons to capture the shaikh and his companions. They placed shields of prevention over heads and hands of defence in front. Some of them died while the rest got wounded. A river of blood flowed inside the masjid. The rest got release with apologies. The shaikh was arrested along with his confidential fellows and chief of the community. His miracles and sanctity disappeared. Those persons were made to pay double amount than what they had to pay due to ominous deeds of the shaikh. This amount was immediately recovered from them.

Verse

*Why should a wise, sensible man commit
Such an action which may bring wrong to him.*

No one was bold enough from the next day to gather together to declare his condition. This event took place on 14th Muharram, 1143. Mubariz-ul-Mulk appointed 'Abdul Aziz Khan as the city Kotwal in place of Husainuddin. His Majesty favoured the author with the mansab of 700 Zat, 100 Sawar and conferred the title of Husain Muhammed Khan upon him.



CHAPTER 201

MURDER OF UDEKARAN DESAI OF VIRAMGAM MUBARIZ UL-MULK'S MARCH TO FIGHT WITH MAHARAJAH ABHEY SINGH DEATH OF SALABAT MUHAMMED KHAN.

One of the events of this year was the murder of Udekarān Desai, principal manager of affairs of Viramgam. 'Alī, brother of Dāwlat Muhammed Tank Kasbatī bore enmity towards Desai for a certain matter. One night, he got an opportunity and stabbed him to death with a javelin. Salabat Muhammed Khan heard about it in the city. He was the Naib Faujdar of Viramgam. He obtained permission of Mubariz ul-Mulk for punishment and chastisement of Kasbatīs and came to Balari on the other bank of Sabarmati and stay d there to collect soldiers. Two days after, nearly three hours of the day had passed when through heavenly decrees, he suffered from cholera and died suddenly. Mubariz-ul-Mulk happened to know that very day about his death before he reached Viramgam. He made a show of proceeding to Viramgam but really he wanted to equip himself with war materials to defend himself against Maharajah who had reached Jalor. Suddenly, he rode singly without any occasion, came out of the window of Bhadra Garden overlooking the river alongwith a few favourites who happened to be present there. He then reached the alighting-place of Salabat Muhammed Khan. He saw his condition in person. He encamped near the Great Dome of Mu'ezzami Tents, pavilions and soldiers followed him and encamp d with him. As they failed to ascertain life and death of Salabat Muhammed Khan, they brought him to the city in the evening on a conjecture of unconsciousness. As the case was beyond plan and treatment, their efforts proved futile as time of his departure had come. Mubariz-ul Mulk spent a few days in collection of soldiers and war preparation when he heard a report of Maharajah's arrival at Palanpur to a distance of fifty kurchs from the city. He marched and came to vicinity of Kali at a distance of two kurohs to north of the city on the other bank of Sabarmati opposite to the road leading to Jodhpur. He encamped there. He despatched 4000 horsemen, 4000 infantrymen consisting of musketeers from Buxar and Arabia, 500 horsemen and 1000 infantrymen with Muhammed Amin Khan and Ilahayar Bakhshi to his son Shah Nawaz Khan for defence and protection of the city. He remained there expecting to fight with Maharajah with nearly 700 small and big cannons, 1000 muskets, two thousand maunds of lead and gunpowder and other materials of artillery round about his army within barbed wire. At this juncture, some of the well-wishers who conversed with him, inquired, "What is the object in writing to His Majesty about resignation of the post of Subedar and then showing displeasure? Now that the appointed man is coming, you are preparing to be hostile towards him."



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He replied, "Whatever you say is true. Large sums of money are due for payment to soldiers. I have no ability to pay and come out of this responsibility. Further, some persons have spoken of me in improper terms to His Majesty. The appointed man is a non Muslim. If I am slain, I will be free from demands of soldiers and I will attain to martyrdom. If the matter turns out to be contrary, I will have slain a number of unbelievers. Victory is ordained according to heavenly decrees. I have not to stay in this subah. I want either to be killed or to come out victorious. Occurrence of any thing else is frivolous. People will not believe that I have no third object in view except one of these two." Mr Isma'il hastened at this time as Naib Faujdar of Junagadh on behalf of the Faujdar Ghulam Muhiyuddin Khan. He took charge of his duty. Sher Khan came out (from Junagadh).

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CHAPTER 202

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH ABHEY SINGH HIS ARRIVAL AT THE SUBAH WAR BETWEEN THE IN-COMING AND OUT-GOING SUBEDARS PLACE BETWEEN THE TWO. DEPARTURE OF MUBARIZ-UL-MULK DIWANI OF 'ABDUL GHANI KHAN AND TALIB ALI KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF 'ABDUL HUSAIN KHAN

His Majesty's idea was not carried out by Mubariz-ul-Mulk inspite of payment of large sums of money to him. Repeated complaints against him were received by His Majesty in respect of illegal exactions such as biwarah, fines, capture and ransom money from ryots and commonfolk. There was displeasure between him and Samsamud Dawlah, the chief amir who held in his authority the sole management of imperial affairs for a certain matter. Mubariz-ul-Mulk submitted continual petitions for stoppage of monthly salary of the risala whereupon he submitted resignation of his post to His Majesty. This brought about a deviation in His Majesty's mind. His Majesty's desire was to take Maharajah Abhey Singh, Rajah of Jodhpur into his confidence. Again the Maharajah had close relations with I'timad ud-Dawlah. His Majesty granted a special robe, jewels, an elephant and eighteen lacs of rupees from the government treasury as expenses of the risala accompanying him to Maharajah Abhey Singh. Further, he was given fifty small and big cannons with materials of operators from the government. He was permitted to go as Nazim of the subah in place of Mubariz ul Mulk. Diwani of the risala accompanying the Maharajah as well as the post of Port-officer of Surat port were put in charge of Mustafid Khan, discharged Chief Qazi in place of Bahram Khan. Mumin Khan who was discharged and who had proceeded to His Majesty was favoured with the post of Bakhshi Chronicler of the risala and the Port officership of Khanbhayat. Syed 'Azmatullah Khan Baraha was appointed as Faujdar of Baroda, Dabhoi and Broach. He was ordered to convey the revenue of the said place to the Maharajah for defraying expenses of the risala. Mukhlis Khan, jagirdar of Mahmudabad was permitted to go for establishment of order in the jagir. The Maharajah went to his native place for collection of soldiers and preparation of an army. He recruited nearly twenty thousand brave Rajput cavaliers from Marwar and Nagor. He marched to this side in company of his brother Rajah Bakht Singh. He arrived at Palanpur. The local Faujdar Karimdad Khan received him and accompanied him. The Maharajah, on getting intelligence of Mubariz-ul-Mulk's intention to prevent him from entry into the city and to offer him resistance, secretly sent a sanad of Deputyship with a hundi of twenty thousand rupees to Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni who lived in the city along with a letter to occupy the city if



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possible. He recruited the Gujaratis and waited for an opportunity. Shah Nawaz Khan, Muhammed Amin Beg and Ilahyar controlled gates of city-fortifications with equipped forces. Turrets and citadels were put in charge of experienced men. They were not negligent and indifferent even for a moment both at night and day with caution and consciousness in guarding the fort. Sardar Muhammed Khan had no chance to show his seasoned boldness. In short, when the Maharajah arrived at Sidhpur a distance of forty kurohs from the city, Jawanmard Khan and Safdar Khan out of regard for their uncle Salabat Muhammed Khan who led retired lives at Radhanpur because of Mubariz-ul-Mulk changed claims into disobedience and considered accompaniment with the in-coming Nazim. They chose to delay and procrastinate, according to exigency of time, for the sake of recruitment of an army to advance further to join the Maharajah. Many professional Gujarati and Kasbati soldiers joined as recruits. Muhammed Baqir Khan, son of the former Diwan Mumin Khan came out of the city unawares with three, four hundred companions without permission of his uncle 'Abdul Ghani Khan and hastened to Mumin Khan who was with the Maharajah. The Maharajah advanced with continuous marches and encamped at Adalajal a distance of five kurohs from the city. Next day, he encamped near Mochir on the bank of Sabarmati to a distance of one kuroh at close of day by the side of Mubariz-ul-Mulk's camp with trenches. On knowledge of this he despatched a squadron with several distant-discharging cannons so that they should cross the road near the garden of Muhammed Amin Khan opposite to the Maharajah's camp and overlooking it. They should then fire cannons at them. They should remain there for the night guarding the place. Several cannon-balls proved effective on the camp when the day closed.

Poem

*The sun with basis of Jamshid went down
It entirely blackened the garments of the world
Two armies in anxiety of judgment
As to whom fortune will help tomorrow.*

Advance-guards of both sides rushed forth in a dark curtain of night and remained cautious and conscious. The incoming and out-going Nazims kept awake at night in consultation for the morning war with confidential men, chiefs and commanders. Next day, the sultan of East beat the golden drum of departure to the west, he rode the fast steed of day. Mubariz ul-Mulk got ready for war waiting for the other party to array his rows. The Maharajah did not consider that place suitable for war and array of forces in last night's consultation so he returned by the road he had come under escort of the Gujaratis and went up to a distance of two three Kurohs. He encamped at

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CHAPTER 202

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH ABHEY SINGH HIS ARRIVAL AT THE SUBAH WAR BETWEEN THE IN-COMING AND OUT-GOING SUBEDARS PEACE BETWEEN THE TWO DEPARTURE OF MUBARIZ-UL-MULK DIWANI OF 'ABDUL GHANI KHAN AND TALIB ALI KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF 'ABDULHUSAIN KHAN.

His Majesty's idea was not carried out by Mubariz-ul-Mulk inspite of payment of large sums of money to him. Repeated complaints against him were received by His Majesty in respect of illegal exactions such as biwarah, fines, capture and ransom money from ryots and commonfolk. There was displeasure between him and Samsamud Dawlah, the chief amir who held in his authority the sole management of imperial affairs for a certain matter. Mubariz-ul-Mulk submitted continual petitions for stoppage of monthly salary of the risala whereupon he submitted resignation of his post to His Majesty. This brought about a deviation in His Majesty's mind. His Majesty's desire was to take Maharajah Abhey Singh, Rajah of Jodhpur into his confidence. Again the Maharajah had close relations with I'timad ud-Dawlah. His Majesty granted a special robe, jewels, an elephant and eighteen lacs of rupees from the government treasury as expenses of the risala accompanying him to Maharajah Abhey Singh. Further, he was given fifty small and big cannons with materials of operators from the government. He was permitted to go as Nazim of the subah in place of Mubariz ul Mulk. Diwani of the risala accompanying the Maharajah as well as the post of Port-officer of Surat port were put in charge of Mustafid Khan, discharged Chief Qazi in place of Bahram Khan Mumin Khan who was discharged and who had proceeded to His Majesty was favoured with the post of Bakhshi Chronicler of the risala and the Port-officership of Khanbhayat. Syed 'Azmatullah Khan Baraha was appointed as Faujdar of Berozi, Dabhoi and Broach. He was ordered to convey the revenue of the said place to the Maharajah for defraying expenses of the risala. Mukhlis Khan, jagirdar of Mahmudabad was permitted to go for establishment of order in the jagir. The Maharajah went to his native place for collection of soldiers and preparation of an army. He recruited nearly twenty thousand brave Rajput cavaliers from Marwar and Nagor. He marched to this side in company of his brother Rajah Bakht Singh. He arrived at Palanpur. The local Faujdar Karimdad Khan received him and accompanied him. The Maharajah, on getting intelligence of Mubariz ul Mulk's intention to prevent him from entry into the city and to offer him resistance, secretly sent a sanad of Deputyship with a hundi of twenty thousand rupees to Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni who lived in the city along with a letter to occupy the city if



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possible. He recruited the Gujaratis and waited for an opportunity. Shah Nawaz Khan, Muhammed Amin Beg and Ilahyar controlled gates of city-fortifications with equipped forces. Turrets and citadels were put in charge of experienced men. They were not negligent and indifferent even for a moment both at night and day with caution and consciousness in guarding the fort. Sardar Muhammed Khan had no chance to show his seasoned boldness. In short, when the Maharajah arrived at Sidhpur a distance of forty kurohs from the city, Jawanmard Khan and Safdar Khan out of regard for their uncle Salabat Muhammed Khan who led retired lives at Radhanpur because of Mubariz-ul-Mulk changed claims into disobedience and considered accompaniment with the in-coming Nazim. They chose to delay and procrastinate according to exigency of time, for the sake of recruitment of an army to advance further to join the Maharajah. Many professional Gujarati and Kasbati soldiers joined as recruits. Muhammed Baqir Khan, son of the former Diwan Mumin Khan came out of the city unawares with three, four hundred companions without permission of his uncle 'Abdul Ghani Khan and hastened to Mumin Khan who was with the Maharajah. The Maharajah advanced with continuous marches and encamped at Adalajal a distance of five kurohs from the city. Next day, he encamped near Mochir on the bank of Sabarmati to a distance of one kuroh at close of day by the side of Mubariz ul-Mulk's camp with trenches. On knowledge of this he despatched a squadron with several distant-discharging cannons so that they should cross the road near the garden of Muhammed Amin Khan opposite to the Maharajah's camp and overlooking it. They should then fire cannons at them. They should remain there for the night guarding the place. Several cannon-balls proved effective on the camp when the day closed.

Poem

*The sun with basis of Jamshid went down
It entirely blackened the garments of the world
Two armies in anxiety of judgment
As to whom fortune will help tomorrow.*

Advance-guards of both sides rushed forth in a dark curtain of night and remained cautious and conscious. The incoming and out going Nazims kept awake at night in consultation for the morning war with confidential men, chiefs and commanders. Next day, the sultan of East beat the golden drum of departure to the west he rode the fast steed of day. Mubariz ul-Mulk got ready for war waiting for the other party to array his rows. The Maharajah did not consider that place suitable for war and array of forces in last night's consultation so he returned by the road he had come under escort of the Gujaratis and went up to a distance of two three kurohs. He encamped at



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close of the day to west of the city at a place where formerly Mubariz-ul-Mulk had encamped adjacent to Mua'zzams' greatest dome. He took shelter under walls of houses of the suburbs on the other bank of Sabarmati where the ground was elevated and the river flowed at a distance from this city-fortification. It was again within range of cannons. He strengthened gates and passages of the suburbs opposite to the citadel and in front of the fort to the side of the fort. He entrusted them as entrenchments to experienced men, Maiwadi patiwats, Jawanmard Khan and Safdar Khan Babi. At close of the day, several cannons were emptied at the Bhadra fort. He despatched another squadrons to the south of the city by crossing the river adjacent to the shrine of His Holiness Shrih Bhikan, may his tomb be sanctified, Bahrampur, Nampur citadel, the residential quarters of the Faujdar for occupation of suburbs, and fixation of trenches with an idea of a siege. For the rest of the day and the whole night were spent in strengthening and arranging entrenchments and firing cannons from both sides. This news was confirmed to Mubariz ul-Mulk in the evening. He stayed there till dawn of day. Out of caution and farsightedness, he left war materials, several small cannons and swivels for protection of the fort of Kali which was near the camp and posted several musketeers on terrace of Malek Maqsur Gujarati's masjid adjacent to Bagh-i-Shahi which is popular as Mian Khan Chishti. Next day,

Verse

*At dawn when this fiery sun
Struck fire from face at the misty veil*

He marched and encamped in the plain in front of Darya Khan Gujarati's dome before which there was a garden. He sent several additional cannons, a piece of lead, gunpowder and some other war-materials with a cavalry and an infantry to the city. He spent that day there. Throughout the day, cannons were fired at the city-fortifications. Maharajah's men got an opportunity and demolished gates and passages leading to suburbs, dug deep ditches and engaged with ease in war with cannons and swivels from back of strongholds. As the ground was elevated on the other side, most of the cannon balls and musket-bullets proved effective in the fort-citadel especially to this side. Most of the cannon-balls of this side hit dust-embankments. Next day, 8th Rabi' II when whiteness of dawn fell on shore of horizon from dark waves of night

Verse

*He came on beautifully strutting steed
He took out a lustrous sword from sheath*

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Two, three hours after rise of the day, Mubariz ul-Mulk rode with inten-



tion of war by lifting entrenchments of the enemy and began to gallop his horse on sands of Sabarmati with his back to the city fort and said,

Poem

*We see as to whose head, the rotation of revolving sky
Raises for low place (earth) to the moon
OR to whom, revolution of impermanent sky
Will make miserable in this action,
We shall see as to who becomes like wax
At the time of warfare and who is like stone.*

He assaulted the enemy by a discharge of artillery twice or thrice at his entrenchment. He crossed the river in all speed like dazzling lightning and strong wind. Muslim warriors regarded war with the unbelievers as jihad and death as martyrdom and rising in stages of paradise. They made brave attacks and Rustom-like assaults. As there was no plain to gallop the horse in the enemy's camp, infantrymen made up their minds to climb up the hillocks and to break strongholds with valour and prowess. From the other side, arrows and bullets began to pour down like fiery hails from behind walls and stages as the affair was beyond the scale of cannons. Those for whom time of appointed death had come, got slain while many others got wounded. Warriors had made the Khanpur Gate very strong. As it was situated on the river bank, flood-water had made the road uneven and unlevelled. There were many heights and depths. They came struggling near the Gate, and broke it by blows of their sides and thus opened it. Many soldiers climbed up by unknown and untrodden path holding in their hands the strong rope of firm faith. The Marwaris and the Gujaratis also stood with steadfastness and advanced for defence. Warriors of both the sides fought hand-to-hand and face-to-face war. They altercationed with short arms. Giving up fight with lances and swords, they began to capture and wrestle with one and another. They caught one another by hand and neck, gave fists to one another and dashed foreheads. They tore open sides of one another by stone-splitting daggers. In this altercation, many famous patawats rolled in blood and slept in the nook of non-existence. Others who could not face resistance left cannons and corpses and joined the Maharajah.

Verse

*Gujarati and Marwari soldiers
Went out from that dreadful place.*

Mubariz-ul-Mulk who closely followed the soldiers, took cannons and sent them to the fort-citadel. This war was no less than capturing a fort.



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A number of experienced warriors and brave Muslim soldiers were martyred and many were wounded. He could have, with facility, crossed with artillery and army by way of Badij adjacent to the inhabited suburbs as there were no entrenchments on the other side and would have arrayed the army on the other side where there was an expansive plain leaving the inhabited suburbs to the left. All these efforts would not have been in vain, no hardships would have caused to the people and dispersal would not have taken place. Mubariz-ul Mulk was familiar with this road. Again his well wishers had declared this to him at the time of attack. As it was so ordained, he replied "Sense of honour did not wish him that the cannon balls should not hit the palace situated within the fort citadel." In short, when he had to pass through lanes and bazars of the inhabited suburbs, arrangement and array of the army got broken. Soldiers of the Buxor regiment and rabble began to plunder houses of well-to-do persons as they had thought of it. Every one took a thing and went his way. From that day, population of other side of the river which was as good as a prosperous city and which was ruined due to the Maratha inroads during the regime of Hamid Khan became desolate to such an extent that no traces and vestiges of it remained then. In short, Mubariz-ul Mulk who gave a back to the suburbs entered the plain and arrayed his army in rows. The Mahariyah whose army consisted of cavaliers of archers and musketeers advanced for battle.

Poem



*A fiery sea began to surge
Waves slapping waves
Two seas of armies got boisterous
Cries raised up from warring crocodiles*

Fire of warfare first blazed forth with thunder-like cannons and burning flashes of fire-pouring iron rockets. Lightning like, they fell in harvest of those lives whose death was nigh. All the Marwaris warmed up by discharging guns. Muslim warriors also stirred up steeds of valour and got intermingled.

Poem

*From neighing of horses and dust raised by soldiers
Atmosphere got darkened like face of a Negro
The sun lost itself in that dust to such an extent
That it sought the sphere with hundred lamps
One said, so to say the day of resurrection had come
Israfil blew the trumpet of the judgement day*

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As most of the gunners and musketers of Mubariz ul Mulk had dispersed themselves in the suburbs and so they were not present in large numbers. Gujaris regarded battle as banquet and considered cannon balls and gun bullets as dishes of the banquet. They responded by darting arrows. Many of them got killed and wounded. Warriors with name and fame of both the sides attacked one another and got intermingled. Mubariz ul Mulk was under the impression that the Maharajah and his brother would be on elephants in accordance with the vogue of chiefship and generalship in Hind. He was unaware of this, that they were on horse back having dressed themselves as Rajputs in that battle field out of care and caution so that they might not be recognized. He saw elephants at a distance. He galloped his horse without being afraid of a large number of enemy and assaulted them like lightning and wind. He broke asunder their ranks at the first assault and took himself near the elephants and captured them. When he found the elephants without riders, he saw two three bows in the litter which he took as memento. Then he turned to overthrowing games and sword wielding. The Marwaris also assaulted as they could and gave justice to valour and prowess. Muslims, having steadied themselves, displayed marvellous exploits so much so that blood drinking Mars bit finger of amazement with teeth on the fifth sky. They repulsed the enemy's attack several times and the truth of the holy verse, 'A small army dominates over a large army with the permission of God' became patent. Breeze of victory and triumph blew over the Muslim flag. The Marwaris could not withstand resistance and so they retreated leaving the field to the enemy.

Verse

*From both sides, great exertions were made
Defeat ultimately came to the Hindus*

Mubariz ul Mulk galloped two, three plains of the horse and made them run ahead. Syed Qaim with his sons, relatives and companions and similarly Tirmi Khan Afghani and other jamadars got martyred. Many bore wounds and obtained fame. Syed Jamal Ali Khan and his brother Syed 'Abid Ali Khan rode in the same basin shaped litter on an elephant. Syed 'Abid Ali died of a gun bullet. His brother Syed Jamaluddin Ali Khan was slain on elephant along with others. His companions who got wounded were removed to the city. He came on an Arab horse. He lifted similarly Syed Qaim and Tirmi Khan from the battle field. They then collectively went to the city. Many cowards regarded accompaniment of dead bodies as a means of their own life and came out from that dreadful valley as a specimen of "the judgment day, when a man runs away from his brother". This was indicative of want of fear in the Muslim soldiers. Some far sighted persons



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made use of wisdom at this time. They apparently saw a few friends and more foes. Mubariz-ul Mulk's coming out alive from this blood thirsty valley and pain of hustle and bustle was imagined to be impossible. They thought him to be killed and slain and therefore they turned to the city. This artificial fame was the outcome of absurd imagination and frivolous thought of cowards due to occurrence of this event and unwise statements of superficial observers. A report of it spread in the city nearly in the afternoon. Muhammed Amin Beg and Ilahyar who defended the city, came out by way of the Khanpur Gate with loyalty to sacrifice life without delay with the existing regiments. They met companions of the killed and other far sighted men of the battle field in mid Sabarmati with parties of cavaliers and infantrymen who had got dispersed. Some of them said by way of good thought and removal of infamy, "Going there is an acquisition. Perhaps the affair is completed. Really speaking, defence of the city wherein lies the reputation of the master, will be more important than this idea." They paid no attention to absurd utterances of these fools and proceeded further crossing the river in all haste. The run-aways came near the city-gate which was closed. Helplessly, they had to wait at the foot of city walls in a sandy plain. In short, the Marwaris who had fled, saw a paucity of soldiers numbering nearly four hundred lion hunting cavaliers with Mubariz ul-Mulk and yet he stood with determination in the battle field they turned once again with daring and bravery and fought a hard battle with more exertion than before within their capacity and power. Arrows and gun bullets began to pour down like hails from both the sides. Mubariz ul Mulk stood firm with that small party. He made birds of Marwaris' souls fly from cages of their bodies by whizz of arrows which never failed.

Poem ⁴

*Eagle of his arrow passed with anger
It appeared like a falcon of power
Whoever received his feather scattering arrow
Flew like the arrow from the house of saddle
His arrow destroyed the enemy
His bow was one but sacrificed were a thousand
Every moment from that battle field
The arrow carried a message to all wisher
Like surging sea in that battle field
Atmosphere waved from flight of arrows*

In short, an elephant rider at this juncture, made an appearance with the mark of Mubariz ul Mulk's standard. He was Ilahyar. He and Muhammed Amin Beg arrived with all loyalty. Once again, kettle-drums and drums



began to wail and moan in mourning for the newly dead. The Marwaris imagining Mubariz-ul-Mulk to have entered the field now made great exertions. A hard battle ensued.

Verse

*Fire of battle became so fierce
That you might say the day of resurrection had come.*

Ilahyar died of a gun-shot Mubariz-ul-Mulk fought very bravely. He once again routed the Marwaris as far as Sarkhej to a distance of three kurohs. They fled like a devil with the utterance of "There is no power except the power of God" and got bewildered like empty words. The battle was fought from morning till evening. Both the parties stopped fighting when the sun grew pale.

Verse

*It sat like a lamp of the night-chamber of the sky
It held reins of dark night in hand.*

The Marwaris were seized with fear and fright. It was the outcome of mere divine help and fortune that one of the royal servants with a small force in a state of dismissal dominated over such a best zamindar, chief of the rajahs of Hindustan with a large army, the appointed Nazim about whom so many stories are told. How will it be if some loyal royal servants are appointed to expel this zamindar as was done during the regime of His Majesty Khuld Makan. The zamindars were held in esteem by the Court. In short, when the news of Maharajah's leaving the field was conveyed to the camp by Marwari cowards, men in charge of provisions (camp-merchants) were seized with panic and consternation. They became nervous and became anxious for their donkeys, loads, removing tents, and spurring horses with hearts full of fear and fright. They said Marwar was far-off and so they engaged themselves in packing goods. Many Gujarati and Kasbati soldiers fled to round about villages and did not stop their horses till they reached Dholka. Most of them took shelter in houses of the suburbs where they found men of their former acquaintance. The Maharajah returned from the battle-field to the camp at the time of night prayers. In short, solace returned to horror-struck souls and agitated minds. Those who had retired to corners of safety and had not gone afar returned to their respective resting places in garb of disgrace and baseness with down-cast necks in a dark screen of night when seeing faculty was deprived of seeing personalities and discerning bodies. Mubariz-ul-Mulk remained in the plain enjoying victory.



Verse

*That dreadful beating of drum of war
Changed into pleasant noise of joy*

He said to his companions that tents and pavilions should be brought to this place and encamped

Hemistich

Night is pregnant, what it gives birth to in the morning

Muhammed Amin declared, "Our wishes having been fulfilled through divine help, you need not worry about the subah of which you wanted to be relieved. It is necessary to look after the wounded and solace the survivors of the dead. It is advisable and proper that we should return to the city. They returned and encamped in the expanses at the bottom of walls of fort citadel on the river-bank at nearly three hours after nightfall. But the Gujaratis did not believe in the safe return of Mubariz ul Mulk and particularly Sardar Muhammed Khan who had received the sanad for Deputyship and spent the amount sent to him for expenses. He recruited soldiers and waited for an opportunity in his house. After he ring false rumours which had attained to the stage of certainty with unwise men he felt troubled and got ready to attack the city gate and open it. He would not listen to far-sighted persons when they prevented him from such a step as the report was capable of both truth and falsehood. As the author's father was a neighbour and a man of old connection, he sent some persons repeatedly with all sincerity to him to make inquiries of life and death of Mubariz ul Mulk. The author's father prevented him from making an inopportune move in accordance with the true information he had. He importuned and contented till nearly half the night. Again, he sent word to the effect that if on supposition and providentially Mubariz ul Mulk is alive but he must have borne fatal wounds and so he would not remain alive. When the Real Protector protects any one, no mark of wound is noticed in him, in his elephant driver and in his favourites. He was safe and secure with honour and fortune. Necessarily, he summoned his confidential man. He sent him along with his own man. He sent both of them to the fort citadel. They looked below from above the fort wall overlooking the camp of Mubariz ul Mulk whom they found sitting in a tent like a fierce lion narrating the day's event to one of his favourites. Sardar Muhammed Khan gave up his idea after his arrival. Next day when the crow of night flew from its nest, a report of Mubariz ul-Mulk's sound health reached the Maharajah. When the golden capped champion mounted the swift steed, and proceeded to the field of time, soldiers and warriors of yesterday raised their heads from sleep. They got themselves prepared for war to blot down disgrace by making amends for the past.



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Verse

*They were all dead but with return of day
They became alive and world-illuminating with it*

Mubariz-ul-Mulk was eager to know intentions of the other party when the reporters informed him that the Maharajah had no intention to array his forces that day. Hence, heirs of the slain in the battle-field as well as of those who rolled on dust in the plain of war belonging to both the parties hastened to remove dead bodies. They met one another in the battle-field and lifted up together, without any obstruction and contention those who were immersed in the sea of death from bloody ways and wended their own way.

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CHAPTER 203

THE MAHARAJAH SENDS MUKHLIS KHAN AND MUMIN KHAN TO MUBARIZ-UL-MULK FOR CONCLUSION OF PEACE AND ARRANGEMENT OF THEIR MEETING DEPARTURE OF MUBARIZ-UL-MULK ENTRY OF THE MAHARAJAH S KOI WAI IN THE CITY

The Maharajah noticed the Marwaris to be afraid of war. With consultation of well wishers he gave trouble to Mukhlis Khan, jagirdar of Mahmudabad and Mumin Khan Bakhshi Chronicler of the army and Port officer of Khan bhayat for homo geneity and former relationship to move in the matter of peace. Mukhlis Khan sent a letter to Mubariz ul Mulk displaying his ardent desire and wish to meet him. He met him at close of the same day after receiving from him a satisfactory reply. He broached topic of his object after fulfilment of common usages and circumstances and departed at night with realization of his wish.

Couplet

*A perfectly wise man sets matters aright in talk
Which is not possible with a hundred strong armies*

Next day it was difficult for Mukhlis Khan to exert in movement due to his huge body and old age. Mumin Khan and Amarsingh Udat, the confidential patawat of the Maharajah came and arranged for conversation of peace on an agreement to pay one lac of rupees as expenses for bag and baggage of camels and carts. A visit and return of a visit were arranged between the incoming and outgoing subedars. Each one was to pitch his tent at a distance from his camp. The Maharajah was to pay him the first visit. Next day, Mubariz ul Mulk was to return the visit. Mubariz ul Mulk pitched his tent adjacent to the garden of Ghazi ud-din Husain while the Maharajah pitched his tent in front of his own camp opposite to the mausoleum of His Holiness Shah Bhikhan, may his grave be sanctified. The day on which the Maharajah was to pay a visit he harboured perfidy and fraud in his mind and imagined risk to his life. Excuse is worse than crime. The day ended in breach of promise. Next day, in the afternoon, Mubariz-ul-Mulk rode his horse without fear and fright to the tent of the Maharajah with a small body of men. The Marwaris had arrayed themselves in rows ready and clad in armour and stood either by way of caution or by way of seeing the Muslims.

Verse

*You might say that the devils had arranged themselves in rows
Or (they stood) like trees grown from the ground*



Mubariz-ul-Mulk entered the compound of the tent. The Maharajah received him at the front part of pavilion. They embraced each other. Both of them sat side by side like brothers. They changed fear and discord into affection and concord. As the time was short, they pledged for brotherhood with change of turbans and bade adieu to each other. Mubariz-ul-Mulk sent his baggage and family members to his camp which was arranged on that very day near the Bagh of Muhammed Amin Khan. He then hastened to it. Brother of the Maharajah Bakht Singh did not meet him due to ailment of an arrow which he had received in the battle-field. It is reported that the Maharajah that day had clad himself in armour inward for self protection. In short, Jagdev, on behalf of the Maharajah, accompanied, with permission of Mubariz-ul-Mulk, by Fidauddin Khan, cousin of Mumin Khan, entered as Kotwal of the city next day on 14th Rabi' II and took charge of his post. Next day, Ratan Singh Bhandari was appointed as Naib Nazim. He entered the Bhadra Fort. The author's father had firmly resolved to proceed to Hyjaz as stated above. Mubariz-ul-Mulk pressed him to accompany him as far as Udaipur. The author was sent to the Maharajah with Amarsingh Udawat who was a surety for peace with a message that 'Ali Muhammed Khan, Amin of the municipal octroi duties had obtained permission from His Majesty to perform hajj of the Holy House of God and that his company was necessary to reach him as far as Udaipur. As the deputyship of the said office was granted by His Majesty to his son Husain Muhammed Khan, he should be given charge of that office. The author went to the Maharajah's camp accompanied by Amarsingh. He was awarded a robe, given encouragement after the meeting was over. In short, Mubariz-ul-Mulk halted for preparations of carrying baggage and recovery of the fixed sum for which Amarsingh was responsible. He gave him two hundred and seventy-three small and great cannons. 'Abdul Ghani Khan, Diwan of the Subah in the government arrived and took charge. As twenty thousand rupees were in arrears, Amarsingh took upon himself the responsibility of its payment afterwards. But the amount was not paid. Mubariz-ul-Mulk marched further. The author at the time of his departure went to bid farewell to his father and to his brother Muhammed Ismail as well as to depart from Mubariz-ul-Mulk. After reciting the opening chapter of the Quran, he permitted him to go from elephant back saying that he should recite on his behalf the Fatiha at the mausoleum of His Holiness Qutb-ul-'Alam at Vatwa, His Holiness Shah 'Alam and the shrine of His Holiness Shaikh Ahmad Khattu at Sarkhej, may their graves be sanctified, when he happened to visit them. He had faith in all these holy places. During his regime, he paid five hundred rupees every month to the Syeds of Vatwa, the same amount to the Syeds of Rasulabad and one thousand rupees every year on the anniversaries of these saints. He paid seven hundred rupees annually on the anniversary day of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu as he had no heirs. The 'Amils did not at all



molest the holy syeds and respectable mashaikhs (saints) in respect of villages granted to the shrines and means of livelihood Holy is God Now their affairs have reached such a pitch that they are in need to get a bread at night as well as a dam (a small coin) In short, Mubariz-ul-Mulk reached Modasa by march At Modasa, his son-in-law Nawazish Khan who was ill, died and was buried there Necessarily, he made one halt and then proceeded further by continuous marches The Maharajah came near the Shahi Bagh and postponed his entry into the city till an elected hour Diwan of the subah 'Abdul Ghazi Khan, Judge Abul Mafakhir, Qazi 'Abdul Ahad Khan, Bakhshi chronicler Amanatdar Khan, News reporter Hadi Khan, servants, nobles, leaders of Bohras and chiefs of Hindus came to meet him After a few days, the Maharajah entered the city with his brother alone on the Dhan Teras day which was an auspicious day according to Hindus, it corresponded to 26th of the above month He halted for a few hours at the Bhadra Fort and then went to the alighting place At this juncture, an elephant belonging to Mubariz ul-Mulk's army went mad on the road, fled and came to Ahmedabad The Maharajah's elephant driver caught him Karimdad Khan, Faujdar of Palanpur, who accompanied the Maharajah and rendered good services, died His dead body was taken to Palanpur Sher Khan, after the death of Salabat Muhammed Khan and Mir Isma'il s taking charge as Naib Faujdar of Junagadh managed the estate of the Dowager Queen, mother of His Majesty as Naib of Syed Murtuza Khan came to Ahmedabad, for retention of jagirs and paying homage to the Maharajah with a worthy body of troops He saw the Maharajah through Rajah Bakht Singh whom he saw through Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni He submitted a peshkash of three elephants, several horses and other articles both in cash and kind He gave an elephant and something in cash to Rajah Bakht Singh and obtained a proposal for addition in mansab, a title of Bahadur and retention of his father's jagirs so that it may be sent to the Royal Court for sanction Mumin Khan sent Fidauddin Khan as Naib Port officer of Khanbhayat The port with the paraganah of Choras was in assignment of the Maharajah's salary He took it without any interruption in his own charge so that he would pay it by instalments The Maharajah, who stayed outside for a few days for fulfilment of certain necessities, entered the city and devoted himself to the management of financial and administrative affairs The author's father returned after reaching Mubariz ul Mulk at Udaipur He saw the Maharajah and started on a voyage to Hijaz He embarked a boat at Khanbhayat, came to Surat, embarked a ship on 1st Ramzan of that year and started for his destination As Port officer of Surat, Mustafid Khan saw danger from the Marathas by way of land came to Broach from Khanbhayat by boat He had no boldness to cross the river Narbada He, therefore, halted there, opened communication with Pilaji Gaekwar by promise of chauth payment and came to Surat Behram Khan, the out going Port-officer advanced for



prevention and closed the gate against him. Mustafid Khan recruited soldiers engaged in trenches and sat in expectation of victory. He borrowed an amount of money from Pilaji Gackwar by giving him a bond and spent it. He sent his own Naib Faujdar to Pattan, the faujdari of which was in charge of Bakht Singh. Mir Fakhruddin, a companion of Mubariz-ul-Mulk deserted him unawares on the way and came to Ahmedabad. He saw the Maharajah through Rupsingh, with dexterity, took the post of Naib Faujdar of Junagadh with administrative responsibilities upon himself and went there. Muhammed Pahad, son of Karimdad Khan Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur came and saw the Maharajah under his summons. He obtained a proposal-letter for faujdari after the death of his father. At this juncture, Muhammed Baqir Khan, son of Mumin Khan the former Diwan who worked as Naib Diwan of his uncle 'Abdul Ghani Khan got vexed and went to the capital with his family. He was plundered on the way by Kolis of Dav Bahand. He escaped with great hardship to Pattan. He made preparations there and proceeded further. Jawanmard Khan Babi obtained addition to mansab and watandari of Vadnagar from the Maharajah by giving an elephant.



CHAPTER 204

ARRIVAL OF BAJIRAO, THE PRINCIPAL MANAGER OF RAJA SAHU AND HIS MEETING WITH THE MAHARAJAH.

Some time ago, Mubariz-ul-Mulk had written to the principal manager of Raja Sahu for certain affairs and thus he made him inclined to come to this side. Before his arrival, above-mentioned events took place. Mubariz-ul-Mulk had left. Bajirao arrived for confirmation and continuation of chauth on his behalf with the in-coming subedar. He came to Baroda and wrote to the Maharajah in connection with it. The Maharajah sent Syed 'Azmatullah Khan Faujdar of Baroda and Broach for corroboration of improved basis. He met him near the river Mahi and accompanied him. By continuous marches, he came to Chandola Tank and alighted there with large crowds and vast hordes. Girdhardas and Ratan Singh Bhandaris as well as other servants of the Maharajah established frequent contacts with them with messages of peace and thus several days were spent in evasion which was a peculiar characteristic of the Marwaris. A meeting with the Maharajah was thus evaded. The Maharajah went to Shahi Bagh. Two, three days were also spent in evasion. Bajirao came at close of the fourth day, saw the Maharajah and returned with pledge and pact. It was agreed that Bajiraj Bhandari with a squadron of Marwaris and Sardar Muhammed Khan, Syed Fayyaz Khan risaldars of Gujarati forces should march to Baroda with support and concord of Bajirao and liberate it from Pilaji's men. Syed 'Azmatullah Khan should be made to intervene in the matter. As he himself had no means and equipment, Hindus and Muslims of Gujarat gathered around him like flies around sweets in expectations of services and posts of Naib 'Amils. They regarded the imaginary affair of intervention as a reality due to march of the army of the Maharajah and Bajirao. He borrowed money for making necessary preparations and other expenses. He took irrevocable bonds and appointed his own men in his own name so that there was no possibility of interference. He followed Bajiraj and Bajirao to Baroda. In the meantime, a report was received that Mir Fakharuddin, Faujdar of Junagadh sent Mir Ismail, Naib of Ghulam Muhiyuddin Khan to get information. He then marched with preparations of war. They met near Amreli. Mir Fakharuddin along with Mir Qamruddin, son of Syed 'Aqil Khan performed wonderful exploits of manliness and valour but were killed. In short, Bajirao, Bajiraj, Risaldars and Syed 'Azmatullah Khan crossed Mahi with continuous and incessant marches and laid siege to Baroda. Bermaji, brother of Pilaji who was there, engaged himself in strengthening the turrets and fortifications, halved the cannons which he had seized from Rustam Ali Khan and garrisoned himself. The Maharajah's men busied



themselves in the siege and made entrenchments. A war ensued with cannons and muskets. Some time had not elapsed when suddenly the spies of Bajirao who were in pursuit of getting information about the army of Asaf Jah came in all haste and declared that Asaf Jah on getting news of his departure thought it proper to march towards Ahmedabad and that he had singly led an expedition in all haste with intention to fight and had come as far as the passage of Narbada. He should further know that he would reach just after them. On getting this intelligence, Bajirao got perturbed, he immediately despatched the army of the Maharajah to Ahmedabad. He lifted the siege, and proceeded to his place in a perplexed state and in all haste quicker than lightning and wind and like an arrow of fate released from thumb stall. Asaf Jah marched in all haste and rapidity and came to Surat where he learnt that Bajirao was at a short distance and passed by an untrodden path of forest keeping himself to the sea side. Asaf Jah pursued him close on heels without delay and procrastination. Some of the baggage and animals which remained behind fell into the hands of soldiers. As the game had escaped, he returned. He halted for rest at Kolah Kamrej on the bank of Tapti at a distance of seven kurohs from Surat port. Officers of the port-appointed and discharged, engaged in displaying their objects and seeking help and sending presents and gifts. Mustafid Khan who was away, went and saw him. Asaf Jah encouraged every one of them according to exigency of time and proceeded to the Dekhan. Rajah Bakhshi Singh went to Nagor, mahal of his zamindari with permission of his brother Syed 'Azmatullah found that there was no work for him and so he went to the capital. Bajirao, who had hastened to his native place, had nothing to do without peace with the Marathas. Kanthaji came to the subah at this time and became a source of mischief and disturbance. The Maharajah appointed Mumin Khan as before in time of Mubarez ul Mulk to settle about chauth. Paragana of Petlad was assigned as a monopoly to Mumin Khan. Paragana of Dholka, Broach, Jambusar and Maqbulabad were returned by Asaf Jah as mentioned before. Abdullah Beg stayed at Broach on behalf of Mubarez ul Mulk. It was not within easy reach of the Maratha depredations due to its being centrally situated, when the Maharajah took charge of the subah he (Abdullah Beg) with foresight, went to Asaf Jah and requested him for a sanad of deputyship. He received a sanad, a mansab and a title of Nek 'Alam Khan. He thus made himself his confidential man with that document. In the year 1141, the Maharajah with farsightedness wrote a letter of concord to Asaf Jah and sent it with Muhammed Shah, son of the chief among those who are united with God, Shah 'Ali Raza Sirhindi who had relations and connections with Asaf Jah. He gave him means of provisions and travelling and sent him to him. After a few days, a certain Musafia Khan who was formerly associated with Rustam 'Ali Khan arrived with a letter in reply which was full of terms of



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friendship along with clothes and some other verbal messages. He saw the Maharajah and halted for nearly three months and then departed. It was in this year that Amanatdar Khan Bakhshi and chronicler who enjoyed the mansab of 1000 Zat, 150 Sawar, died. After a report of his death to His Majesty, His Majesty appointed Ghulam Husain Khan as Bakhshi. He sent a sanad of deputyship to Muhammed Mujahid-ud-din Khan. He warmly devoted himself to his duties.

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CHAPTER 205

THE MAHARAJAH PENALIZES GANGADAS SHETH AND OTHER SILK MERCHANTS OTHER EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THAT YEAR

During this time, the Maharajah forcibly imposed a fine of nine lacs of rupees on Gangadas Sheth and other silk-merchants. The short of it is that during the regime of Mubarez ul Mulk, Khushal Chand Sheth was removed from the post of (Nagar) Sheth. He went to the capital. Gangadas Sheth was appointed as Nagarsheth as stated above. Gangadas absolutely managed the affairs of biwarah and other matters as desired by Mubarez ul Mulk. At the time of the Maharajah's arrival, he sent his own men in advance, out of foresight with letters of conciliation to send him selected patawats technically known in Gujarat as Bandhari so that he can live with peace of mind. The Maharajah wrote out as he wished keeping in mind regard for the time and conciliation of hearts and gave it to him with his own seal and security for absence of hindrance with the seal of Abhey Karan son of Durgadas Rathod, the chief Patawat. Gangadas was satisfied with the reliability of Bandhari well known in this region. After conclusion of peace between the discharged and the appointed, he saw the Maharajah in company of bankers, tradesmen, and eminent citizens. He obtained outward conciliation and solace face to face and continued as Sheth. But the Maharajah internally waited for an opportunity to imprison him and escheat his wealth. He did not dare take this step as there was a strong security (bandhari). He held a council with his confidential Bhandaris and counsellor for this idea. Mumin Khan had special association and intimacy with Bhandari Ratan Singh in matter of concluding peace on behalf of Mubarez ul Mulk. He too was annoyed with Mubarez ul Mulk for not giving him a Turkish horse on an excuse which he gave to Gangadas. Bhandari acquainted Mumin Khan with the secret idea of the Maharajah and sought his counsel. He thought of a preliminary in his mind and said that two letters should be written out under a royal order bearing the seal of Amir ul Umara Samsamud Daulah. One should be addressed to Mumin Khan with contents that as Gangadas was responsible for exaction of biwarah of different sorts and imposition of fines on citizens of Ahmedabad, he should be arrested and sent to the Royal Court in chains and fetters. If the Maharajah remains quiet on this matter, it should be entrusted to him and a receipt with his seal should be taken and sent to the Royal Presence. A second letter should be addressed to Mumin Khan to the effect that he should join Mukhlis Khan with his force in execution of the order sent to him for arrest and imprisonment of Gangadas. As a present for this work it was settled that the parigana of Mahmudabad half of which was in



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jagir of Mukhlis Khan while the other half was under the Nizamat which the Maharajah like the former Nazim had brought the whole subah under his control and possession. It should entirely be assigned to Mukhlis Khan. The Maharajah agreed to it. Mumin Khan prepared the orders and acquainted Mukhlis Khan about the whole affair. He one day summoned Gangadas, seated him and showed him the royal order. He sent a message to Abhey Karan Bandhari about this matter. Abhey Karan was moved with self-respect. As he was not aware of the subject and object, he got himself ready for war with a force which had accompanied him. Mumin Khan came with his companions and joined Mukhlis Khan. Abhey Karan sent a message to the Maharajah to the effect that "As I am the bandhari of Gangadas, I will fight with Mukhlis Khan for his release on every possible way." The Maharajah called him to himself. By way of deceit and stratagem, he asked the cause and reason of seating Gangadas for showing to the khans. The messenger inquired about it. They in reply sent the orders as they were. The Maharajah and the bhandaris unanimously engaged in reply by way of deceit, saying that suretyship and bandhari were from the side of the Maharajah while this matter emanated from the royal court. The royal order cannot be disobeyed. When the royal officers had arrested him under an order, he as well as others had nothing to say. Internally, they suppressed his rage and anger by heart pleasing promises. He too fell a prey to avarice.

Verse

*Greed (tama) has three letters, every one of which is empty,
Greedy persons have no advantage therein*

Case of bandhari is delicate in Gujarat. Abhey Karan was censured by the people. In short, the Maharajah gave a single receipt with his seal. That very night, Gangadas was summoned in Bhadra and imprisoned. His relatives as well as the silk-merchants were arrested. Their houses which were full of wealth, silk, house-hold articles in cash and kind were confiscated and watchmen were posted there. By bludgeon and torture, they extorted two lacs of rupees from Gangadas, three lacks of rupees from his cousin Khushal and the rest from others according to their capacity. They recovered nine lacs of rupees under pressure and severity within a short time. This event caused consternation among all citizens, young and old. A great panic was caused especially among workers of silk-factories from spinners, dyers and weavers of various sorts. A great loss in silk revenue of 5 per cent accrued in Bengal and again in its imports in Ahmedabad. Various kinds of cloth were prepared and sent to all parts of India, Sindh, Rum, Firang, Arabia, Abyssinia, Iran and Turan. Land as



well as sea merchants carried the variety of silks. From that time, silk merchants who formed a community of their own vanished. Now sundry persons more or less bring it. The Maharajah appointed as Nagarsheth a certain Ahmed of the minor Bohra Community who had then earned a name and become sheth of his community. Mubariz ul Mulk had extorted, as stated before, three lacs of rupees from the minor Bohra community for the murder of Hasan, a hardware merchant. One of his heirs kept a blood stained garment of the murdered. He produced it before the Maharajah and demanded justice. He fined that community. Those persons had not yet recovered from the first blow when they had to pay this fine. They paid it any how and got ruined. They left the city and went to different parts. There is none of that community. There may be some persons in name whose existence and non existence are equal. There did not remain mansabdars and nobles in name and usage in the subah. The whole field is empty. Heathen bhandaris and monstrous Marwaris revived former innovations and laid foundation of illegal exactions from eminent Hindus and Muslims. Doors of mischief and tyranny got opened. Market of Islam became dull. Cow slaughter was prohibited. Masjids became desolate and temples increased in splendour. During Holi Muslims were subjected to injury, insult and disgrace and Hindus regarded this deed as virtue. None had power to say how this and why that. At the time of Mubariz ul-Mulk's departure and arrival of the Maharajah when all people were tired of tyranny of the out going Nazim and displayed joy and pleasure at the arrival of the in coming Nazim. Thirdly, Hindus sang in joy as the Nazim belonged to their community and they regarded the Maharajah and his brother as Ram and Lachhman whom they adored. By seeing their social life and conduct, they said, "May the mercy of God be upon the first stripper of grave clothes." In short, many nobles and grantees got afraid of disgrace and disdain, and frightened defamation they did not deem it proper to stay and reside and got dispersed with passage of time to various parts to live in corner of safety. Affairs of the people became difficult from day to day. The Marwaris entered houses with violence and force and plundered them. What havoc they did not do!

Verse

*When He wishes to lay waste the world
He places kingdom under control of a tyrant*

All this was due to evil deeds and unworthy actions of the people. Whatever is from them is on them. The office of tax collection was instituted from the regime of His Majesty Khuld Makan for collection of religious zakat. Hindus had no relation with it. At no time, a non-Muslim was appointed for management of its affairs. From the days



jagir of Mukhlis Khan while the other half was under the Nizamat which the Maharajah like the former Nazim had brought the whole subah under his control and possession. It should entirely be assigned to Mukhlis Khan. The Maharajah agreed to it. Mumin Khan prepared the orders and acquainted Mukhlis Khan about the whole affair. He one day summoned Gangadas, seated him and showed him the royal order. He sent a message to Abhey Karan Bandhari about this matter. Abhey Karan was moved with self respect. As he was not aware of the subject and object, he got himself ready for war with a force which had accompanied him. Mumin Khan came with his companions and joined Mukhlis Khan. Abhey Karan sent a message to the Maharajah to the effect that 'As I am the bandhari of Gangadas, I will fight with Mukhlis Khan for his release on every possible way. The Maharajah called him to himself. By way of deceit and stratagem, he asked the cause and reason of seating Gangadas for showing to the khans. The messenger inquired about it. They in reply sent the orders as they were. The Maharajah and the bhandaris unanimously engaged in reply by way of deceit saying that suretyship and bandhari were from the side of the Maharajah while this matter emanated from the royal court. The royal order cannot be disobeyed. When the royal officers had arrested him under an order, he as well as others had nothing to say. Internally, they suppressed his rage and anger by heart pleasing promises. He too fell a prey to avarice.

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of the rebel Hamid Khan, the Nazims appropriated its revenue. In spite of this, the royal treasurers did this work as usual under fixed regulations. They took what was legal. The Maharajah gave it in monopoly to Marwari green grocers. They regarded cashiers as meddlesome and made undue investigations. The cashiers also considered association and company of malignant natured fellows as painful punishment and felt aversion and disgust. They remained contented by sending their clerks to them. From that day, there was no management of cashiers. Formerly, receipts for payment of revenue were not valid without seal of royal cashiers but now it was not so. All places of revenue became income less. Mubhariz ul Mulk had left miscellaneous duties to be utilized as expenses for the government and were kept in charge and control of the subah's diwan. It was removed from control of the Diwan and given in monopoly to green grocers on payment of twenty five rupees per day. Many things under control of the Diwan were taken away from him. For example, Bait ul Mal which was always under control of a darogah and men of the diwan, was put in the city in charge of kotwal and in suburbs in charge of patrolling faujdar. These evil practices continued. As royal officers were removed from the mint gold and silver were mixed with copper and turned into coins. Its income thus increased. Ashrafi and rupee of Ahmedabad mint were always without alloy and absolutely pure, but it became notorious on account of this. They were not current except in the city. It continues so till now when the alloy is removed. It is notorious in many outside places. Means of subsistence of noble syeds and holy saints as well as deserving persons are given on payment of discount. Separate amils and tehsildars are appointed for the purpose. Now there is no trace of such persons getting means of livelihood. They gave up claims with turpitude and entreaties. Some of them do not get anything by begging. This class got scattered hither and thither for want of livelihood and hardship of starvation. Lead gunpowder and material of artillery which Mubhariz-ul-Mulk had collected were valued at nearly twenty thousands of rupees. These along with the artillery entrusted to the Diwan of the Subah were gradually sent to Jodhpur. It was at this juncture that a sanad for continuation (in service) was issued by His Majesty through efforts of the chief merchant Mulla Muhammed Ali to Behram Khan as Port Officer of Surat. The appointed Port officer was removed. Mustafid Khan came as a servant on the establishment but returned to Ahmedabad as a debtor in a distracted state. During this time, his son 'Abdul Ahad Khan had died. He was, therefore, appointed to his post as a city Qazi.

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CHAPTER 206

MURDER OF PILAJI RAO GAEKWAR THROUGH TREACHERY OF MARWARIS THE MAHARAJAH'S DEPARTURE TO BARODA AND OTHER MAHALS ON THE MAHI CANAL FOR CONQUEST DEATH OF DIWAN OF THE SUBAH 'ABDUL GHANI KHAN' APPOINTMENT OF HIS GRANDSON TALIB ALI KHAN BY HIS MAJESTY AS DIWAN 'ABDUL HUSAIN KHAN ATTENDS TO AFFAIRS OF THE DIWANI

Umabai, wife of late Senapati Khanderao Dabholi was entrusted with the collection of Chauth from Gujarat. Pilaji Rao Gaekwar was appointed on the transfer of Kanthaji, to collect chauth from this side of Mahi in addition to other side also. He came with a large multitude of men to carry out this duty and reached Dakor in the Thasra taluka. On hearing about it, the Maharajah marched to resist and repel him equipped with an army and artillery. He sent a few Marwaris to Pilaji Rao apparently as envoys with a message to make peace. Secretly, he encouraged two, three persons from amongst them who were full of fraud and meant only for this work by tempting promises and pledges strengthened on oath and said to them to finish him to death on getting an opportunity at the time of meeting. Messengers undertook to do it. They met him and spent two days in persuasion and sweetness reasonable and otherwise-as well as in language of disguised truth. On the night of departure, at the time of coming out, one of them came back to tell him something and began to whisper in his ears when he stabbed him to death by repeated blows of a javelin. Dekhanis murdered the murderer. They fled at that very time with the corpse of Pilaji Rao and cremated it at Savli on the other bank of Mahi. On hearing this news, the Maharajah found his plan working in the manner he had conceived it. He, therefore, marched in all haste. He received a report on the way that 'Abdul Ghani Khan who was ailing for some time died on 1st Jamadi I. Mumin Khan was related to him. He, therefore, came to Ahmedabad with permission of the Maharajah for a robe of mourning and a letter of proposal for the son of the deceased 'Abdul Husain. He occupied himself with dues of condolence. He stayed for four days and then joined the Maharajah. In short, the Maharajah crossed the Mahi by continuous march and entered Baroda district. The Dekhanis, who were seized with fear and fright, vacated Baroda and other paraganas and took refuge in a strong fort of Dabholi. The Maharajah appointed Jivraj Bhandari to seize food-stuff, provisions, lead, gun powder and capture of wealthy men of Baroda. He imposed penalty on them on false charges and accusations of keeping deposits of the Marathas. The Maharajah directed his energy to conquest of the fort. At this juncture, the collector of monthly revenue-rents



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Rahim Barwar Khan arrived at Ahmedabad from the capital with a document of summons to appear with the seal of Amir ul Umara in the name of the Maharajah for giving up jagirs of the royal mansabdars as well as of those of the provincial mansabdars. He saw the Naib of the Subah Ratan Singh Bhandari. As the Bhandari was about to proceed to the Maharajah as summoned by him, he too accompanied him and saw the Maharajah. The author's father returned after performing Hajj in the month of Safar of that year after five and a half months. He stayed at Surat for some time due to a dispute among officers (i.e. courtiers) at Surat. He came by boat to Khanbharat. In short, the Maharajah made utmost efforts for conquest of Dabhoi but he made no advance due to heavy rain and shortage of food grains. After a stay of two months when many animals perished, he returned from Bhulapur situated on the bank of Dhadhar between Baroda and Dabhoi. He resolved to capture Dala, muqaddam of Padra. He was very wealthy and wanted to take upon himself the responsibility of management of Baroda paragana by giving security of famous patawats. Mumin Khan, Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni, Sher Khan, Jawanmard Khan Babi and Syed Fayyaz Khan. He was with the army. It rained incessantly in cats and dogs for two weeks. Besides, there was scarcity of corn due to blockade of paths and highways on account of rivulets being swollen as well as black viscous mud. Half a pukka ser of food stuff was not available for a rupee. Grass was rare to such an extent that horses lived on leaves of trees. Many of them died. There was no chance of return even with difficulty as the rivulets were flooded. Those who showed haste and began to advance on the road died along with their animals. Most of the animals got stuck in black viscous mud. Next day, the Maharajah marched and took Dala muqaddam with him with an idea to capture him. He came to Baroda on an excuse to see the fort. He forbade soldiers and strangers to enter the fort. As the securities were out he regarded Dala as an esteemed kind of confection and fly less honey. In the evening, he sent some persons one after another to summon him. He got suspicious, mounted a swift-running mare, liberated himself by galloping his mare in spite of gate watchmen stopping him and straight way hastened to his place. Next day, he wrote to the Maharajah that if he appointed Sardar Muhammed Khan as Naib Faujdar of Baroda, there would be stable income otherwise not. Necessarily, he was left as Faujdar. Sher Khan Babi was appointed, at the wish of Sardar Muhammed Khan to half the share of government. He, then, marched to Ahmedabad. Kolis of the Mahi coast had become submissive being awed due to murder of Pilaji Rao, and occupation of Baroda. But when he failed to occupy the fort of Dabhoi and practised breach of promise with Dala muqaddam they became arrogant, poured over his tents at night, wounded persons, and carried away horses and equipment. In such skirmishes, one night,



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a certain servant of Jawanmard Khan Babı, Muhammed Sharif Dokar Jamadar was found killed near his tent. He clashed against them through negligence and unplanned management due to his own self-conceit. In short, the Maharajah crossed the river Mahı and desired to go to Ahmedabad by way of Petlad where lay his villages between the road and the ford. Mumin had the paragana in his monopoly. He was not pleased that it should be trodden over by his soldiers. This became the cause of displeasure to the Maharajah. He transferred it to Shankerdas, peshkar of Sardar Muhammed Khan. He took the paragana in the name of his agent on the terms of monopoly of Mumin Khan. The Maharajah passed by way of Petlad paragana. Mumin Khan went to Khanbhayat. The Maharajah marched further and halted for some time on the bank of Vatrak opposite to Kaira, the mahal of watandarı of Muhammed Babı, assessed twenty thousand rupees as peshkash and went to Ahmedabad. Muhammed Ashraf Ghorni, brother of Sardar Muhammed Khan was in Baroda. He hastened from Ahmedabad to Petlad to summon Shankerdas. Ghulam Muhammed Khan arrived from his Majesty being appointed as chronicler of the Subah in place of Hadı Khan. The Diwani of the subah was placed in charge of Talib 'Alı Khan by His Majesty. He was the maternal grandson of late 'Abdul Ghanı Khan. He sent the sanad of Deputyship to his maternal uncle 'Abdul Husain Khan. But he did not use the seal of Talib Ali Khan and manage diwani affairs in his name. He himself attended to those affairs. No objection was raised because of close relations. But the daily allowance of twenty-five rupees in place of octroi duties was stopped to the Bhandarı.

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CHAPTER 207

FAMINE AND EPIDEMIC

In this year, there was a severe famine. The atmosphere became poisonous. Many persons died. Besides, the Marwaris committed abominable deeds of rascality. Scale of dearness of food stuff went up from day to day. Thousands of persons, both high and low, suffered from fever for two, three days which resulted in jaundice before the seventh day and succumbed to death. There was no time for shrouding and carrying the dead to the grave. Servants of death were out of control. Every day, a large number of helpless and poor persons were dragged through lanes and bazars to the sands of Sabarmati and thrown there where they became food for crows and dogs. The author personally saw two dead bodies being carried in one coffin by two persons. Complaints and lamentations of the common folk reached dome of the sky. Persons from round-about villages and towns starving with hunger began to roam about from the houses and came to the city with a bowl of begging in hand to sell their sons and daughters and grandchildren.

Verses

*Stomachs fell on dry and fresh things
Like a bag of beggary from door to door
Hungry stomach stitched eyes (fixed eyes) on felt
For a neighbour was flesh and wool (to him)*

Roads and bazars were thronged with persons to sell their children for one, two rupees. In this heavenly calamity, the Marwaris enslaved many Muslim women and their children belonging to noble and ignoble families by giving a bread. They purified them by forcing them to eat cow dung and burning a few barley-grains over their heads in accordance with their faith. Having made them heretics, they sent them in hordes to Marwar. Rejoicing at their misfortune, they used to say, that many captives from Jodhpur were made Muslims in the regime of His Majesty Khuld Makan (with his abode in paradise). It is in retaliation for that. The Maharajah sent Sher Singh Patawat and Chitra Mehta with baggage and equipage.



CHAPTER 208

BLAZING FORTH OF FIRE OF QUARREL BETWEEN BEHRAM KHAN PORT OFFICER OF SURAT AND MERCHANT- PRINCE MULLA MUHAMMED ALI GOVERNMENT IS PUT INCHARGE OF TELGH BEG KHAN, BROTHER OF BEGLAR BEG KHAN QILEDAR DEPARTURE OF BEHRAM KHAN TO BHAVNAGAR

When Behram Khan was continued as Port Officer as before, on the transfer of Mustafied Khan through efforts, attempts and defray of expenses of the merchant-prince Mulla Muhammed Ali, he devoted himself to the management of affairs and administrative duties. He nominated Mir 'Abdur Rahim as his Naib. The merchant-prince built Athawa as stated above. He went and lived there. He so organized it that any one who sought refuge there, no one had the courage to bring him out. Its splendour increased from day to day. The port of Surat lost its glory. Really speaking he built a separate fort specially for himself. He disemberked most of the cash and cargo brought in ships without giving information and obtaining permission of the Port officer out of arrogance and self-conceit because he deemed the Port-office as installed by him in his post. Some time passed in this manner. Behram Khan showed possible respect and remained indifferent. When the affair went beyond moderation, with a great loss in revenue, he appointed a faujdar for Athawa with counsel and consultation of the Naib who should keep an eye on the revenue. He sent word to the merchant-prince to the effect that he should return to his old house in the port and live there. He executed the order according to exigency of time. He talked about the revenue of goods disemberked during the period without giving information to him. After much discussion, the matter was settled at payment of one lac of rupees inspite of the merchant-prince having made a proposal for deduction of expenses for obtainment of the sanad which was waived aside. The Naib Mir 'Abdur Rahim was seized with greed and demanded an additional sum of ten thousand rupees for himself as a claim of the Naib. The merchant-prince refused to meet the demand of Mir because he had demanded a sum of money before and that he had to pay an additional sum now and further he regarded appointment of the Faujdar and bringing himself to the port as insult and disgrace to himself. He got up his loins for his dismissal and bringing back Behram Khan. He thought of a plan. He sent, one night, two thousand rupees by way of a gift to a preacher Syed 'Ali who was a source of mischief and disturbance and had a large number of disciples and apprised him of his intention. The Syed saw the cash with his eyes and said with pleasure that the promise would be fulfilled in the morning. "Is not the morning near?" The merchant-prince had two,

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three thousand cavaliers and infantry men. He got them ready. Next day when milk of the morning began to effervesce from breast of the horizon, he came to the Khanqah (abode) of Syed Zain, heir of Syed Idrus. The preacher Syed 'Ali who for the whole night sang the following verse

Verse

*' That oh night ! If you are not the day of resurrection
Why don't you rise much quickly ?*

Immediately, he came there. The merchant prince's men brought the Qazi and the Mufti to his presence. Ahmed Chalapi and other merchants gathered together as summoned. The preacher Syed 'Ali occupied the chief seat in the assemblage. After the assemblage of people, he jumped like rue seeds and adorned that gathering candle like in the middle. He addressed the Qazi and the Mufti saying, "Where is it from Islam ? In what religion and Book is it allowed for Behram Khan to demand sums of money from the merchant prince. Now he makes another demand without any reason. Personality of the merchant prince is a means of livelihood to many persons. He pays a large amount of money as tithe to the government. His life is a boon. Behram Khan intends to ruin him. He quoted several passages in his sermon advancing reasonable and narrative arguments.

Verse

*The sufi laid out a snare and opened the lid of a box
He practised fraud with the juggling sky*

It was decided that the Qazi should write out a proclamation. They all got up from the Khanqah and went to the masjid built by the merchant-prince adjacent to his house. The proclamation was sent with a man of the Qazi. Common folk and rabble came out from every corner and side to follow instruction of their spiritual guide, the preacher. This proclamation reached Behram Khan. He had no knowledge of this event. He began to meditate over it. Mir 'Abdur Rahim, on account of whose ominous greed this event had taken place, was present. As soon as he got intelligence about subject matter of the proclamation, he immediately got an army ready and ordered the soldiers to bring disturbers bound. The Qazi's messenger returned with what he saw and heard and declared by citation of witnesses. The merchant prince also ordered his own men to mark off boundaries of lanes and to block up entrance to the road leading to round about his own house. A war ensued between the two parties with arrows and guns. Mill of war began to rotate. Five full days ended in this manner. During these days, Behram Khan appeared so be



dominant The merchant-prince, on seeing this state of affairs, saw solution of this matter through aid and assistance of the Qiledar He sent his own confidential men to him and sought help and assistance from Beglar Beg Khan Formerly he had not fulfilled his promise with him He was displeased with the merchant-prince

Verse

*Any one who is without fidelity and manliness
It is folly to form friendship with him*

Having read this, he said that "he had, really speaking, no body of soldiers with him. Provision and store of the fort are spent up He should be excused " A message was sent again to the effect that what he needed was ready It would be sent to him Beglar Beg Khan desired to see the merchant-prince personally so that he might, face to face with him, apprise him of his ideas He came Conversation took place Pact and promise were made to the effect that Togh Beg Khan should become the Port-officer after expulsion of Behram Khan The merchant-prince should take upon himself the responsibility of securing a sanad from His Majesty. This was corroborated on oath by bringing a copy of the Holy Quran It was settled that as entrenchments of both sides were not identified from above the fort, the merchant-prince should erect white flags on his trenches so that friend and foe might be distinguished The merchant-prince came out of the fort without delay and remissness He conveyed to the fort two hundred cannoneers, provisions, lead, gun-powder, twenty thousand rupees in cash by a boat Dragon-bodied cannons on the trenches of Behram Khan kept facing the fort began to be fired They were lifted up within twinkling of an eye On seeing this state of affairs, Behram Khan thought of fighting by wielding sword with both the hands Necessarily, he erected a bastion and a battery opposite to the fort and placed cannons there. He engaged in war on two fronts Nearly a month passed in this manner. A large number of persons, young and old, rich and poor lost their lives and wealth Behram Khan maintained on the past and the present, nearly ten thousand soldiers But food and water were exhausted for him in the divine workshop and divine will had ordained for his removal, some deserted him-out of fear and fright, others out of covetousness for imaginary hope (of gain) joined the merchant-prince finding prolongation of war, concord between the Qiledar and the merchants. They were thus afraid of evil consequences They joined in war and battle and displayed sincerity and efforts more than before.

Poem

*These deceitful friends whom you see
Are flies around sweetness.*



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*They eat the food so long as it is there
They hover around you like wasps
When the village gets ruined
Purse becomes (empty) like bowl of a rubbab
They give up company and attachment
Friendship itself was not an idea*

Masses thronged together either by instruction of the preaching spiritual guide or by way of flattery. A few sincere persons remained clung to Behram Khan. He did not keep his hands off from fight due to his personal valour and prowess. At this juncture, Devji Nagvir Maratha came to the merchant-prince's succour as summoned with ten thousand cavaliers. He blocked up from outside the roads of communication and receipt of corn and grass. This became an additional cause. Affairs of Behram Khan became difficult due to stoppage of provisions. He, therefore, came to terms of peace. It was decided that Behram Khan should vacate the Darbar and alight in the Mula's garden. He left his dependents in the house of Kamagar Ali Khan and went there. Jamadars, Syed Nurullah and Syed Wali went to Athawa with their companions. Fire of war subsided. When the dependents of Behram Khan were removing themselves, Ahmed Chalapi whose house was situated on the way, pulled the rath at a distance of three, four manzils which on the report of a spy contained cash but he appropriated it to himself by declaring that it contained lead and gunpowder. In short, Tegh Beg Khan entered the Darbar under terms of the agreement. The merchant-prince paid the claim of help in cash to Devji Maratha according to the agreement. In addition, he pleased the chiefs with robes of honour and other presents and allowed them to go. Sepoys, subjects and villagers came forward with their severe demands at the suggestion and instigation of disturbers (rioters). Disrespect was carried too far. Other servants and companions of Behram Khan who had harassed market-men as government employees and had extorted money from them were subjected to similar hardships at their hands. Behram Khan through fear that God forbid that he might be subjected to disrepute or be captured at the ill-tutoring of enemies went to the city at the advice of his maternal uncle Mulisin Khan in a changed dress at night which was a dark barrier between seers and eyes of human beings and hid himself. Next day, his stable, elephants, movable and immovable goods were confiscated by Tegh Beg Khan. The merchant-prince bought his house-hold goods he needed, at half the price with a document of demand for expenses for obtainment of a sanad.

Verse

*Such is a rule of the rotating world
That it bestows with love and takes it with rage*

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Behram Khan stayed in the city hiding for three, four days. He did not deem it advisable to stay. With an artifice of one of the watchmen of the fort's turrets, he came out with Muhsin Khan at midnight with the help of a lasso and hastened to Athawa. He acquainted Syed Nurullah and Syed Wali who were there and whom he regarded in accord with himself. They took him inside and guarded him under a curtain of concealment. It was publicly known that Behram Khan was at Athawa. Whereupon, Togh Beg Khan despatched a squadron to take out Syed Nurullah and Syed Wali. If Behram Khan was found, he should be captured. As the artillery was ready on the fort of Athawa, Syed Nurullah and Syed Wali came forward in defence and fought with cannons and guns. By chance, Behram Khan had sent information to the Amir Burhan-ul-Mulk who was in the royal presence on the first day of the merchant-prince's riot. A letter of Burhan-ul-Mulk addressed to merchants in general and the merchant-prince in particular was received. Its contents were that if any harm or wrong was done to Behram Khan due to disturbance, it will be avenged. Couriers bearing the letter became captives of the merchant-prince. He got frightened on knowing the contents of the letter which was full of threat and fear. He became to ponder over his wicked end. When he learnt about Behram Khan's hiding at Athawa, he sent a message of solace to Syed Nurullah and Syed Wali with his confidential man saying, "War materials and battle-implements are ready and prepared. He should remain steadfast with ease at heart relying on his courage for once again I will reinstate Behram Khan in government post." They were warmed up in heart. They made greater efforts than before to stick to the original centre in the fulfilment of hope of this promise. One night, both the sardars made a night-attack with a force of reputable youths on the men of Togh Beg Khan and engaged in war with them. They poured upon them and killed several of them as well as wounded many of them. They plundered their tents and provisions and returned with victory. But Syed Wali whose sword missed and hit the knee-pan got wounded.

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CHAPTER 209

IMPRISONMENT OF THE MERCHANT-PRINCE MULLA MUHAMMED ALI BY TEGH BEG KHAN. DEPARTURE OF BEHRAM KHAN TO GHOGHA AND SIHOR REPORT OF THE RIOT TO HIS MAJESTY APPOINTMENT OF MUMIN KHAN AS PORT-OFFICER OF SURAT AND THAT OF TEGH BEG KHAN AS PORT-OFFICER OF KHANBHAYAT BUT NONE TOOK CHARGE OF HIS POST

The merchant prince Mulla Muhammed Ali had collected nearly ten thousand horse and foot in this skirmish. He took out Behram Khan. Smoke of vanity and arrogance which are the most abominable vices whirled itself in the palace of his brain which destroyed the light of foresight of substance—thinking reason and threw him away from the path of ancestral behaviour. When he found the means of grandeur and pomp ready and collected with himself, veracity of the verse, “Verily, the man sees wealth, he transgresses” came true. He engaged himself like Amirs in appointment, of a bakhshi, a presenter of petitions, a person to keep off other men, and looking to petitions himself.

Verse

*A crow was learning gait of a partridge
He did not learn it and forgot his own mode of walking*

It crossed his mind that he should get one of his sons employed in royal service. He viewed his younger son, Fakharuddin possessing personal merits and laudable qualities. He submitted a petition for a grant of mansab of 3000, title of Fakhruddin Khan and a sanad for the post of Port officer of Surat without restraint of name. He wanted it in his own name under a royal order. He wrote that it should be given to one whom the merchant prince thought fit and worthy with pleasure and that he should be confirmed by him. He wrote to the favourite of His Majesty, Hafiz Khudmatdar Khan who was the principal manager of royal governmental affairs to accept his proposal. He sent a hundi of sixty thousand rupees for expenses of this matter. As his plan was against fate, the couriers with letters got arrested by Togh Beg Khan's men near Broach. They were brought back to Surat. Togh Beg Khan saw the contents of the letter which he regarded as good fortune. He guarded the couriers with caution at a place where no one could get any information about them. He thought that once he installed him in the post. When he became evil minded, he again reinstated Behram Khan in his post as mentioned above. So long as the merchant-prince lived, it was impossible to continue in government service with satisfaction. He thought out a plan

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with sagacity and intelligence to remedy it before its occurrence. Outwardly, he showed him regard, behaved with him with good conduct and pleased him till the month of Rabi 'I when the blessed day of the auspicious birth of His Holiness, Chief of the Universe, (Prophet) may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his family-members arrived He arranged a dinner-party on the 12th day

Verse

*If you take trouble to visit our cottage as a guest
You would be showing grace and placing feet on my eyes.*

He accepted it and did not know

Hemistich

That this miser murders its guests

On the promised day, he got the Maratha army ready on a false show of fame He seated armoured soldiers in a room at the terrace in an ambush waiting for an opportunity The merchant-prince intended to ride on the appointed day from his house Well-wishers and far-sighted men who saw the army ready, became suspicious With great fear, they talked about not going to him As the decrees of fate had blinded eyes of his fortune for seeing the right course, he paid no attention to them out of arrogance He footed to the grave-yard with a few of his favourites

Hemistich

A game when death comes, goes to the hunter.

Tegh Beg Khan saw the game in his snare, he showed respect and glory to the honourable guest with cheerfulness in all humility. With smiles on his face, he welcomed the guest with all delight and seated him by his side like heart. Every one sat at his place according to his rank Warm association took place among them-till the time of dinner Tegh Beg Khan treacherously said that that place was crowded, he and the merchant - prince would take dinner separately. He caught hold of his hand and got up and went up to the terrace No one was allowed to go to their special assembly. After dinner, Tegh Beg Khan placed letters with handis in his hands, and said, "The same Quran which you had given, should be held in hand then these letters should be read He should look at them with an eye of warning " After seeing them, the merchant-prince could not give reply. He cast down his head in shame with much confusion and remained silent.

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Hemistich

Let no one be ashamed with an unrighteous deed

At this juncture, Darjan Singh, the zamindar of Chahar Mandwi, who was one of those sitting in ambush, raised his hand from door of the room, took out the bejewelled dagger from belt of the merchant prince and sat by his side. Others sat around him. The merchant prince was weak in constitution and short statured like a sparrow, he got caught in claws of the royal falcon of destiny and was caged in prison of the room.

Verse

*Such is the usage of this old palace
That sometime it is narrow and sometime wide for you*

His companions were expelled from the Darbar with severity and harshness. None was befriended with grace to show tardiness for him. Necessarily, they came out in disappointment and penitance with humble necks. Every one took his own way and came out. Tegh Beg Khan appointed guards at his houses and ware houses. They were escheated under seals. He confiscated nearly eighty lacs of rupees in cash besides property and goods.

Verse

*The sky took back what it had given
Impression of God remains permanent*

After two, three days, the merchant-prince was sent to the fort in a litter. He gave up his ancestral wealth and lost what was amassed for years.

Poem

*Any one who stretches his feet in proportion
He can raise his feet from that place
When one understands his worth and value
He does not repent of his own deed
Many desires remained within the heart
Many feet of hope got stuck in mud*

Tegh Beg Khan praised his own sound judgment and reclined against the four-cushions of government with splendour of fortune and stability. Through good fortune, some of the ungrateful persons and disloyal men who were acquainted with the factories of the merchant-prince took whatever they could of his wealth and came forward with flattery for preservation of their own name and protection of their lives and pointed out to him his buried treasures. Syed Nurullah and Syed Wali got broken in heart due to captivity of the merchant-prince and began to think of their



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future in great despair. They received a message from Togh Beg Khan to the effect that "if the riot was due to instigation of the merchant prince, he was captured. If they, really, want to serve, they should see him. Otherwise, they were free to go where they liked. None will molest them." Syed Wali requested for a boat to go and conveyed Behram Khan with his brothers incognito to Ghogha and he himself lived in Bhavnagar. Syed Nurullah accepted service. He saw Togh Beg Khan. There was no stranger at Athawa. Togh Beg Khan brought in goods movable and immovable as well as artillery. He was not content with it. He dug out bricks, stones, wood of the fort and demolished buildings. He sold them out. There did not remain any trace and mark of them. They were levelled to the ground. "Oh men of sight! Take a lesson." Haji Rabi, a companion of Behram Khan, who lived with good conduct, had retired to a corner of safety in the port. Togh Beg Khan suggested friendship and companionship with him. He refused. He did not deem it advisable to stay there any longer. He said "If the dependents of Behram Khan are permitted to go, he would take them to him." Togh Beg Khan did not object to it. He permitted them to depart. He conveyed them by boat. When the above events were reported to His Majesty by news writers and merchants continuously and incessantly, an order was issued to quell the riot that Mumin Khan should work as Port officer of Surat while Togh Beg Khan should go to Khanbhayat as its Port officer. Mumin Khan was distinguished with a grant of a gorgeous robe and a she elephant. They were entrusted to a vakil to convey him. A sanad was sent with couriers. Mumin Khan received it at Dabhoi when he was with the Maharajah. He despatched Bansidher with a copy of the sanad to Syed Nurullah on account of former friendship with a request to help him in official duties. He collected persons and performed official duties. At first, Togh Beg Khan protested with mildness and softness. He did not care for his objection. The matter culminated in war. Several persons from both the parties got wounded. Syed Nurullah did not succeed. Togh Beg Khan had seized large sums of money. He pleased other officers by distribution of riches. He obtained a sanad and a title of Bahadur for himself and became absolute. He appointed his brother Safdar Muhammed Khan as his Naib to manage administrative and financial matters. He himself spent his days in pleasure and merriment. This event took place in the beginning of the year 1145. On the 10th Jamadi I of this year, Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni died a natural death in Baroda. His corpse was deposited in earth for removal to Ahmedabad. The judge of the Subah, Abul Mafakhar Khan died on 20th of the same month. The Maharajah sent a letter of absolute Faujdari of Baroda to Sher Khan Babi so that he should remain vigilant with ease. Shaikh Muhammed Shah, son of Shah Ali Reza Sirhindi built a dome over the grave of his father.

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CHAPTER 210

ARRIVAL OF UMABAI WIFE OF DECEASED KHANDERAO DABHADE, SENAPATI OF RAJA SAHU LAYING SIEGE TO AHMEDABAD THE MAHARAJAH CONCLUDES PEACE PLUNDER OF SOME SUBURBS

Umabai, wife of Khanderao Dabhade, Senapati of Raja Sahu, was the absolute Maratha Bakhshi. After the death of her husband, her minor son was appointed as Senapati. It was in his charge to collect Chauth of Gujarat. She was in charge of this affair. The son had come to the age of discretion but he did not possess any personal merit in him. She attended to the affairs of chiefship, appointed servants, and rode an elephant and a horse. On getting intelligence of Pilaji Rao's fraudulent murder by the Marwaris she writhed within herself like a serpent. She girt up her loins tightly for revenge. She marched towards Ahmedabad in rage and exasperation with thirty, forty thousand Maratha cavaliers as well as Kanthaji and murdered Pilaji Rao's son, Damaji who were her servants. She encamped adjacent to a place Faizabad alias Shahbati situated at a distance of three kurohs of the city on the bank of Sabarmati. She appointed her army on all the four sides for plunder and pillage of villages of the paragana of Haveli and the purahs. Mumin Khan and Jawanmard Khan came at night with their companions as summoned by the Maharajah. He appointed them for defence of the purahs at Shahi Bagh while the Marwari forces with patawats and bhandaris were posted on other sides and directions. He thus prepared himself for war. At this juncture, Rajah Bakht Singh who had hastened to Nagor, arrived with an equipped army. He met his brother Khushal Chand Jeweller Sheth, who had gone to the capital during the regime of Mubarez ul Mulk as mentioned above, obtained a document of permit with the seal of Amir ul Umara Samsam ud Daulah in respect of the office of Nagar Sheth and returned with it. He saw the Maharajah and showed the parvanah to him.



CHAPTER 211

COPY OF THE PARWANAH IN THE NAME OF THE MAHARAJAH

May the favours of His Majesty, shadow of God, be an associate of the life of praiseworthy end of amirship, rank of rulership, position of pomp and valour, most excellent of dignified princes, choicest among the rajahs of Hindustan¹ Khushal Chand son of Sanidas has been appointed as the Nagar Sheth of Ahmedabad by His Majesty. He is glorified with the favour of a robe and a pearl ear-ring. He is ordered to proceed to Ahmedabad. After his arrival, servants should be directed to help him in his duties. He should attend to welfare of the people, prosperity of the city, well-being of the common-folk and manage affairs with such diligence that persons may devote themselves with satisfaction to their respective work and profession. It was written on 5th Rabi² II of the eleventh year of ascension to the throne. The Maharajah gave a robe as usual and appointed him to the post of a Sheth of the Hindus. In short, the Dekhani raised heads in disturbance and mischief and stretched their hands to brigandage and pillage. Ratan Singh Bhandari, Naib of the subah stood with an equipped army, from morning till evening on the sands of Sabarmati adjacent to the Garden of Ghaziuddin Husain and Behrampur and waited for the Maratha appearance. Jivraj Bhandari breathed of valour and prowess with an army of Gujarati and Marwari horse and foot to defend some of the weak mahals under his charge as far as possible. The Maharajah made him camp in this conflict at Char Torah near Rajpur. Defence of purahs of that side was put in his charge. They were ready and prepared for war and battle with the Marathas and listened to the news of their arrival with caution and care. One day, they happened to see blackness of the Dekhani cavalry technically called *Hoi Sawar*. They had no occasion to fight with the Marathas. They rushed against them for war without thought and meditation. They began to give up the plain and to pull the enemy, according to their usual habit, when they got an opportunity. Jivraj regarded this as his own victory and defeat of the enemy. He voluntarily gave up the reins of caution and wisdom and pursued them in hot haste. In conceit, he placed his feet farther away than proportion when he saw

Verses

*A dark dust-storm rising like smoke
It was difficult to go from that place.
A mountain moved with an intention of war
There were a million warring leopards.*

On seeing this state of affairs, reason and wisdom flew from his head till he personally moved and plunged in war with the Marathas. They attacked



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him from all directions like ants and locusts. They blocked up passages of receiving succour, lead and gun powder. They finished his work in a small engagement. Several warriors were killed while others were wounded. Horses, equipment of the slain as well as of the wounded, cannons, swivel guns, standard and drum fell in hands of the Marathas. Bhandari Ratan Singh who was with a large army near the battle field practised open negligence and connivance inspite of knowledge of the war and insistence of the Maharajah to go to his succour due to jealousy he had before with Jivraj. At the eleventh hour when the matter was out of control, he sent word to Mumin Khan and Jawanmard Khan that they should remain steadfast and engage in defence. He personally went to Behrampur. There is a great distance between Shahi Bagh and the purah of His Holiness Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified. Two hours of the day were left when they came and found the Marathas engage in pillage. They surrounded the four walls of the purah and began to fire swivel guns missiles and engaged in raising shout. Mir Abul Qasim and several others, who were not fated to die yet, came out wounded from the battle field. They returned in the evening having picked them up. Ratan Singh came to his tent at the foot of a wall of the fort citadel. At the time of the Maratha disturbance in the past, commonfolk and masses of nearby purahs and villages who had learnt a lesson from havoc and ruin of purahs situated on other side of the river at the time of Humid Khan's revolt came within city fortifications with their families, bag and baggage for refuge. At this juncture, Jivraj who was puffed up with his valour and prowess, prevented them from moving and did not allow any one of them to enter the city with force and violence. On hearing news of his death, they became nervous through awe and fright, left their houses filled with household articles and riches, and started for the city in a perplexed state catching hold of their children by two ears and nose. Next morning, the royal order wearing a golden cap stretched hands to plunder vermillion and purified and illumined the expanse of the world. The Dekhanis, who were dazed by yesterday's victory, began to plunder residences, houses, shops of poor men of the purahs of that side.

Verses

*Tyrannical Dekhanis attacked
From every side to plunder
They seized what was in the houses
Of Muslims and Hindus
Then, they set fire out of revenge
And burnt every thing dry and moist*

They particularly plundered the purah of Rasulabrd, the residence of royal Syeds, sons and grandsons of His Holiness Shah 'Alam, may his grave be



She hastened to her native place Sardar Muhammed Khan's men removed his deposited dead body from Baroda to Ahmedabad and consigned to the earth, with the Maharajah's permission in a stable within the fort near his house. It was in this year that a royal order was issued to the Maharajah and a special robe of six pieces, an ornamented turban-strap, a jewelled turban ornament and an elephant for the Maharajah and a gorgeous robe for Mumin Khan were sent with a mace-bearer Khwajah Asadullah Khan by His Majesty out of beneficence and favour. The Maharajah accompanied by Mumin Khan rode out for reception with due decorum. They donned themselves with robes of exaltation and fulfilled dues of royal etiquette. Mumin Khan being honoured with a robe performed dues of supplication. After some time, Mumin Khan and Jawanmard Khan went to their respective charges with permission of the Maharajah. Mir Ghaziuddin, son of Nizamuddin Khan, censor of the camp of His Majesty Khuld Makan arrested servants of the Maharajah on a charge of possessing gold at the backbiting of Rahim Yawar Khan. They were detained in the chabutra Kotwali. They were released on payment of a fine. Rahim Yawar Khan came for confiscating the jagirs of mansabdars and received daily allowance from the Maharajah's Sarkar. His arrival brought about ruin of many houses. Again, he became eternally notorious for the families of Shaikh ul-Islam Khan. God is the real avenger. He was soon involved in worldly retribution. At close of life, he became needy even for a nightly bread and died, and hoarded punishment of the next world for himself.



CHAPTER 212

ARRIVAL OF THE MAHARAJAH WITH RAJAH BAKHT SINGH TO THE CAPITAL APPOINTMENT OF RATAN SINGH BHANDARI AS NAIB OF THE SUBAH APPOINTMENT OF THE AUTHOR AS A CHRONICLER

In the year 1145, the Maharajah, in company of Rajah Bakht Singh went to the capital by way of Jodhpur, his beloved native place. He appointed Ratan Singh Bhandari as Naib of the Subah. He encamped opposite to Shahi Bagh on the other bank of Sabarmati. During this time, His Majesty appointed the author, on the transfer of Ghulam Muhammed Khan, as a chronicler. The sanad bearing the seal of Ali Hanud Khan, darogah of the dak reached the author. He saw the Bhandari and took charge of the post. He saw the Maharajah when he permitted Diwan of the subah and royal servants to depart and received a robe from him. The Maharajah marched further. Mumin Khan, on getting intelligence of the Maharajah's departure, came from Khanbhayat to bid him farewell. The author's father, who stayed there after his return from Hijaz, accompanied Mumin Khan. They met the Maharajah at Kalol at a distance of twelve kurohs from the city. They accompanied him for two days. They then obtained permission to depart. At the time of return, the Kolis of Chawaliah came forward with impudence inspite of a force of cavalry and infantry with Mumin Khan at a distance of six kurohs from the city. One of his companions Saleh 'Ali Khan got martyred. Mumin Khan halted for a few days in the city and then he hastened to Khanbhayat. The faujdar of Saurath, Ghulam Muluyuddin Khan died in the royal presence. The faujdari of Saurath was granted to his brother Mir Hazbar Khan on his death. After departure of the Maharajah, Ratan Singh Bhandari began to govern with absolutism and despotism. He extorted money by way of biwarah and other illegal practices. He accused person with false charges and bound them. Heathen, malevolent persons of Gujarat came forward under his tutelage. They bound oxen on a plea of grazing in the harvest of this man and that man. Similarly, the Kotwal in the city and Faujdars in the Purahs oppressed commonfolk by imposing various kinds of fines upon them as "the people follow the creed of their kings."



She hastened to her native place Sardar Muhammed Khan's men removed his deposited dead body from Baroda to Ahmedabad and consigned to the earth, with the Maharajah's permission in a stable within the fort near his house. It was in this year that a royal order was issued to the Maharajah and a special robe of six pieces, an ornamented turban strap, a jewelled turban ornament and an elephant for the Maharajah and a gorgeous robe for Mumin Khan were sent with a mace bearer Khwajah Asadullah Khan by His Majesty out of beneficence and favour. The Maharajah accompanied by Mumin Khan rode out for reception with due decorum. They donned themselves with robes of exaltation and fulfilled dues of royal etiquette. Mumin Khan being honoured with a robe performed dues of supplication. After some time, Mumin Khan and Jawanmard Khan went to their respective charges with permission of the Maharajah. Mir Ghaziuddin, son of Nizamuddin Khan, censor of the camp of His Majesty Khuld Makan arrested servants of the Maharajah on a charge of possessing gold at the backbiting of Rahim Yawar Khan. They were detained in the chabutra Kotwal. They were released on payment of a fine. Rahim Yawar Khan came for confiscating the jagirs of mansabdars and received daily allowance from the Maharajah's Sarkar. His arrival brought about ruin of many houses. Again, he became eternally notorious for the families of Shaikh ul Islam Khan. God is the real avenger. He was soon involved in worldly retribution. At close of life, he became needy even for a nightly bread and died, and hoarded punishment of the next world for himself.



CHAPTER 212

ARRIVAL OF THE MAHARAJAH WITH RAJAH BAKHT SINGH TO THE CAPITAL APPOINTMENT OF RATAN SINGH BHANDARI AS NAIB OF THE SUBAH APPOINTMENT OF THE AUTHOR AS A CHRONICLER

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CHAPTER 213

ARRIVAL OF JADAVJI, ADOPTED SON OF UMABAI, OTHER EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THIS YEAR

It was in this year that the Maratha Jadavji, adopted son of Umabai, on getting news of the Maharajah's departure, came with twenty thousand cavaliers for settlement of Chauth with Bhandari, the Naib of the subah plundering and collecting Khandani on the fringes of the city and encamped in the expanse of Shahi Bagh. The Bhandari recruited fresh Gujaratis of soldierly profession. He hastily summoned Mumin Khan. He arrived at night with his squadron. The Bhandari closed gates of the city fortification and put them in charge of veteran men. He strengthened trenches, turrets and fortifications. He gave a r salah to Muhammed Iahdin Ghorni to help the patrolling Faujdar for defence of the purahs. The Dekhanis attacked the purahs in batches. Conflicts with cannons and muskets took place several times. A month elapsed in this manner. The Bhandari sent his confidential man to inform him as to why he resorted to warfare inspite of conclusion of peace with Umabai. His object was the fixation of chauth as before. He then hastened to Saurath. Disturbance subsided. Jadavji collected Khandani from Zamindars of Saurath and went back to his native place. The Maharajah did not punish and chastise the Kolis inspite of a large army with him. He did not also take securities from them for not committing disturbances. They found the revolutionary movement of the sky according to their wishes. They raised their heads in disturbance and brigandage on every side. At night, they calmly entered the purahs in a collective form and began to make holes in houses by axes and to break open shops. They committed similar crimes in the city when they got an opportunity. They carried away provisions and men as captives. There was not a night when complaints and wails of helpless people did not reach the ethereal sky yet none came forward to redress their grievance.

Verse

The world was full of revolt and commotion

It was through complaints like blowing of trumpet on the judgment day

They lost sleep at day due to captivity and imposition of fine by the Marwaris and at night due to fear of the Kolis. The Kolis who were roots of mischief in this region were not afraid of the Nazim. It was impossible for caravans to travel without escort. Shivsangh Patawat, who went to his native place with permission of the Bhandari, was killed by the Kolis along with others near Dawood Bhand under jurisdiction of Pattan. They plundered and wounded them. The Bhandari did nothing except to harass people and to extort money by illegal practices. The faujdars to whom he wrote for remedy of this affair did nothing as they themselves were engaged in this sort of work.

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CHAPTER 214

ASSIGNMENT OF GHOGHA BARAH MAHAL FAUJDARI AS THE ESTATE OF HER MAJESTY APPOINTMENT OF BEHRAM KHAN TO IT. AFTERWARDS, HIS APPOINTMENT AS NAIB FAUJDAR OF SAURATH

When Behram Khan came out from the port of Surat and his dependents joined him as mentioned above, he stayed for some time in Bhavnagar which was in charge of Bhau Singh, zamindar of Sihor. The zamindar paid attention to it keeping in view the services done to his family by his ancestors. Gradually, his assistants, helpers and servants joined him. He, therefore, thought of a plan to spend his time. He wrote to Mumin Khan to the effect that if he received a sanad of the mahals of arrears in revenue of Saurath as his charge from the Diwani Office, he would occupy himself with the performance of that duty for some days. He could then wait for what is in store for him. Mumin Khan obtained a sanad as he desired bearing the seal of the Naib Diwan, 'Abdul Husam Khan and sent it to him. Behram Khan recruited as many soldiers as he could with that document in hand and summoned Syed Nurullah, who had come from the port of Surat. He devoted himself to the assessment of the mahal of arrears in revenue. He also utilized force in demand of revenue in most of the paraganas. He informed about the events he had passed through as well as about his charge to Burhan-ul-Mulk. As the paragana of Ghogha Barah, on the death of Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi, was assigned as an estate to the agents of Her Majesty and Sher Khan kept it under his charge under proposal of the Maharajah which was not accepted. Burhan-ul-Mulk obtained a sanad from the office of His Majesty's crown-lards in his name and sent it to him. During these days, Sher Khan was occupied with performance of duties as Naib Faujdar of Baroda. His younger brother Sher Zaman, therefore, was in Ghogha. Behram Khan appointed Haji Muhammed Rabi' with a number of followers to liberate it from him and assume its charge. He laid siege to it and engaged in war with arrows and muskets. He removed Sher Zaman from that charge with a slight conflict and assumed its duties. Facts of excellent management and seizure of Ghogha by Haji Muhammed Rabi' were reported as a chronicle to His Majesty's court by the author. As Burhan ul-Mulk was a patron, he seized an opportunity to report in a worthy manner the subject-matter of bravery and valour of Behram Khan and his companions to His Majesty. Haji Muhammed Rabi' was exalted, through His Majesty's beneficence and favour, to the mansab of 700 Zat and 100 Sawar and a conferment of the title of Muhammed Quli Khan. The Naib Mir Hazbar Khan continuously complained against Behram Khan in respect of collection and assessment of the mahals of Paubaki (arrears in revenue) and other places and wrote



about them to his client. The Amir-ul-Umara Samsam-ud Dinwala declared complaint of this fact to Burhan ul-Mulk. At this juncture, Burhan-ul-Mulk took responsibility for payment of the amount of monopoly for the post of a Naib Faujdar of Junagadh upon himself and obtained a sanad in the name of Behram Khan and sent it to him. He had collected a good force of soldiers. He, therefore, set out for Junagadh without delay and procrastination. Mir Isma'il, discharged naib intended to stay in office. He was not given an opportunity for it and removed with force and violence. He had become helpless due to demand of salary by soldiers. He went towards Thattha by boat. Behram Khan assumed charge of his post, minded affairs entrusted to him and actively engaged himself in sending faujdars and thiradars to places under him. When news of Behram Khan's appointment as Faujdar of Saurathi reached distant and near places, unemployed soldiers got a means of employment. They set out to him from every side. In the year 1146, Bhau Singh, son of the late Udekarin Desai managed the affairs of Virimgam paragana after the death of his father. The Bhandari, since long, had in view his wealth and riches. He always waited for an opportunity to confiscate it. He thought of a plan at this time. He gave Jawanmard Khan, Naib Faujdar of the place hope to gratify his greed and wrote to him to capture and send the Desai to him. He captured him under a prepared plan, enchained and fettered him, placed in a rath and sent him to the city with a few confidential men. Jawanmard Khan was appointed as Faujdar under powerful securities. On getting this news, the securities decided to kill or to be killed for preservation of their prestige. They behaved with Jawanmard Khan with harshness and severity. When he found himself in danger, helplessly, he made him return from mid way and entrusted him to the securities. It was previously stated about the arrival of the tax collector Rahim yawar Khan for confiscation of jagirs. The Bhandari gave him one lac and twenty three thousand rupees as assignment of jagir of His Majesty's mansabdar as well as the revenue of the post of Khanbhayat under charge of Mumin Khan.



CHAPTER 215

SIEGE OF BARODA BY MAHMAJI, BROTHER OF PILAJI GAEKWAR AND ITS OCCUPATION

One of the events of this year was the occupation of Baroda by the Marathas. A short account of it is : Sher Khan Babi was the Naib Faujdar of Baroda, after the death of his father-in-law, Sardar Muhammed Khan. He left his cousin Muhammed Sarbaz and his dependents in Baroda and went to the paragana of Balasinor, the mahal of his jagir for bandobast. Mahmaji, brother of Pilaji Gaeckwar had the paragana of Jamusar under his possession. It was situated near Baroda. Under the guidance of Dala, muqaddam of Padra, he, night and day, fell into deep thinking about fraud and deceit of the Marwaris after he heard about the case of the Desai of Viramgam. Sher Khan had, at time, hastened to Balasinor. Thinking it to be a good opportunity, he persuaded him to besiege Baroda. Mahmaji marched with a cavalry and an infantry to occupy Baroda. Damajirao also sent an army from Songadh to help him in this campaign. Muhammed Sarbaz strengthened gates of four walls of the fort and engaged in defence of turrets and city-fortifications. There ensued daily a war with cannons and muskets. On getting intelligence of it, Sher Khan sought help from the Bhandari. He wrote to Mumin Khan for succour and help and asked him to join Sher Khan whenever he was about to ford the river Mahi and fight in repulsion of the Dekhanis. Sher Khan occupied himself with preparations and recruitment of soldiers. Fire of warfare blazed forth for one month and a half. In short, Sher Khan set out for this side from Balasinor and crossed the river Mahi. Mahamaji learnt about it. He deemed it important to block the enemy's passage. He posted a squadron for siege and defence of trenches and marched to oppose him with an intention for warfare. Sher Khan fought bravely and manly with his companions but many of his soldiers got martyred. His horse also got wounded by blow of a sword. When men of experience and confidence died as well as he saw a multitude on the enemy's side, he turned reins of retreat. He hastened to Balasinor for finding amends for it. Mumin Khan, who had come for succour, returned to Khanbhayat on hearing about Sher Khan's retreat from midway. The garri oned men of Baroda despaired of side help. They sent a message of peace in keeping with the exigency of time and intended to make pledge and pact. Baroda from that day passed in occupation of the Dekhanis which they hold till now without partnership of any one. Disaffection existed between the Desai of Viramgam and Jawanmard Khan due to the former's capture by the latter. As he was the principal manager of affairs of the paragana, administrative matters became chaotic. The Bhandari summoned Sher Khan and appointed as Naib of the place because he was in concord with the Desai from the time of Salabat Muhammed Khan. Jawanmard Khan held in charge the paragana of Kadi and Vijapur on his own responsibility as a fief. Faujdar of Petlad, Dhanrob Bhandari died. Mumin Khan held in monopoly the paragana of Nadiad, Arhar Matar, Petlad and Mundha.

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CHAPTER 216

POISONING OF THE MERCHANT-PRINCE MULLA MUHAMMED ALI AND HIS DEATH

An account of capture of the merchant-prince Mulla Muhammed Ali, confiscation of his wealth and his imprisonment in the fort were mentioned above. At this juncture, a ship on which the merchant-prince's son, Mulla Muhammed Husain was embarked, arrived from Jeddah. Tegh Beg Khan was content with what he seized from the house of the merchant-prince. He, therefore, did not object to the goods of ships and ports. He consoled his sons and allowed them to ply their trade. The merchant-prince was restless night and day in planning and thinking of his own affairs and liberation from the narrow prison. He formed intimacy with one of his guards and plotted with him on an inducement to give him a present and hope in future. He took materials of writing in his hand and wrote out in his leisure, applications with an account of his condition and everything that passed over him to the favourite of the court and His Majesty, Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan who was with His Majesty and Asaf Jah who was in the Dekhan and sent them secretly. He repeatedly mentioned this fact out of much caution. As Asaf Jah was near Surat, he despatched a horseman for the liberation of the merchant-prince and wrote to Tegh Beg Khan with threat and menace laying stress on his release. The horseman came and told him orally what he was asked to convey. Tegh Beg Khan apparently made a show of obedience and execution of order. He also fixed an hour and day of liberation of the merchant-prince. He ordered his servants to arrange for a precious robe of honour and an Iraqi horse out of humility and excuse to the merchant-prince. This matter was talked about by all sections of the people. On an adage of the wise men that a serpent should not be left lacerated, he thought that when he obtained freedom, he would hasten to Asaf Jah, and apprise him with minute details of what happened to him and seek redress from him. This thing should not be allowed to happen. When the enemy was strong, he would raise any mischief. God knows where the matter would end. It would be better to deprive him of his life. He, therefore, resorted to use of fatal poison in his case and poisoned him. It was reported that it proved effective after administration of it for three times. At last, on the night of the promised day of liberation, he was strangled with a rope to death. It was noised abroad that it was death due to rejoicing. His corpse was sent to his house in a palki (litter).

Quatrain

*From the low earthly body to the high Saturn
I solved all difficulties of the world.*

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*I escaped from fetters of stratagem and trick
Every tangle got unravelled except that of death.*

The horseman was pleased with a present more than his capacity and
left with a song which he was instructed to tune.
ઠીંડી, ઈ

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CHAPTER 216

REMOVAL OF BHANDARI KHUSHAL CHAND SHETH FROM THE CITY ON ACCOUNT OF DISCORD WITH AHMED SHETH DIALTH OF AHMED

Arrival of Khushal Chand Sheth with a parwanah from the capital in company of Rajah Bakht Singh and his working as a Sheth were stated above. On exaction of fine from Gangadas and his removal as a sheth, Ahmed a leader of the Bohras was occupied with exaction of biwarah, fines and other illegal taxes in accordance with the satisfaction of the Bhandari. He had, therefore, become a rendezvous of the public. Under these circumstances, Khushal Chand failed to wield absolute authority. He had to struggle with Ahmed in many matters of biwarah and imposition of fines and prevent him from so doing. The Bhandari rebuked and reproached him on representation of Ahmed that he interfered with his work. He caused him harm and injury, insulted him with a threat of imprisonment and exile. Khushal Chand made inquiries of what was in his mind, and then stopped visiting him. He employed several Arabs and seated them for protection at the gate of Jhaveriwada and round about his own house. He objected to the capture of men after the fashion of Kapur Chand Bhansali. By chance, Mumin Khan and Jawanmard Khan happened to be in the city for a certain occasion. They had secretly suggested to Khushal Chand to stir up a riot. He was emboldened much more than before with the support of these two Khans. On the occurrence of this event, the Bhandari summoned a gathering to which Mumin Khan, Jawanmard Khan, Qazi, writers, Ahmed, Gangadas, leaders of bankers, merchants, Hindu and Muslim were invited. He ordered the army to be ready with the artillery and to be present. When the summoned persons gathered together, Ahmed and leaders of other sections, at the suggestion of the Bhandari and for his pleasure, complained against Khushal Chand and talked about redress from his harassment. Consequences of sending an army, laying siege to Jhaveriwada and capturing Khushal Chand when ravage and rapine might spread to others were fully debated with soundness by well wishers. He sent Muhammed Mujahiduddin Khan, Naib Bakhshi and Chronicler, the author, Mumin Khan's Peshkar Vajeram, Jawanmard Khan's Peshkar Ajab Singh, and Rahim Yawar Khan along with several Marwaris to him with a message that he should leave the city that very day and further that he would experience what he would experience as a result of his deed in case of his stay. The envoys conveyed the message. As he anticipated help and support from the Khans, and said, in all passion and excitement that he would not go. The author had heard about the encouragement given to him by the Khans but now he really noticed contrary to it, he addressed Khushal Chand and said

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Hemistich

Do not talk in a thoughtless manner.

It would be well and good if he replied after consultation in this respect for haste and hurry would result in repentance and penitence. He should take aside Vajeram, Ajab Singh and others whom he regarded as his men of confidence and consult them. That was the most proper course. Those who had closed their mouths from saying yes or no due to a fear of the secret being divulged in the presence of men unanimously said that it was very appropriate. Catching hold of Khushal Chand's hand, they retired to privacy. No help could be had from the Khans due to exigency of time. They advised him to go out in welfare and safety. He made preparations to start then and then and alighted in Nurullahpur outside the city when the sun had grown yellow. Next day, he arrived at Pithapur and thence to Vasna with Dulah Ranah, the habitation of Kolis. This riot was thus suppressed. When the interferer was removed, unjust Marwaris and oppressive Bhandaris

Poem (composed by the author)

*All of them were ugly in nature, ugly in work.
The whole of Marwar was ready to harm people.
All evil-natured with bad origin
They were all seeds of Shaitan father after father.
In causing harm and injury to kings of Hind
They are all devil-natured and snakes.
They breathe of promise now
By utterance of promise, they resort to stratagem
No trust can be laid on their word and deed
They are ditches of fire of hell crying "Is there more?"*

Ahmed's authority being increased, they resorted to harmfulness and ruination of people. Sometime had not elapsed when Ahmed fell ill and died. He was buried in a mausoleum outside the city. Khushal Chand was very much pleased on hearing news of his death because of intense enmity he bore with him in his heart. At night, he sent a party of Kolis to dig his grave and throw out his body. They came, besmeared his face with filth, cut one of his hands and carried to Khushal Chand as a document of proof.

Verse

*Oh friend! When you happen to pass by coffin of an enemy
Do not rejoice because the same event will overtake you.*



In short, the Bhandari, after the death of Ahmed, appointed his son-in-law Abu Bakr as the chief of Bohras and absolute Sheth and gave him a robe of honour. With the help of intimate friends of Ahmed who were responsible for such affairs, he continued mischief. Khushal Chand waited for some time at the place of Kolis. As the time had not come yet, he saw that the affair was not fructifying, he hastened to Khanbhayat. He tarried there for some time and then went to Behram Khan at Junagadh.



CHAPTER 217

EXPEDITION OF JAWANMARD KHAN FOR LIBERATION OF IDAR, SIEGE OF THE MARATHAS. GRANTING IT AS A SECURITY IN PLACE OF A FIEF TO HIS BROTHER ZORAWAR KHAN.

Jawanmard Khan Babi had taken the paragana of Kadi and-Vijapur as a fief in monopoly. It was the last year. There was a great loss in his mahals. As summoned by Bhandari, he came to Ahmedabad for arrears of payment of money in his charge. He tarried awhile. He liberated himself from demands of the Bhandari by presenting receipts of salaried soldiers by giving promised Bonds. He then proceeded to Munjpur and Sami, the mahal of his jagir. He occupied himself to meet the soldiers' salary besides making up losses of monopoly. He saw no way to come out of his responsibility. He thought of a plan to himself provided fate was in concord with him. He thought to liberate Idar from the brothers of the Maharajah, Anand Singh and Rai Singh which was granted in his jagir before the Maharajah's appointment as Nazim. He had given it in exchange for a part of zamindari to them. He should pillage some places where there was scope for pillage. He determined to carry out this plan. He invited Akraji Koli of Katosan along with his koli confederates with a temptation for spoils and booty. He fell a prey to his bait and accepted his invitation. He chose to accompany him. On the way, he made Amra Koli, zamindar of Ilol Kanrah in Ahmednagar accompany him in the similar manner. He encamped at a distance of three kurohs from Idar where there was a strong fortress and a vast plain on four sides and directed his energy to its conquest and assault on some villages. The Maharajah's brothers made possible efforts for defence and war. By heavenly decrees, Malhar Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia Marathas were there at this time as sent by Bajirao, who every year marched on Malwa from vicinity of Dohad. Rajah Anand Singh learnt about them, as they were near from that place. As he himself was not in a position to encounter Jawanmard Khan, he sent swift couriers with an amount of money to Malhar Rao seeking his help and strengthening him to defeat the enemy. The Dekhanis imagined it to be a good fortune and a timely boon. They heard two songs in one tune. They took the money and went to that side for pillage and booty to kill two birds with one stone. Sometime had not elapsed when one day before their arrival a rumour spread and reached Jawanmard Khan. He imagined it to be a false rumour started by the enemy for his own welfare, creation of dispersion and shake in his determination. As the will of God was differently ordained, he showed negligence. Next day when the Sultan of day began



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to attack with his gold-threaded banner, he besieged the negro of night in the lowest depth of the earth Suddenly, clouds of dust as a mark of a great army became visible.

Verses

*The sun disappeared in that dark dust
In such a manner as water in dust
Earth began to quake through hoofs of horses
The sky languished through dust raised by soldiers*

The Dekhanis reached the place like ants and locust more than how and why similar to a sudden calamity and inevitable decree of fate They besieged the fortress centre-like and encircled it They surrounded it, like a bloody sea Men within the fort fell in a vortex of stupefaction Reality of excuse came out from the curtain of doubt

Verse

*Through effervescence of horsemen in that vicinity
The passage became narrow for safety*

Reason spirited away from heads It became difficult to distinguish hands from feet High and low persons saw death with their own eyes They got despaired of life and wealth They sat in mourning

Poem

*One regarded death for himself
He wrote a will for his sons and wife
The other man desired justice
For wages and obligation*

As it was impossible to come out from that bloody whirlpool and shoreless deep of the sea, helplessly they set their hearts on death and wore saffron-coloured garments after the fashion of the Rajputs It is technically known as kesariyan (fighting with desperation) It is a mark of display for perfect intrepidity and valour Anyone who becomes kesariyah (desperate) under such circumstances, finds no freedom except in being killed Jawanmard Khan along with other bravadoes clothed themselves in this dress The Marathas, out of assurance, caution and wisdom, sent some pandits for inquiry of condition, largeness of the army, name and trace of the chief of the garrisoned with a message for negotiation They came and saw Jawanmard Khan In the meanwhile, some soldiers, under instructions,



kicked two, three horses and camels and overthrew them to show to the envoys. Such an act is called Jawhar which is an indication for setting heart upon death. The Pandits prevented them from such an act. They took some men of Jawanmard Khan to their generals. They reported to them what they had seen and heard. Negotiations started. After much discussion and negotiation, the matter was decided at payment of one lac and seventy-five thousand rupees by way of a fief. As the amount was not there, horses and camels of the price of twenty-five thousand rupees on bonds were given. For payment of the remaining amount, his brother Zorawar Khan, peshkar Ajab Singh, Akra Koli and Amra Koli who had accompanied him in hope of booty and spoils were entrusted as hostages. He hastened to see and bid adieu to the Dekhani generals as agreed upon. They treated him by giving a piece of cloth, a horse and a female elephant and permitted him to go. Jawanmard Khan reached the town of Vadnagar and sat in grief and sorrow. He began to think about the salary of soldiers, price of horses and camels and besides payment of the remaining sum for release of his brother.

Hemistich

Alas ! instead of better, it became worse

In the year 1147, the author's brother who then held the mansab of 500 Zat, 50 Sawar and the title of Ismail Muhammed Khan was appointed to manage the transferred mahals of the jagir of Sharaf ud-Dawlah. He received sanads and royal orders bearing the seal of Wazir-ul-Mumalik from the office of His Majesty's crown-lands. As seventy five thousand rupees out of assignment of Bhandari in place of jagir of mansabdars were recovered from Mumin Khan and Rahim Yawar Khan had sent that amount to His Majesty, it was ordered that the remaining amount of assignment of revenue-34,00,000 dams-should be entrusted to Ismail Muhammed Khan to send to His Majesty. This order was not executed as other dams were recovered.



CHAPTER 219

MURDER OF AHMED CHALAPI THE MERCHANT AND SYED 'ALI WA'IZ (PREACHER) DEPARTURE OF MULLA FAKHRUDDIN TO MUMBAI FROM SURAT

One of the events of this year was the death of Ahmed Chalapi, the merchant and Syed 'Ali Wa'iz in the port of Surat. Substance of this event is Ahmed Chalapi did not occupy an inferior rank in business to the merchant-prince Mulla Muhammed 'Ali. Nearly two thousand Arabs and Rumis were always with him. He strove to overthrow Behram Khan and the merchant prince. At the time of departure, Behram Khan, pillaged his wealth as stated above. Tegh Beg Khan imagined him as a remnant of evil, source of mis-hief and revolt. He was not at ease in mind from him. He always planned to bring about his ruin, Chalapi was given up to pleasures and rejoicings of youth. A poet says

Verses

*Youth displays heart kindling
Every dawn is its festival of New year's day
Youth is the season of joy and felicity
Joy-exhilarating of heart is the season of youth*

He indulged in drink of arghawan (red) wine and measure of emerald cup. He was attached to a songstress technically known in Hind as Kamjani. He was enamoured of and mad for that beauty and the snare of ringlets of gaze like walker.

Verses

*Her two eyes were two man hunting deer
Two eye-brows were two ends of mischief of the age
Her ambergris like tresses rubbed the ground
They appeared like two suspended shining nights*

Mostly he engaged in feast of temperament according to the purport that

Verse

*A rose is not pleasant without face of the friend
Spring is not pleasant without wine*

He stayed in her house for a night or two for indulgence in joy, pleasure, delight and drink and gave justice to rejoicing. The building of his garden happened to overlook the bank of Tapti river. On land, a party of his Arab



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and Rumi servants worked as watchmen Tegh Beg Khan conceived a plan which accorded well with decrees of fate On a night when Chalapi was warmly engaged as usual in joy, he sent a party of men in a boat so that they should climb up from a window of the building on the side of the river which was without guards and send him in an intoxicated state to the under-ground cellar of non-existence Persons, who were sent, reached the spot nearly at midnight and climbed up with help of a lasso They found Chalapi in an inebriated state with the beloved in embrace in an assembly of privacy in deep slumber of negligence They made him sleep in a grave of non-existence by inflicting fatal blows in succession without disturbance and deliberation So that he might not awake till the blowing of trumpet (by Israfil) on the day of assemblage Ramjani, as her time of death had not come, got wounded. They gave out that vagabonds who did not like his shameful deeds committed this deed Tegh Beg Khan confiscated his house on a charge of carrying away the wealth of Behram Khan He appropriated a large sum of money. When his mind was at ease in regard to Chalapi, he obtained satisfaction at heart He now turned to destroy foundation of the palace of Syed 'Ali Wa'iz's life who mostly seized an affair for raising up a revolt as mentioned several times before Sometime after the murder of Chalapi, he engaged some Afghan Mehdavis whom the Syed taunted in respect of religion This party, getting an opportunity, entered his house one night and cut him to pieces by bloodthirsty sword Tegh Beg Khan, being absolutely at ease about mischief-mongers and rioters, found the horizon clear. He breathed of authority and absolutism with tranquillity and devoted himself to administrative matters Safder Muhammed Khan worked as Naib As he noticed rectitude of conduct and personal merits on the forehead of the merchant-prince's younger son, Mulla Fakhruddin, he repeatedly induced and persuaded Tegh Beg Khan, for joining him with his father by saying, "is not the work of wise men, to kill the snake and spare his young ones" But Tegh Beg Khan would not permit it. He was afraid that perhaps his brother might cause him harm and therefore, he sent him to Mumbai He stayed there for some time and hastened to Asaf Jah in the Dekhan.

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CHAPTER 220

BEHRAM KHAN'S APPOINTMENT AS FAUJDAR OF VIRAMGAM ALIAS JHALAWAR BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE CROWN- LANDS HIS ARRIVAL AT DHOLKA FOR ASSUMPTION OF CHARGE BHANDARI'S MARCH AGAINST HIM WAR BETWEEN THEM DEATH OF BEHRAM KHAN.

Another event of this year was the death of Behram Khan. A short account of it is—Paragana of Viramgam alias Jhalawar was included in the Crownlands in place of Dholka. Burhan-ul-Mulk, who was the patron of Behram Khan, contrary to the wishes of Amir-ul-Umara, minded his guidance and advancement. He obtained a sanad of that paragana in his name from the office of the Crownlands and sent it to him. Royal orders bearing the seal of Wazir-ul-Mulk arrived in respect of help and retention of the Bhandari as Naib of the Maharajah against opposition and demands of the establishment in the name of Mumin Khan, Diwan of the subah, Bakhshi, Chronicler and the author. Behram Khan sent a copy of the sanad to Bhandari while he himself was busy with preparations to assume charge. The Bhandari, on learning about it, as the fields throughout the subah that year were destroyed by rats, prepared a document and sent it to His Majesty with introductory remarks for removal of Viramgam from the recorders. It reached His Majesty. A royal order was issued to the effect that the Amir ul-Umara, against the wish of Burhan ul-Mulk wrote down under a royal order and sealed it retaining absolutely Viramgam in name of the Maharajah. It came to the author through dak. It was sent to the Bhandari. Its receipt was taken. The Bhandari, on receipt of the royal order which was in accordance with his wish, sent a copy of it with the seal of Mustafid Khan Qazi to Behram Khan. He sent it as it was to Burhan ul-Mulk mentioning facts of the case. Burhan ul-Mulk lost his temper at it and spoke harsh words to Amir ul-Umara on this matter in presence of His Majesty. He wrote a reply to Behram Khan that he need not worry and that he should try as far as possible to take charge of Viramgam. Behram Khan with such a support recruited within a short time three, four thousand horse and foot from among old and new soldiers. He acquired several cannons and other war materials, left Sadiq 'Ali Khan as his Naib at Junagadh and marched from that place. Bhandari learnt about it. He summoned the Marwari army from the paraganas as well as Mumin Khan, Sher Khan, and Safdar Khan Babi. He then busied himself with recruitment of Gujarati soldiers and repairs to the artillery. He then marched to oppose him. He took 'Abdul Husain Khan, Naib Diwan of the subah, Muhammed Mujahiduddin Khan Bakhshi Chronicler, the author, Rahim Yawar Khan, landsteward with an idea to send as envoys in case of negotiation to end the matter by peaceful means. Muhammed



Ashraf Ghorni who had a lame excuse of chronic pain in the knee settled expenses for a party of his men. He sent them to peshkar Mahraj whom he had appointed in the city in his own place. He was dispatched to defend the citadel of the fort. The Kohs starved for a break-fast. They resorted to espionage during that time. One night, they erected a ladder from branches of trees on side of a wall overlooking the river and entered the fort. They broke open by blows of an axe a shop of a Marwari banker situated opposite to the house where Muhammed Ashraf had alighted and carried away some bags of gold and cash. None prevented and molested them from so doing. In short, the Bhandari marched and attacked Dholka and then Kotha. He then encamped. He halted for a few days for collection of pillaged corn when he heard news of Behram Khan's arrival at Dhandhuka which was at a distance of fifteen kurohs and then marched. He encamped at Haralah seven kurohs from Behram Khan. He halted for the joining of Munim Khan, Sher Khan and Safdar Khan who had marched from their respective places. They joined him at this stage. They marched to Damoli in Dhandhuka, a distance of four kurohs and encamped there. He held a council of consultation with patiwars, bhandaris and confederates, and discussed about war, peace, amity and hostility. They all decided that Munim Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, Naib Diwan of the subah and the writers should be sent for removal of hostility, settlement of peace and return on condition that as the royal order was received in respect of investment of authority to the Maharajah, he should keep his hand off from molestation and contention with Behram Khan and that next year when a fresh order in whosoever's name was issued, he should assume charge without any obstruction. The Khans hastened to inform Behram Khan about it and met him outside the tent. They delivered the message entrusted to them. The Gujerati soldiers were tired of rascality of the Marwaris due to unemployment and roaming about. They, therefore, imagined occurrence of this war as a result of auspicious time and good fortune. On hearing this statement, they apparently smelt heartlessness and cowardice which they attributed to weakness of the other party, regarded their supposed victory as a reality and unitedly came to fervour and ardour. They began to display valour and prowess saying

Poem

*That if we turn face from this resurrection-day,
Our harvest will be subjected to the wind of war
If we run away from this calamity
We shall completely be separated from our native place
Exile from one's native place is very hard (to bear)*

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*How can one have strength to bear it ?
A tree when uprooted from its place
Does not find its own roots again at that place
Whenever an arrow got separated from the bow
It gets farther every time from the bow*

None of these statements at the time of action was put into practice by one as will be known later on. In short, Behram Khan, who had not suffered cold and heat of life in the prime of youth, was not content with peace. It was decided on war. Envoys of the Bhandari returned and told him what they saw and heard. The Bhandari too decided on warfare, he got up from that place and encamped against the enemy at a distance of cannon shot. Both the armies heated the oven of war by kindling fire of cannon. Behram Khan had pitched his tent behind the town of Dhandhuka and planted his camp at an easy distance for engagement in war. Night and day, he chose to remain stable. For three days continuously, the cannons did not rest for a moment from sprinkling fire when a royal order from the army of Behram Khan containing a copy of sanad for deputyship of the subedari which was forged arrived. He beat the drum of rejoicing at it. The Bhandari ordered his army to get ready on close of Thursday night, 1st of Jamadi I of that year. All the Marwari and Gujarati soldiers numbering nearly six, seven thousand horsemen completely equipped themselves with arms and mounted their horses with an intention to rout the enemy. They advanced on trenches when the sun rose. As most of the soldiers and jamadars had great obligation on Behram Khan for accompanying him due to poverty, they attached no importance to the commander for obedience. They left entrenchments vacant. Some retired to houses of the town where they had alighted while others went to nearby tents. Many of them indulged in pleasure in company of songstresses who were brought for rejoicing. They regarded the Bhandari and his Marwaris as devoid of courage. Real occurrence of this event did not cross their mind. Some of the swivel gunners and foot musketeers who too as the saying goes

Hemistich

A plum gets its colour from another plum

spent their time in trenches in negligence and unawareness. On sudden appearance of the Marwaris, they jumped from sleep in a confused state, showed movement of a slaughtered animal and fled bare-footed and bare-headed. Behram Khan was outside the tent with a few favourites and confederates. On witnessing this scene, he did not think of paucity of his men and multiplicity of the enemy due to personal valour and intrepidity, he mounted his horse without delay with a few persons who were present with him and



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galloped forth into the battle-field. He blocked passage of the enemy and engaged in a skirmish. As he had a small number of men, the Marwaris surrounded them and engaged in beating and striking. Abu Turab, son of Multafit Khan, son of Meher 'Ali Khan, Mir Ghulam 'Alam Jamadar and several others got martyred. He too bore fatal wounds of sword and lance. Muhammed Quli Khan who was summoned from Ghogha, arrived that very night with a portion of lead, gun-powder and expenses. As it was night and untimely, he halted in the town. On hearing about commencement of the war, he reached the spot with a few soldiers in all haste just when Behram Khan was wounded. As the matter was out of control and the field narrow, he went to Sihor as there was no hope of survival of Behram Khan. After an hour or two, he died. That very night, he was removed and consigned to the grave. None from amongst friends and foes had any knowledge of life, death and carriage of Behram Khan. All members of Kazim Beg's family had tasted unpalatable syrup of death, Behram Khan alone was left. He too was removed.

Quatrain

*Oh sky ! you hunted all
You robbed all of their hearts
You gave a name and a desire
Pleasantly, you made every one depart*

Syed Nurullah, jamadar and soldiers who woke up from slumber of negligence when water had passed over heads and reached battle-field ready for war. They found the battle-field empty of their general and full with the enemy, every one of them left provisions and camp and went away caring for safety of head from that heart-breaking peril. The Marwaris never expected this. When they found the battle-field empty of the enemy, they took to plunder and pillage of the camp and turned it into the tray of booty of the Turks. Ratan Singh Bhandari stood in the battle-field with noted patawats and experienced men but of care and caution that it might be a subterfuge on part of the enemy to come back for attack. He began to inquire about Behram Khan about whom he had no knowledge. When a cavalier with a suspended Hindi sword

Verse

*From hatred and hypocrisy, he had two opinions and two faces
Tongue seeking amity and heart seeking war*

like shining lightning and stormy wind galloping the horse conveying tidings of victory like a heavenly decree approached the Bhandari. Smartly, he struck two detestable wounds, one on forehead and the other on shoulder one after the other and gave congratulations. Those, who were present, surrounded him and overthrew him on dust of destruction. It was not known as to who he was and



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to which party he belonged. The more inquiries they made, the more they failed. It is said that his face was burnt by fire after dispersion so that he might not be identified. In short, the Bhandari kept the patawats in their respective places till his soldiers were free from plunder and pillage. He returned with wounds to the tent. At nearly three, four hours after the day had risen, the Marwaris left no trace of provisions and camp of Behram Khan. They, then, returned to the camp. The patawats and the Bhandaris regarded establishment of Behram Khan in Saurath as a disturbing factor. Whatever did not enter into their imagination, became possible with the easiest means. Some of them, out of frightedness, tied a cow in the harvest of Mumin Khan, prepared preliminaries and declared to the Bhandari that he, keeping in view the interests of his fellow religionists, sent first the sanad of his charge of the office of paibaki (arrears in revenues) and tied the belt of Behram Khan so that the affair reached this pitch. This battle also took place at his suggestion for there was none in the subah with his head alive. They insisted and tried their utmost (to hold Mumin Khan responsible) in this matter. The Bhandari had a share of wisdom in him. He was in a way in concord with Mumin Khan. Again news of Behram Khan's life and death was not received with certainty. He acted with foresight and did not agree with this report. But it did not remain a closed secret. It was talked about by all. Most of the commonfolk of Marwar openly spoke about it on roads and in markets and sang this song in his name. They sang it in an unworthy manner till its tune slowly and slowly reached ears of Mumin Khan. His mind got distracted and he pretended illness. He obtained leave from the Bhandari and went to Khanbhayat. Seasons changed at this time. The author was indisposed and came to Ahmedabad. The Bhandari stayed there for nearly two months till healing of wounds. After recovery from wounds, he returned to the city and did not go to any other place as it was time for inroads of the Marathas. He resorted to extortion and exaction of illegal taxes more than before with all arrogance and vanity as he had gained a victory over Behram Khan. The Maharajah too was in no way less than his Naib in this respect. He defeated the Maharajah in this respect. Mumin Khan's monopoly of the paragara of Mundha, Arhar Matar and Nadiad terminated. Safdar Khan Babu took them under his monopoly. When the Bhandari was satisfied at heart in respect of Behram Khan, he sent Kalal Chand known among masses as Bakliya as he gave lessons to Satan on deceit and false hood as Faujdar of Viramgam, on the transfer of Sher Khan, along with a party of Marwaris. Sher Khan came out and went to the mahal of his jagir of Khaura with intention to proceed to Balasimor. On the death of Behram Khan, the Sanad of Naib Faujdari of Saurath was granted to his maternal uncle Muhsin Khan. Mukhlis Khan, jagirdar of Mahmudabad went to Khanbhayat to see Mumin Khan where he stayed for some days.

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CHAPTER 221

ON THE RECALL OF KANTHAJI KADAM, UMABAI APPOINTS
DAMAJI GAFKWAR TO COLLECT CHAUGH ON THIS SIDE
OF MAHI ARRIVAL OF RENKOJI AS HIS DEPUTY HIS
BATTLE WITH KANTHAJI AND DEFEAT WAR WITH MUMIN
KHAN AT PETLAD.

It was in this year that Umabai appointed, on the recall of Kanthaji Kadam, Damaji Gafkwar to collect Chaugh on this bank of the river Mahi in addition to the other bank Renkoji, his naib crossed the river Mahi with his squadron and came here to assume charge. He engaged in skirmish and attack of villages for establishment of order and removal of Kanthaji's agents. Kanthaji too took himself to Anand Moghri in Petlad jurisdiction in all haste to stop his entry. He got himself ready to resist him and remove him. It so happened that Renkoji too marched against him with the same intention. Both the armies encountered on the way. Renkoji came by round-about road. Without being afraid of more or less soldiers, he attacked his curry-comb leader of army.

Verses

*Horses galloped from two directions
Youths poured from two sides
With Hindi swords and points of lances
The Dekhanis intermingled with one another*

By chance, Kanthaji's son fell at the first attack. Some were killed and some were wounded. Kanthaji had no power of resistance and suffered a severe defeat. He struggled to reach foot of the fortress of Petlad thinking that it was as before under Mumin Khan. Mumin Khan, on hearing about Renkoji's disturbance came from Khanbharat to this place and stayed outside the town. In accordance with exigency of time, he sent some food which was ready and solaced him with outward conduct. He spent the night and set out next day for his native place. Renkoji's impression was ten fold. Muqaddams and ryots of round-about paraganas and villages came to him. He came to this side for appointment of a *makasur* (tax or tribute collector) of Petlad. Mumin Khan, on hearing about his arrival stood outside his camp at an easy distance with intention to repel him. Some of the horsemen riding on nice horses known as Hol made their appearance through dustiness. Mumin Khan's Bakhshi Fidu Khan advanced with a party of Gujaratis and galloped forward to block their passage. The moment an attack was made, the war began. Through heavenly decree, a cannon-ball hit Fidu Khan and he began



resorted to guerrilla mode of fighting and went to borders of Dholka town. The Bhandari too chased him to that place. Renkoji went towards Viramgam. The Bhandari appointed Dipchand Marwari as Faujdar and 'Amil of the place and halted. He sent spies to get information about Renkoji. It was known that he was at Makhbawood. The Bhandari went to that direction, He took refuge, in accordance with exigency of time, in the fort of Viramgam and garrisoned himself. The Bhandari sent for a few cannons from the city and marched to Viramgam. Renkoji, in concord with Bhaw Singh defended turret and fortification and placed a cannon near Idgah and Mohansar Tank whence an elevated place was in view with a party of Dekhani outside the fort by way of a trench. The Bhandari arrived on 19th Jirmadi I and encamped at Gangsar Tank opposite to the fort. He bound his cannons and the oven of war was heated with flames of cannon fire. At this juncture, five hundred Maratha horsemen had come from Baroda by way of succour. At the time of march, they attacked Thanadar of Baricha within jurisdiction of Haveli, plundered the place hastened to Viramgam and entered the fort when they got an opportunity. Many persons got wounded and slain by cannon balls of the Idgah trench which constantly opened on the camp of the Bhandari. The Marwaris regarded removal of this evil as most important. They tormented it. Many Dekhanis were killed while those who escaped the sword fled. They threw themselves in Mohansar Tank due to sharpness of blood drinking sword and got drowned in the sea of annihilation. Cannon, swivel guns and Muskets fell in hands of the Marwaris. The Bhandari found that place appropriate for an entrenchment and so he personally stood there. He engaged in making an elevated place and making a mine. During this time, a Maratha squadron which was stationed at Iartal alias Thasra, attacked Kapadvanj with concord of kolis of that side. Naib Faujdar of the place had no power after a skirmish, to withstand their attack. He, therefore, came out with the help of kasbatis (town folk). That place was occupied by the Marathas. However much the Bhandari wrote empathetically to Mumin Khan to come, he felt unsafe from his fraud and bided time. One day, the Marathas spied during days of the siege and saw the residential place of the Bhandari at mid day when the weather was warm. Most of the trench men retired to their respective tents for human necessities. Regarding this opportunity as a boon, five hundred horsemen emerged from the fort and began to attack at top speed. The Bhandari who sat with his few favourites, got confused at this sudden calamity and hid himself in one of the temples situated round the Mohansar Tank. When the Marathas did not find him, they turned their horses without delay and took shelter in the fort. In short, he was occupied for nearly one month in the siege, he carried mines beneath turrets and walls of the fort. He was in a plan to fill them with gun-powder and set fire to them when he received



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ved letters from Mumin Khan informing about the arrival of Pratap Rao, brother of Damaji and Dewji Nagir with a cavalry of nearly ten thousand horse. At the outset, the Bhandari attributed it to his preliminary step to create disturbance in his determination. But his spies arrived who gave evidence for veracity of Mumin Khan's statement to the effect that Pratap Rao was crossing the river Mahi. He did not deem it advisable any further to delay and procrastinate and lifted the siege. All at once at midnight, he despatched artillery, load-carriages and camp towards Ahmedabad. He himself started in dark night before approach of the day at speed of lightning and wind. His confederates saw him starting in all haste. They too struck their hands on neck and mane of horses saying "dear, roan horse" and "dear piebald horse" and sped away surpassing one another.

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and sent Shaikh-ul-Islam's sister's son Mu'azzam-ud-din Husain Khan who managed most of the affairs with the deceased under guidance of Rahim Yawar Khan along with some of his confidential fellows for confiscation of his property and wealth as well as for enlisting his household goods. They searched for three continuous days and found nothing except carpet, tent, copper utensils, chunawares, library, gold and silver coined and uncoined. It is said that when the Bhandari saw the list at night, he appropriated at night some copper utensils which he liked. When he failed to find among outward articles which he liked, he dug one or two houses on conjecture of buried treasure. The more he dug, the less he found. Most of the household wares had got erased. They were found to be not valuable. He seated Mu'azzam-u-din Husain Khan in his house under watchmanship of Rahim Yawar Khan.

Verse

*A pure jewel is mixed with sanctity
If an angel becomes impure, he is Satan*

He employed strict and severe tax-collectors. Heirs of Shaikh-ul-Islam gave him under severity and harshness a sum of ten thousand rupees so that he might sell them and recover what he wanted. The remaining amount was paid by them to be free from responsibility. In short, Renkoji came out from the narrow pass of Viramgam fort and hastened to receive Pratap Rao and to join him. He then reached the shore of Vatrak river collecting Khandani from zamindars of Mahi district. He also looked some of the villages. The Bhandari had broken off relation of help and assistance from Mumin Khan. He wrote to Jawanmard Khan who last year had retired to Vadnagar due to recovery of money of the assignees and losses suffered on account of the Dekhanis to the effect that none of the salary-men would molest him. He should come with a peaceful mind and join him. But he put forth excuses out of farsightedness as no reliance could be placed on word and deed of the Marwaris. Pratap Rao brought the whole district of Vatrak under collection of revenue. The Faujdar of Bhil got frightened and came to the city. Pratap Rao came to the paragana Haveli of Ahmedabad. He then proceeded to Vilad, Pethapur and Jhala and returned to Dholka. He sent a message with Muhammed Isma'il of Dholka to

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They reached ravines with the help of guides and plundered them. They robbed them of nearly ten lacs of rupees in cash and kind. They then marched to Palanpur and engaged in plunder and pillage. Fahad Khan Jalori, faujdar of the place agreed to pay Khandani of one lac of rupees and gave security for the same. The Dekhans proceeded towards Bhilmal by way of Marwar. Pratap Rao and Renkoji went to Gholwad, and Kathiawar from Dhandhuka. During this time, Nizamuddin Khan, son of Mawlana Nuruddin was appointed under a sanad of His Majesty as Karori of the mahal Kathia Parchah (office of religious taxes). After declaring about it to the Bhandari, he nominated a naib to assume charge. Muhammed Fahad Khan Jalori was appointed Naib Faujdar of Pattan on behalf of Rajah Pakht Singh. As the chaauth was not settled, Pratap Rao returned to Dholka. At this time, the chaauth was settled after prolonged negotiations. Narhar Paudit came to Rajpur as a wakil to collect chaauth from the paragana of Haveli. Pratap Rao and Renkoji being free from the settlement of chaauth came to the bank of Mahi for proceeding to Baroda. In the meanwhile they went to Surath under written instructions of Damaji. As communications were established with the Marathas, the Bhandari attached Faujdars and Amils with them. Ryots of the purahs sold their houses for payment of biwarah which was recently imposed on them. Many of them left their houses and fled.

Verse

*They separated themselves from houses in such a way
That reason remained amazed with the highest sphere.*

The Bhandari proclaimed that none should sell his house without permission. This evil practice remained as his memento. Brahmins of eighty four castes gathered together. Some broke their heads. Others took knives and daggers in their hands and got themselves ready for riot as a protest against biwarah. The Bhandari got afraid of a public rising and abolished biwarah from the Brahmins. At this time, Sher Khan Bala had reached Kheda as summoned by the Bhandari on way to Ahmedabad where he met him. As he bore displeasure with Mumin Khan, he appointed him a naib for collection of reshkash and Faujdari of Petlad, on transfer of Mumin Khan, and of Nadiad, Arhar Matar, and Mundhra. He refused it. He appointed Shakh Muhammed Aqil and Mir Muhammed Zaman jamadars on the establishment with a party of five hundred horsemen and sent them with a grant of a piece of cloth, a sword and a robe to the pirkar Shankerdas. He came to Rehmatspur on 10th Zilhajj. He began to recruit soldiers to reinforce the jamadars. He stayed there for two days and then hastened to Kheda. On hearing about it, Mumin Khan wrote to the Bhandari that from the day he had taken charge of the



paragana of Pettad, he spent all the amount on soldiers, repairs to the fortresses and thus he made it strong against calamitous attacks of the Marathas. He had now appointed Sher Khan before expiry of his monopoly. It would be better that he should appoint a reliable man to acquaint himself with expenses and revenue, arrange for recovery of revenue from ryots in person and then allow him to assume charge. The Bhandari, therefore, appointed Sabhachand Marwari for the purpose. 'Abdul Husain Khan, Naib Diwan of the subah started to see Mumin Khan. At this juncture, Pahad Khan Jalori, who was in Patan as Naib of Rajah Bakht Singh acted as Faujdar. He decentfully slayed Syed Mir and Sved Mahbub, local kasbatus for a certain affair. In the year 1149 brother of Damaji, Pratap Rao, being free from collection of Khandani in Saurath, returned on way to his native place. He fell ill on the way and suffered from small pox. He died at Kankad in Dholka. The Bhandari girt up his loins to harass people and ruin them. He resorted to extortion of money by all possible illegal practices and appointed strict and severe tax collectors for it. He put up an iron plate known as patia in Gujarati with trash and false inscriptions of his filthy faith in Manek Chawk. Various plates till now are urnals of residents. He fixed an amount of money to be extorted by way of security for biwarah from bankers, merchants and others whose names were inscribed on plates every year. People being tired of his tyranny, migrated to other places. Those persons who had no ability to pay fines or biwarah died by taking poison, throwing themselves in wells and water. Some being seized with fear on suspicion and doubt that that they might be arrested remained in anxious and dazed state, gave up food and drink and went mad.

Verses

*Poor ryots fell in distress
Through distress, they fell in jaws of a crocodile
Through his tyranny, lamentations of oppressed persons
Went up night and day to the sky*

Wails of the harassed and complaints of the oppressed were so loud that they made angels in heaven deaf. Tyranny of Marwari tyrants reached such a pitch which no eye saw and no ear had heard. One example of it was that a poor man fell a victim to their tyranny and was imprisoned. Those stone-hearted fellows sent tax-collectors to him who dragged his wife and children and brought them to the fort. The woman was pregnant. At the time of coming out she tied a piece of stone. That woman fainted through fear of miscarriage in the fort. Some far sighted Marwaris who had come to this region for business and banking witnessed rascality of the Bhandari. They became anxious about future, gave up business, wound up trade and became anxious about safety of life. Nearly



two thousand of them went back to Marwar. In short, Mumin Khan, on hearing about the arrival of Sher Khan at Kheda, began to recruit soldiers engaged in equipment of artillery and came to Petlad from Khanbhayat with his old and new recruits. Renkoji happened to reach that vicinity on way to Baroda. He sent his men to him and made him his confederate. He told him to stay for some time in that region to know as to what was in store. Sher Khan had come to Dehgam Karwa and stayed there. He delayed there waiting for Renkoji's crossing the river Mahi. The Bhandari also, on learning about Mumin Khan's preparation with an army and artillery, had resolved to help Sher Khan with his ears strained to hear about Renkoji's departure. Mumin Khan returned to Khanbhayat after being satisfied with the strength of Petlad fort and defence of the town with appointment of experienced men. 'Abdul Husain Khan returned to Ahmedabad.

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paragana of Petlad, he spent all the amount on soldiers, repairs to the fortress and thus he made it strong against calamitous attacks of the Marathas. He had now appointed Sher Khan before expiry of his monopoly. It would be better that he should appoint a reliable man to acquaint himself with expenses and revenue, arrange for recovery of revenue from ryots in person and then allow him to assume charge. The Bhandari, therefore, appointed Sabhachand Marwari for the purpose. 'Abdul Husain Khan, Naib Diwan of the subah started to see Mumun Khan. At this juncture, Pahad Khan Jalori, who was in Pattan as Naib of Rajah Bakht Singh acted as Faujdar. He deceitfully slayed Syed Mir and Sved Mahbub, local kasbatis for a certain affair. In the year 1149 brother of Damaji, Pratap Rao, being free from collection of Khurani in Saurath, returned on way to his native place. He fell ill on the way and suffered from small pox. He died at Kankad in Dholka. The Bhandari got up his loins to harass people and ruin them. He resorted to extortion of money by all possible illegal practices and appointed strict and severe tax collectors for it. He put up an iron plate known as patla in Gujarati with trash and false inscriptions of his filthy faith in Manek Chawk. Various plates till now are urinals of residents. He fixed an amount of money to be extorted by way of security for biwarah from bankers, merchants and others whose names were inscribed on plates every year. People being tired of his tyranny, migrated to other places. Those persons who had no ability to pay fines or biwarah died by taking poison, throwing themselves in wells and water. Some being seized with fear on suspicion and doubt that that they might be arrested remained in anxious and dazed state, gave up food and drink and went mad.

Verses

*Poor ryots fell in distress
Through distress, they fell in jaws of a crocodile
Through his tyranny, lamentations of oppressed persons
Went up night and day to the sky*

Wails of the harassed and complaints of the oppressed were so loud that they made angels in heaven deaf. Tyranny of Marwari tyrants reached such a pitch which no eye saw and no ear had heard. One example of it was that a poor man fell a victim to their tyranny and was imprisoned. Those stone hearted fellows sent tax collectors to him who dragged his wife and children and brought them to the fort. The woman was pregnant. At the time of coming out she tied a piece of stone. That woman fainted through fear of miscarriage in the fort. Some far sighted Marwaris who had come to this region for business and banking witnessed rascality of the Bhandari. They became anxious about future, gave up business, wound up trade and became anxious about safety of life. Nearly



two thousand of them went back to Marwar. In short, Mumin Khan, on hearing about the arrival of Sher Khan at Kheda, began to recruit soldiers engaged in equipment of artillery and came to Petlad from Khanbhayat with his old and new recruits. Renkoji happened to reach that vicinity on way to Baroda. He sent his men to him and made him his confederate. He told him to stay for some time in that region to know as to what was in store. Sher Khan had come to Dehgam Karwa and stayed there. He delayed there waiting for Renkoji's crossing the river Mahi. The Bhandari also, on learning about Mumin Khan's preparation with an army and artillery, had resolved to help Sher Khan with his ears strained to hear about Renkoji's departure. Mumin Khan returned to Khanbhayat after being satisfied with the strength of Petlad fort and defence of the town with appointment of experienced men. 'Abdul Husain Khan returned to Ahmedabad.

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CHAPTER 223

SUBEDARI OF MUMIN KHAN AFTER ASSUMPTION OF HIS DUTIES, HE WAS GRANTED A MANŞAB, A ROBE OF HONOUR, A TITLE OF BAHADUR, AN ORDER FOR USE OF A PALKI WITH TRAPPINGS AT THE CLOSE OF REGIME HE WAS GRANTED A MANSAB OF 6000 ZAT AND THE TITLE OF NAJM-UD DAWLAH MUMIN KHAN BAHADUR, DILAWAR JUNG FARMANS WERE ISSUED IN HIS NAME DIWANI OF TALIB ALI KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF ABDUL HUSAIN KHAN AND MUHAMMED ASADULLAH KHAN

After the case of Behram Khan, fire of tyranny and iniquitousness of the Marwaris blazed forth which consumed dry and moist things. Wails and complaints of sorrow-stricken oppressed persons and cries of distressed fellows reverberated in the dome of the ethereal sky. Malevolent persons of Marwar never imagined dismissal and transfer out of vanity and pride, with the support of power and position of the Maharajah, who, in those days stayed with His Majesty and enjoyed patronage of the Amir-ul-Umara who was the principal manager of governmental affairs. The Marwaris engaged in snake-bite and scorpion sting to the general public with ease and tranquillity. Their bites and stings had no antidote except submission of life and wealth. Eminent bankers and wealthy merchants of Gujarat who were engaged in business and transactions in the royal camp suffered grief when they found the Amir-ul-Umara showing partiality towards them. They dared not open their lips in complaint against their tyranny which would not go further. Every affair moves round time. By chance, the Amir-ul-Umara was displeased with the Maharajah for a certain affair mention of which is not proper in these pages. The Changer of hearts and eyes turned his heart and eyes from regard of his side. He came to the point of his dismissal. Oppressed Gujaratis of the royal camp imagined this divine grace to be a result of felicity of time and help of fortune. An arrow of desire reached the target of acceptance. They closed their shops, stopped dealings and transactions and collectively complained to the court of justice for redress of grievances. "When God intended for a thing, He prepared means for it." In the meanwhile, the Amir-ul-Umara was in deliberation for appointment of a Nazim. He had girt up his loins to overthrow the Bhandari on receipt of Mumin Khan's letter which was full of complaint against his rascalry. This letter was received when Sher Khan was reduced to disgrace. The Amir-ul-Umara replied, "If you undertake responsibility, a royal order will be issued to you for occupation of the post of Nizam." Mumin Khan deliberated on this matter. Jawanmard Khan was dissatisfied with the Bhandari for reasons mentioned above. He had retired to Vadnagar in anxiety for payment of salary.



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to soldiers and was perplexed to liberate his brother. He encouraged him with appointment as a Naib Faujdar of Pattan under a royal order. He promised him by heart-pleasing promises of hopefulness and invited him to confederate with him in seizing government from the Marwaris and expelling them. He was always in expectation of such a graceful divine occurrence according to a saying, "what does a blind man wish for except the two seeing eyes?" He accepted his invitation with obligation. Mumin Khan received a letter soon with swift couriers in respect of his appointment as a Nazim under a royal order as well as an order for appointment of a faujdar of Pattan on condition of confederation and management of royal affairs to Jawanmard Khan in accordance with the request of Jawanmard Khan. Mumin Khan kept order of his appointment a secret out of mature consideration and sent a royal order for appointment of a faujdar to Jawanmard Khan for creating disturbance and disaffection among the Marwaris. He induced and persuaded him to assume charge of Pattan. He waited for the result. On receipt of the royal order, Jawanmard Khan began to collect a party of soldiers and entered Pattan at night in confederacy of Muhammed Jang Khokar Kasbatu. The Kasbatis joined him. He apprised Pahad Khan, Naib of Rajah Bakht Singh of contents of the order and obliged him to vacate the house. As he continued to stay, he had to go after a small skirmish. Jawanmard Khan occupied that place. This event became a cause of instability on the part of other faujdars. The Bhandaris became suspicious about both of them. Jawanmard Khan wrote to Mumin Khan about details of occupation and assumption of charge. He kept his eye of expectation on the four roads and announced the royal order of his appointment. He received it with usual rules and common regulations under conditions of reception and due decorum. He conveyed its contents to those who were present.

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CHAPTER 224

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER WITH SEAL OF THE AMIR-UL-UMARA.

May Mumin Khan, asylum of valour and illustriousness, seat of prowess and exaltation be the recipient of royal favours ! It was several times in repetition reported to His Majesty about the various acts of tyranny, many illegal practices of extortion, harassment of the people by Naib Nazim of the subah of Ahmedabad, digging of houses of citizens by him for buried treasure and acquisition of secret wealth of residents ! Great emphasis and severe stress were laid by His Majesty on the rank of amirship of Maharajah Abhey Singh but it proved futile. Hence the subedari of Ahmedabad was transferred from the Maharajah by the court of majesty and glory. A royal order with brilliance was issued to the asylum of illustriousness to be vigilant about establishment of order in the subah till appointment of the Subedar. He should expel the said Naib from the city. He should not be allowed, on receipt of news of dismissal, to extend hand of oppression and tyranny more than before and cause harm to any one and take upon himself the responsibility for protection of city and citizens till arrival of the subedar. He should really exert himself for protection and engage himself in consolation and solace of oppressed persons and making amends for the past deeds. Those nominees of the Maharajah who have been imprisoned on a charge of extortion should be released. He should behave well with the Mulkathas scattered in vicinity of the subah in accordance with exigency of time. This is, in reality, an advisable course. He should act in accordance with the royal order. This royal order was written on 10th Holy Muharram, 18th year of ascension to the royal throne. He ordered to proclaim, declare and give publicity to it in near and distant places by beating drums of rejoicing. He sent the copy of the royal order with the seal of the Qazi of Khanbhayat to the Naib Diwan, Abdul Husain Khan, the Qazi Musafid Khan and the scribes. He wrote to them that they should collectively acquaint the Bhandari with it. On hearing about the above event, Sher Khan dismissed appointees of the Bhandari from Dehgam Karwah, desisted from siding any party, proceeded to Balasinor and led an inactive life. On 1st Safar, 1149, Mumin Khan entered the tent situated on Narangsar Tank on border of the port. He sent swift couriers to Reinkoji who was in vicinity under his request and summoned him to himself. He appointed his cousin Fidauddin Khan as administrator of affairs, his nephew Muhammed Mumin as Bakhsh and his wife's sister's husband Muhammed Zaman Beg as Darogha of Artillery. He ordered them to recruit horsemen and footmen. He sent letters to different parts to summon jamadars. He wrote to Jawanmard Khan to join him with a



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worthy force It so happened that at this time several cannons of seven
meltings, among which two were of far-reaching range, each one of which, fired
a ball weighing twenty shahjahan pucca seers, which were bought by the
Maharajah's reliable men at Surat port and sent to Khanbhayat port for facility
of transport, arrived here Mumin Khan regarded their arrival as a divine help
and undoubted victory and occupied himself in making carts and other necessary
things for them Renkoji came as summoned and met him They negotiated
about agreement They agreed to half share of a brother in the revenue
of the subah except the revenues of the city and the parganah of Haveli
and the port of Khanbhayat on condition of confederation and expul-
sion of the Marwaris This pact was corroborated on oath As decided
by both the parties, Vajeram, peshkar of Mumin Khan went to Damuji
Rao in company of a reliable man of Renkoji for obtaining sanction and
approval of the terms of agreement and for recruitment of Dekhani cavalry
and infantry On seeing the copy of the royal order and receiving news of
Mumin Khan's arrival, the Bhandari sent swift couriers to the Maharajah
in the capital to inform about real circumstances along with the copy He
himself held a council of consultation with patawats bhandaris and well wishers
night and day He thus spent some days in thought and deliberation As the
Marwaris had suffered disgrace and misery twice before at the time of removal
from service, he was, now too, anxious more than before in view of reversal How-
ever much he looked at the condition of citizens with deliberation and depth of
thought, he found none of the mansabars, nobles and able soldiers whose heads
were safe with a name and who could undertake an affair except a few royal
servants such as the Nairb Diwan, Qazi, scribes, and administrators who were
concerned with collection of religious taxes from Muslims who maintained nominal
relations with him and who too any how spent their time for the sake of their
families and want of transport facilities As he did not deem it proper openly
to remove them, he thought of an apparently pleasing excuse and
sent the Nairb Diwan, 'Abdul Husain Khan Qazi Mustafid Khan, Nairb Bakhshi
and Chronicler Ali Muhmmied Mujahiduddin Khan, the author and the
landsteward Rahim Yawar Khan willy nilly to deliver the message He thought
that he thus removed suspicion from his mind and made the horizon clear The
message was that they should make Mumin Khan understand and say that he
should really cancel his intention of rising and creating disturbance in
orderly organization The Maharajah was in the royal presence He had been
informed about facts of the case Whatever reply would be received from him
would be acted upon The messengers who were of necessity helpless hastened
to Khanbhayat acting on the maxim that the message of an unbeliever was
unbelief, delivered the message They tarried there for nearly one week In
the meantime, the Bhandari received the message of the Maharajah to the



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effect that the subah was retained as usual in charge of the Maharajah. Order for continuity in authority would follow. The Bhandari regarded this fact in all appearance as perfect investment of authority and the case of Mumin Khas as a mere chitchat. He, therefore, thought it advisable for retention of the royal servants for the welfare of Nizamat. He wrote to them that if they obtained a favourable reply, so far so good, otherwise they should not adhere to it and return soon to this place. They enjoyed reputation in the city, they did not deem it proper to stay and wait and so they returned. But Mumin Khan received secret letters from the Amir-ul-Umara to the effect that he should give importance to orders which might apparently be received out of exigency of time and that he should not desist from his determination. He should, with utmost efforts, curtail hand of oppression of the Marwaris from oppressed citizens of Ahmedabad. In short, on publicity of news of the Bhandari's transfer and receipt of letters for appointment of Mumin Khan in all parts, soldiers who passed night into day in hope of such a day and who led retired lives for preservation of prestige, expected comfort after discomfort. They joined him with joy and merriment with gladdened hearts to return to their native place to get service inspite of heavy rains and swollen rivers and rivulets every day. Mumin Khan tarried for nearly a month and a half on the bank of Narangsar Tank for equipment of the artillery and collection of soldiers. At this juncture, Muhammed Quli Khan and his brother Aqa Muhammed Husain along with Shuja'at Khan, Rustam'Ali Khan and Behram Khan who had performed exploits reinforced him with their parties. Again, a report of Jawanmard Khan's march and approach at Sojitra, a distance of ten kurohs from the port where he had encamped, was received. Jawanmard Khan joined him with a squadron of brave soldiers. On hearing about Mumin Khan's march and his arrival at Sojitra as well as collection of soldiers the Bhandari was convinced that he had a firm determination. The Bhandari thought that 'Abdul Husain Khan was a relative of Mumin Khan. He might, on grounds of relationship, remain in the city, seize an opportunity and do something. Again, he knew, due to his shameless deeds that the common-folk and masses who were all thirsty of his blood, might rise in rebellion on a slight pretext. He gave trouble once again to the scribes and Rahim Yawar Khan to convey him orally some false reports he had heard.

Verse

*He said many worthless things which were not worth saying
He bored many shells pearl-like*

They were sent to Mumin Khan. Though it was clear and patent to the wise that conveyance of such messages was futile. As they had no alternative, they reached Sojitra in heavy rains and delivered the message. Mumin Khan,



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after a day's halt, marched and reached Vaso in Petlad jurisdiction seventeen kurohs from the city and encamped. He sent away the messengers when they reached Janialpur Gate, the guards demanded from them permit of entry. They had to tarry, of necessity, at Behrampur and informed the Ehandari about it. He summoned Rahim Yawar Khan whom he regarded as his well-wisher. He sent word to 'Abdul Husain Khan that it was not proper for him to stay in the city due to his relationship with Mumin Khan and that he should go to any side he wished with his dependents. He wanted it and considered it as a result of good fortune. He sent his dependents to Khanbhatat while he himself joined Mumin Khan. He sent word with 'Abdul Husain Khan only to get rid of him. He summoned Nib Bakhshi Muhammed Mujahiduddin Khan, and the author to take a pledge and promise from them that they should not undertake any affair. During this time, Mir Dost 'Ali as Naib of Mir Hazbar Khan to the faujdari of Junagadh, on the transfer of Muhsin Khan proceeded to his charge. In short, Mumin Khan marched from Vaso and halted on the bank of Vatrak opposite to Kheda at a distance of twelve kurohs from the city due to flood in the river and its overflow which fell excessively that year for nearly one month. The Phandari, who was despaired of stay at Ahmedabad, busied himself in imposition of biwarah, levy of various kinds of taxes, digging of houses and capturing persons. He allowed no moment to pass without tyranny and oppression. He demolished many houses at information of heathen slanderers. Fire of tyranny flamed forth and consumed dry and moist thing. I shall lag behind my object if I narrated every thing in detail. The Bhandari was constantly engaged in getting information about circumstances, march, halt and intention of Mumin Khan. The Maharajah used to request His Majesty for his continuation in office and cancellation of an order in favour of Mumin Khan and his return to Khanbhatat. The grantees of the court gave letters as he desired out of outward regard for him. But the Amir-ul-Umara had written to Mumin Khan that he should not desert from his determination. In short, when the rainy season with all its difficulties came to an end and the flood in the river was the cause of halt, subsided, Mumin Khan rose up from that place on 1st Jamaadi I in company of Jawanmard Khan and Renkoji with an equipped army and artillery, crossed the river and reached Kankariya Tank on the border of the city by two continuous marches and encamped there. He occupied Barhi Nainpur the residential quarters of the Faujdar which was vacated by Marwaris. Renkoji, having appointed Faujdars and 'Amils in paragnas in consultation with mukadars, said that they should collect legitimate revenue as soon as possible at the time of harvest and raising of crops and send without pause for defray of the army's expenses. He was then occupied with distribution of trenches, siege, raising of batteries and mines for opening the fort. Jawanmard Khan was posted opposite to Kalupur Gate and at the masjid of Sidi Bashir. Mir



Abul Qasim was stationed at opposite to Sarangpur Gate, Syed Nurullah opposite to Astodia Gate, Malek Chhamun at Afzalpur while Muhammed Mumin Khan Bakhshi was in charge from the Jamalpur Gate to the bank of Sabarmati. Renkoji stationed every one of them with a brave force, and war materials such as cannons, swivel guns of musketeers, lead and gun powder at certain places. The Bhandari also appointed the patawats for defence of the gates, turrets, fortifications and fixed cannons. He made embrasures in the wall of the citadel for hurling wood-logs and stones. Persons were posted over pinnacles of defensive walls of the fort. There were brick pickers at the gates. In the meantime, Vajeram, who had gone to 'Songadh for conclusion of peace and agreement with Damaji Rao as well as to bring soldiers, returned with Jamadars, Muhammed Umar and Qadir with equipped cavalry and infantry. He too joined the army. He became the cause of doubling of soldiers and a multitude of the army. After preparation of batteries, and erection of mounds, l razen bodied cannons were placed. Those dragon bodied (cannons) began to sprinkle fire and overthrow walls. They did not breath cold breath even for a moment out of tedium of heat-emitting. The Maharajah learnt through letters of the Bhandari that Mumin Khan did not prevent himself from march and that he had advanced as far as Kheda. He, therefore, felt grieved at it and came out from the presence of His Majesty. The grandees, by way of foresight that perhaps he might proceed to Ahmedabad to raise dust of revolt and mischief, sent Muzaffer Khan from the court to console him. He was brought back to His Majesty. They wrote fresh orders to Mumin Khan which contained threat and fright for disobedience to royal order, return to Khanbhayat, keeping his hands off from riot and authority of the Maharajah in all apparent warning. The Amir-ul Umara, through fear that the recall of the Maharajah to the royal presence was due to exigency of time might be interpreted by the Bhandari in a different manner and thus make Mumin Khan dispirited and disturb his determination sent royal order for encouragement and inducement as would be clear from the copy of the royal order.



CHAPTER 225

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER

May Mumin Khan, the asylum of valour and illustriousness and seat of prowess be recipient of royal favours ! The couriers learnt about his march with a multitude of army and artillery at a distance of twelve kurohs from the city, and his halt on the river shore due to flood in the river Maharajah Abhey Singh was about to return to his native place being hurt in feeling from the royal presence His Majesty, therefore, ordered Muzaff r Khan to bring him back to the court He was consoled with royal favours It is, therefore, written under a royal order that if the Naib of Maharajah made this fact as declaration of his continuation in authority, he should not attach any importance to it and that he should, with all tranquillity, reach himself in all haste to Ahmedabad, remove the Naib of the Maharajah at any cost and assume charge of the subah in a real manner and establish order in it A detailed report should be submitted He should think that great emphasis was laid on execution of this order In shor , the Bhandari resorted to demolition of shops, columns and doors which were near the walls of the forts through fear that when the Muslims besieged the city, and made efforts to push forward their trenches they might take refuge there He destroyed shops situated outside the Sarangpur Gate He sent spademen with intention to dig a stone masjid situated in the mausoleum of Afzal Khan Banbani Gujarati Malek Chammu who was appointed as a charge man of an entrenchment on that side came to know about it, he reached himself in haste to that spot, and brought the masjid under his possession Hence it remained safe Merchants dealing in cloth of various kinds and of other commodities kept stocks ready in houses for sale in every region, Egypt and various parts of other countries On witnessing now, they found their lives and property in danger for responsibility of stocking them It was not possible for them to pay the amount in biwarah without sale of wares and sending them outside Having obtained permission of the Bhandari, they paid taxes in the office of religious taxes Mumin Khan had appointed tithe-collectors outside (Ahmedabad) He collected tithe twice Wealthy persons did not find it burdensome to pay tithe twice on ground that their goods were received in safety and that they sold their goods in the season of sailing of vessels They lightened their burden gradually in this manner Officers of the mint mahal such as coiners of money and wire drawers fled when they got an opportunity through fear of biwarah and arrest Mumin Khan's threat them and they continued workshops Commonfolk, professional-men and market-men-Hindus and Muslims, came out of the city in course of time, resided in houses of purahs which then were in good condition and engaged in their respective trade and profession Trenches were not made on the Sabarnati due to flood,



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but now that the water was less and fields were seen, the Marwaris prepared trenches in leisure time. Mumin Khan learnt about it. He sent a squadron to strike them and bind those persons. Many of them were wounded and captured. At mid-day which is the time of negligence, the trench-men got an opportunity outside between gate-wall and Astoria (Astodia) to south of the city and found the place without guards, they placed ladders against wall of the fort, went up and climbed over the pinnacles. The fort-men learnt about it and rushed for defence. Some were killed and some wounded. They then descended from it. Zorawar Khan, brother of Jawanmard Khan was a hostage with the Marathas as mentioned above. He had failed to pay ransom-money. In view of his brother's confederacy, Mumin Khan assigned the paraganah of Prantij in Jagir to Zorawar Khan so that he might send the fixed amount out of the legitimate revenue money. He said to men in charge of trenches that wherever there was possibility of mining and making safety-lanes they should begin the work. They engaged themselves in this kind of work at two, three places opposite the wall and turrets of the fort near the gate-wall. He appointed an equipped squadron for night-rounds as the Kolis carried away grass and grain in darkness of night for getting profit out of it. They were directed to be vigilant throughout the night before Shahi Bagh the place of their coming and going and that they should not allow them to carry a blade of grass and a grain of corn to the garrisoned. In spite of this, the kolis, who had no worth, and value of priceless life, played with life in view of benefit and carried them by all possible tricks. Any one whose fate was nigh was caught by the guards. His head along with his load was sold to the purchaser death and thus his body was made light. Price of corn and grass rose high from day to day. It rose so high that a bundle of hay which was sufficient for one horse was sold on 1st of Jamadi II for two rupees. The Marwaris gathered together on dark nights of the month and brought field-yield from nearby purahs. Mumin Khan also ordered for reaping the rest. He thus cleared the field. The Bhandari's servant by name Fahim, who was stationed in Nawrangpur on the other bank of Sabarmati with a body of foot-men, occupied himself at night with conveying grass and corn by helping the Kolis. Mumin Khan sent a force to block up passages. They hastened unawares, captured Fahim and stationed themselves on the spot. On getting knowledge of mines and safety-lanes, the Bhandari got a deep ditch dug within in the direction where he had doubt of a mine and filled it with water. As the monsoon was about to be over, some mines got ruined of their own accord due to moisture of the land. The Bhandari destroyed two, three mines which he traced. He made holes in one or two places beneath the foundation of fort-wall and carried them outside to the ditch. He made strong windows and appointed brave men there so that they should attack them in trenches in their hour of



negligence at the time of noon day nap. The Marwaris repeatedly showed their heads outside like rats from holes and engaged themselves in that kind of work. They slayed some and wounded others. They performed exploits by driving nails in cannons. Royal orders were issued apparently out of encouragement and respect for the Maharajah who was in presence of His Majesty for continuation of his authority in the subah. A royal order was issued for appointment of Fidauddin Khan with 100 Sawar and 200 footmen as Qile'dar. Mumin Khan received a royal order for return to Khanbhat. As citizens had complained against tyranny of Ratan Singh Bhandari, Abhey Singh Karan Patawat was appointed Naib Nazim with seal of Amir ul Umara for protection and defence of the city on behalf of the Maharajah till the appointment of another naib. The Maharajah had sent such an order to him. The Bhandari summoned Mustafid Khan Qazi and the scribes, and sent a letter to Mumin Khan with the seal of Abhey Karan. He wrote in reply that the letter from the patron would be obeyed. Whenever Ratan Singh, source of harm and injury came out of Ahmedabad he would leave Fidauddin Khan in the fort and depart. On hearing this reply which was not in accord with his temper, he maintained silence. Night and day, fire of warfare flamed forth from both sides which consumed plants of lives of several persons from both sides. Price of food grains and grass rose high from day to day. Persons of all sections lost balance of their stability. Men and women catching hold of hands of their children began to wail in hunger and thronged together at city gate for migration. The Marwaris considered this state of affairs as good for themselves. Formerly, they prevented them from migration but now they allowed them to go on condition that none carried with him cash and kind. Yet many of them carried cash and articles with them secretly with the connivance of guards. They dwelt in purahs free from fear. Every day, batches of them went out in this manner from abyss of severity and danger. None molested them. They extricated them from the vortex of adversity and hardship and conveyed them to a place of tranquillity and prosperity. The Marwaris found houses without owners, they began to search for substantial things on a pretext for search of corn and grass. Whatever gratis wealth with a merciless heart they found, they carried and became its owner. During this time, Muhammed Baqir Khan, son of Mutamid Khan who resided in Surat port arrived with a force of cavalry and infantry along with some Arab musketeers and joined Mumin Khan. Sadiq 'Ali Khan in company of his nephew Muhammed Tahir arrived from Junagadh with a squadron of brave men and reinforced him. The Muslim army grew in multitude. They took care to block up paths and highways so that a blade of grass and a grain of food stuff might not enter the city. Every day, affairs became difficult for the garrisoned men. They felt shortage of food.



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mercenary horsemen and Marwari servants of the Bhandari went out forcibly without permission from the Khanpur Gate due to difficulties for obtaining of food and death of horses. They informed the trenchmen of the enemy, went to Mumin Khan and became his servants. Animals who were fed on leaves of trees and straw were led to mixen and dunghill. Wall of the fort towards Jawanmard Khan's trench held by Subhan Singh Hazari on the enemy's side fell down due to blows of cannon-balls and so there remained no place for the guards to stay. It appeared like a mound for a footman to climb over due to falling of bricks and mud. The Bhandari sent for wooden boxes from houses of men, filled them with earth and placed them at broken places. He thus prepared a sort of refuge. Similarly, holes were made in a wall adjacent to the gate closure which was reduced to same shape and form and which appeared higher in view than the demolished wall of the fort. This too was filled with clods of earth. He stationed watchmen at its back. He abstained from comfort and sleep. He did not remain negligent and remiss even for a moment out of caution, care and vigilance. The Marwaris were one group and one community. They regarded their safety within four walls of the fort against the grip of Muslims and Dekhanis. They, therefore, kept awake at night during all the dark nights of the month over the turrets round about the fort by lighting lamps, and torches and shouting "Be aware, be vigilant" to one another. The trench men who were outside, sought means and remedy in thought of opening the gate hoping to enter their own houses. Several innocent persons, "Knowledge of it is with God," lost their hands, feets, ears, nose and life in torture of the Marwaris on a charge of fraud and scheming with the outsiders at the slander of heretical tell tales and sycophants. Similarly, several were put to death by outsiders on suspicion of conveying news and provisions of corn inside. It was at this time that couriers arrived from the Maharajah with six royal orders with the seal of Itmad ud Dawlah Wazir ul Mumalik and Amir ul Umara Samsam ud-Dawlah and Muzaffer Khan for continuation of authority in the subah with the Maharajah, posting of Fidauddin Khan and return of Mumin Khan to Khanbhayat. Three orders were issued to Abhey Karan and three covers were addressed to Mumin Khan. The Bhandari summoned Qazi Mustafid Khan, 'Ali Muhammed Khan, Naib Bakhshi Muhammed Mujahiduddin Khan, the author and the land-steward Rahim Yawar Khan and read out orders issued in the name of Abhey Karan. As all of them dealt with one subject-matter, a copy of one of them is reproduced

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CHAPTER 226

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER BEARING THE SEAL OF I'TIMAD-UD-DAWLAH WAZIR-UL-MUMALIK

May Abhey Karan, seat of intrepidity and valour be a recipient of royal favours! A strong order twin with firm decrees of fate was issued to the effect that the subedari of the subah of Ahmedabad was retained as before with the rank of Amurship and Rulership Raj Rajeshwar Maharajah Abhey Singh Fidauddin Khan, asylum of exaltation was appointed as Naib under regulation of Akberabad. He was in the city with 100 *sawar* and 200 footmen for protection and consolation of citizens so that none for any reason might suffer tyranny oppression, regret and bias. Religious men should continue to manage affairs of the bright religion. Asylum of bravery and illustriousness Mumin Khan should return from whatever place he might have come, to Khanbhavat, place of his service. Ratan Singh of the rank of rulership was recalled by His Majesty on account of complaints of citizens. Another man was appointed in his place. Asylum of intrepidity should continue to manage affairs of Nizamat till his arrival. It is necessary that the royal order must be executed as if it were a decree of fate. Great efforts should be made in establishment of order and promotion of welfare of the ryots. Great stress was laid on it for its execution. Three covered orders which were addressed to Mumin Khan were entrusted to the Khans for conveying them to Mumin Khan with a message of obedience and submission to the royal order. Those who were constrained came out of a window of the Aslora Gate in the afternoon on 24th Jamadi II. They left after receiving permission, passed by trenches and met him at close of the day. Orders were read out. As all the orders dealt with the same subject-matter, a copy of one of them is reproduced.



CHAPTER 227

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER BEARING THE SEAL OF WAZIR-UL-MUMALIK I'TIMAD-UD-DAWAH

May the asylum of exaltation and illustriousness, seat of valour and lofty position Mumin Khan be a recipient of royal favours! A royal order was issued to the effect that the subedar of Ahmedabad was as before retained with the rank of amirship and rulership Raj Rajeshwar Maharajah Abhey Singh Fidaul Idin Khan the asylum of exaltation was appointed as Naib of the city with 100 sawar and 200 footmen for protection and consolation in such a manner that no regret, bias, tyranny and oppression might recoil on the citizens. Religious men were appointed to manage affairs of the bright religion. The asylum of illustriousness under this royal order, should return to Khanbhayat, the place of his charge. Mumin Khan replied that he had formerly received order to the same effect. This was the second of it. His reply was the same. He would submissively carry out the orders of his benefactor. Whenever Ratan Singh came out vacating, the fort citadel which was the residence of the Naib Abhey Khan assumed charge of Nizamats affairs actively, Fidauddin Khan took charge to console ryots and common folk, religious men started management of religious matters, citizens who migrated on account of tyranny and oppression returned to prosper themselves with contented minds, he would return to Khanbhayat. Nearly half the night was spent in debating about this matter. As his return was not possible, they stayed there. Mumin Khan for a good name of the land steward Rahim Yawar Khan said that all the jagirs of jagirdars are left to them. Their naibs should go to respective mahals of their jagirs without any molestation. Next day he said to the messengers that whatever reply had been given to you should be conveyed to the Bhandari in writing to see as to what reply he gave. Nuruddin Ahmed, son of Qazi Mustafid Khan who was the son in law of Muhammed Mujahiduddin and Muhammed Panah son of Rahim Yawar Khan both of whom had accompanied Mumin Khan as servants stayed on to know the result of certain matters with silence. The author, out of foresight declared in the presence of Khans before his father who had no object that the same reply was given before and therefore to repeat the same and expect a reply had no meaning. It was not far from the deceit of Marwaris to write a reply on receipt of a letter even though they might be at the same place. As every one enjoyed reputation in the city and the city was full of tumult. Under these circumstances great harm and much evil could be imagined. It would be proper if they are granted permission to go. It was approved of by all. The lot of obtaining permission was cast in the name of the author. Rahim Yawar Khan who was confidante of the Bhandari



essentials of hospitality both in cash and kind. At this juncture, three royal orders bearing the seal of Wazir-ul-Mumalik were issued at the request of the Maharajah with the same subject-matter as before in the name of the Maharajah, Mumin Khan and all royal servants. At the first time, the messengers had entered the city in a body together. After the arrival of orders, he gathered together as before the Qazi and others and undertook to convey orders to respective addressees through fear that he would not at this time give way within with determination. They replied that they had no objection in going to him and that repeated negotiations had taken place. Further, he should send one of his confidential persons with them who should hear the conversation which took place between them. It was decided that a letter for his departure and execution of the order should be written to Mumin Khan. He replied that if it was in connection with vacation of the fort, they should see him, otherwise, there was no need. The Bhandari, on hearing this clear reply, remained silent, and fell in another anxiety. In short, when the scarcity for grass and grain became intense, there did not remain green and dry leaves on trees and blades of grass on the highway. The Marwaris used camels for ploughing and sowed an unknown kind of corn called kori on banks of the rivers and brink of wells, so that it might suffice the horses in place of grass and grain. The Bhandari summoned, out of necessity, parties of Kolis from Bhuban, Hajipur and Tapah Chanwal on promises and security so that they might undertake to bring food stuff and grass at night and further that they should convey, when opportunity occurred, dispirited Marwaris and horses to safe places from the guards. Those miserable wretches who always desired mischief, riot and brigandage regarded it as the outcome of in-auspicious (rather auspicious) fortune. They engaged themselves at night stealthily more or less in bringing grass and grains and conveying horses and camels of some Marwaris. Many of them fell a victim to gold and Muslims and lost their lives and wealth. Every day, the Kolis moved in lanes and streets openly with pleasure, occupied ownerless houses with tranquillity, seized whatever they found and possessed it. At night, they were busy mining houses and carrying away provisions. As it was winter, they pulled out ceilings of houses and burnt them.

Verse

*They gazed at doors of houses
They carried away chains and burnt doors.*

Persons who remained in the city were in a helpless state as they had to live under strange circumstances and wild state of affairs. They suffered loss in food and sleep during day through fear of arrest by the Bhandari and



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at night through fright of the Kolis. The more wonderful thing was that as the Kolis became notorious for mining houses, the Marwaris too engaged in that sort of work. In short, the world became topsy-turvy under this state of affairs. Boat of their endurance and rest fell in stormy waves of calamities and whirlpool of hardships. Of necessity, they freed themselves in any way possible by confederacy with trenchmen of inside and outside carrying what was worthy of carrying and came with the help of ropes from wall of the fort to the gate with struggle, fear and fright. Copper vessels and utensils as well as household goods whose carriage and transport were difficult were left. The Bhandari and the Kolis became their owners.

Verse

Nothing remained hidden

Hidden thing also remained without being hidden

Price of copper per Shahjahani maund rose up to twelve rupees but there was no buyer. Copper was struck into coins and paid to soldiers as salary.

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CHAPTER 228

GOING OUT OF KHWAJAH MUSTAFID KHAN QAZI UNDER A ROYAL ORDER WITH A TRICK AND STRATAGEM OF THE BHANDARI

The Bhandari was uneasy at heart and mind on account of stay of Khwajah Mustafid Khan Qazi and two three other royal servants. They too were not in a position to move out on account of a large number of dependents. Through fear of a riot, he did not deem it clearly due to exigency of time and welfare to turn them out with force. He wished to manage this affair in a friendly, cozening, and softly manner. Some time before when he sent them out with orders a second time, they had understood what was in his mind. They had waived as to their going by writing a letter and waiting for the reply. At this time, when the news was received about march of Damaji Rao with a large army from Songadh to this side, he began to seek remedy for this affair in view of his wicked deeds and actions on account of which small and great, young and old were tired and so he himself was more than before perturbed and disturbed in his mind. Out of falsehood and dissimulation, the satan conceived a new excuse and a fresh idea, decorated it with external garment and brought it over the face of affair so that by that means he might throw a stone of disaffection among them and thus every one might be removed separately.

Verse

*The magician resorted to new kind of magic
He opened the cover of box of fraud*

Under a royal order bearing the seal of Amir-ul-Umara addressed to Mumin Khan, he declared that so many orders were sent by the Maharajah. He summoned the Qazi and the scribes. Addressing Khwajah Mustafid Khan, he said that the Maharajah had sent an order and written in his own handwriting that it should be sent with him. He secretly whispered in his ears

Verse

*He recited another magical trick in to his ear
You might say, he deprived him of his intelligence*

He made use of deceit and said that the Maharajah had written a paragraph from which welfare could be smelt and that it should specially be given to you. He further said that it was not proper to divulge that secret that day as there was an assemblage and that it would be said to him the next day at the



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time of his departure For the sake of an out-ward show, he handed over the royal order and sent him to Mumin Khan The Qazi, on hearing that incantation whose fascination quickly spread in his veins and skin and threw him to a distance of one hundred farsangs from the path of thinking of the future He was overjoyed He filled his mouth with a smile to the brim He placed a finger of obligation on eyes of acceptance and went out with great alacrity and unspeakable hope As affirmation of claim was not allowed in the bright religion without evidence of two pious men the Bhandari ordered the mansabdars Muhammed Nurullah and Muhammed Shaharyar to accompany the Qazi In short, he held conversation with himself at the time of return to his house to the effect that decisively and certainly, the Mahatajah meant some good to him and therefore, he appointed him for management of this affair and that was due to felicity of fortune and concord of time

Verse by the author

*If peace is concluded by my hand
I find much benefit in life*

He became all eyes at night looking at the rise and setting of planets and stars observing them like astronomers He counted stars (kept awake at night) and repeatedly recited the tune of this hemistich

Hemistich

To-night is a wonderful night which does not end into tomorrow

He made sleep unlawful and kept it alive with restlessness and thus ended it At the time of entry of the messenger of east wind in the bottom of the highest vault and departure of nocturnal travellers from the green dome when the sound rose from the golden drum of journey of the king of the East, he got himself ready and prepared, tightly girt up his waist, kept eyes of expectation on the road of call of the Bhandari and sat with hope to listen to the hidden secret.

Verse by the author

*He widened very much the slit of ears
So that the orifice of the ear may get the closed secret*

Suddenly, the Bhandari's man made an appearance with a horse whose stomach had stuck to the back due to tyranny of starvation, weak and lean he was like a thin blade of grass in separation of barley, his strength was lost in estrangement from barley, his eyes of expectation had turned white, if he



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probably heard a noise of the milky way and the chaff or saw the dice of amber, and the spirit greed being moved in desire due to relation of the name, his heart began to fly in his bosom and he tottered, if he heard the name of barley even to the slightest extent, he grew up to the extent of harvest and sharpened the teeth of hope

Verses

*His age is beyond imagination
He has syrup of death in mouth
Through weakness, his knee had become
Mirror of Alexander in his hand*

His four hands and feet were as thin as those of a spider which through weakness he rubbed with one another his tail raising, ground catching waist was like a picture of anatomy of muscles, veins and great joints seen beneath delicate skin

Verse by the author

*If a painter draws a portrait of that lean Shabdiz
It will run the path of the day of assemblage through burden of the
painter's brush*

Due to severe starvation his mane and tail presented a strange figure and wonderful form, he broke with pommel and a saddle and gave way with the end of bridle and reins, he was reduced to pieces with a crupper for that animal found it heavy upon himself

Poem

*If they put a saddle upon his back
He lowered down with the neck to the ground
May no one see the horse of his saddle
Because his rule is to kill the guest
Girth from his body does not come out like Solomon
Due to excessive adhesiveness*

At every step he stumbled and fell headlong at every pace at the stroke of a spur, he cursed the rider for his unmanliness for a slight distance that he covered with effort and difficulty He had taken out horse and oxen for riding of men of religion He was made to be present by dragging with a thousand mechanical arts with promises and pledges of barley and grass He rode over that animal as permission to pass through the Raurpur Gate was granted to him



The Qazi sent word to the effect that it would be better if he were informed of the original object and the ultimate reason of his movement in accordance with the promise in respect of showing him the confidential matter in the letter. He received a reply that in reality it was an auspicious hour and that he should depart. He would receive the closed secret afterwards in a sealed letter. However much he repeatedly mentioned about it, he heard it less. On hearing about the promise even though the cotton of negligence came out of his ears yet he conjectured that this falsehood might be truth. He had no other alternative but to go. He rode the animal in the midst of fear and hope on 20th Sha'ban. He recited "Glory to Him Who has subjected these to our (use), for we could never have accomplished these (by ourselves)" and set out on the road. The moment he stepped out of the city gate, a man of the Bhandari who had followed him immediately said to the guards that the Qazi on his return should not be allowed to enter the city. He proceeded further. As the angel of Invisible God early in the morning had undoubtedly given him good news of getting a nose bag full of barley and hay on condition of conveying the Khwajah to the village, he freshened himself in hope of it and began to trot and gallop in all sincerity on account of that tidings and moved with all difficulty.

Verse

*Day is short and destination long
I will reach destination if I walk rapidly*

He ran with much distraction rising and falling and reached himself to the camp of Mumin Khan limping and thus he achieved his heart's desire. He thanked God for His bounties. He kept his head in prostration for the whole night and did not raise it till morning. The Qazi met Mumin Khan with blooming and delightful rose and a gladdened heart and conveyed the royal order. He repeated the incantation which he had freshly committed to memory. When the royal order was read, they found the former topics repeated in it. When they looked at it minutely, they found it three months old. It had become useless like the last year's almanac. Men of sagacity and persons of wisdom derived conclusion from it that the Bhandari gave that document to the Qazi out of crookedness to turn him out and to make him roam about. Promise of a promised letter was false. That ghoul of the desert of Marwar deceived and misled the Qazi with all his excellence and accomplishment. In short, the Qazi waited for arrival of the promised letter till evening. But no trace of it was found. Next day he gazed his glance of expectation on four roads till mid-day. His eyes grew white in this way. He saw nothing. A doubt found its way into his heart. He wished to go himself.



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to bring it By chance, news of birth of a son to Jawanmard Khan was received from Pattan on that very day He arranged a feast, Next day, there was a feast of Mumin Khan The Qazi too was invited to it He accepted it in hope that since long he ate juwar and bajra bread, coarse rice and filthy ghee which were obtained with difficulty on certain occasions in the city and thus he spent his days in hardship Now he would derive great benefit out of this heavenly tray of food which God the Giver of livelihood had hoarded for a good or bad day and that he would carry some victuals and provisions for his family Stomach which was said to be a source of enjoyment for man would be given satisfaction by delicious food, fatty victuals, roasted flesh of birds as they desired, palatable drinks of various kinds giving pleasure to the drinkers and that the feast would be full of rich dishes Once it would free him from punishment He thus became neglectful of "the reward that they would get of their deeds" and wrote a letter of excuse for his not coming for having accepted an invitation of Jawanmard Khan and sent it to the Bhandari He received a reply that he should stay there and enjoy feast every day There was no need for him to take trouble to return to the city and that he should not come His mind thus became completely free from his fear The Qazi woke up from negligence by this reply and realized as to what was his object by this stratagem He went down in the sea of thought by placing his head on his knee in regret and remorse like mad men and men possessed by devil as to what to do He blamed and cursed himself for his folly and inexperience but it was of no avail

Verse

*Such is the usage of the deceitful abode
That it gives poison when it makes you taste honey*

His joy and delight for an affair of welfare got changed into sorrow and mourning for his family reputation among people in the city as to how they could remain safe from the clutches of Marwari tyrants

Verse

*He rubbed hand upon hand in sorrow
Grief intensified every moment*

When the dependants of the Qazi witnessed this state of affairs, they got frightened, and thought of their own freedom and protection As they could not go out openly, they came out of their house and hid themselves in nooks and corners They gradually came out in a trembling and fearful manner with



the confederacy of trenchmen ineognito at mid-night with a sheet of cloth over head and a bundle of clothes in arm-pit. Ladies were never involved in this sort of calamity. They had never seen lanes and bazars. If, a shameless Marwari met on the way, and slightly threatened them, they threw away the bundle of clothes and fled away. He picked up the cast away bundle as a boon and appropriated it. In short, they went with all efforts and hardship, may God not give such hardship even to an enemy, and joined the Qazi.



CHAPTER 229

ARRIVAL OF DAMAJI RAO GACKWAR WITH A LARGE ARMY IN THE CITY MEETING WITH MUMIN KHAN EFFORTS IN CONQUEST OF THE FORT

It was at this time that Damaji Rao Gackwar who left Songadh with intention to come to this side with a large army reached Nadiad. On intelligence of this news, Mumin Khan sent his peshkar Vajeram to arrange for a meeting. Damaji encamped at Isinpur at a distance of two kurohs on 27th Sha'ban. Mumin Khan went to meet him with Fidauddin Khan, Qazi Mustafid Khan, 'Abdul Husun Khan, Mumin 'Ali Khan, Muhammed Quli Khan, Sadiq 'Ali Khan and some others. Damaji also came riding outside the camp and met him. He took them to his tent and greeted his companions with two horses a bunch of pearls, five trays of cloth and eleven robes of honour. He entered into a fraternal pact with Mumin Khan by an exchange of turban and decided that he should encamp near the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhikhan, may his grave be sanctified, on the bank of the river Sabar. Mumin Khan returned. He sent one thousand rupees in cash and other articles by way of a feast. Damaji came to a place agreed upon and encamped there. The Bhandari, on getting information about Damaji's arrival, his meeting and brotherly pact with Mumin Khan summoned a council of consultation with Bhandaris Patawats and wellwishers. He thought of an affair which might break the alliance of the Marathas with Mumin Khan and strike the stone of discord on the crystal of concord. He, therefore, sent a message with his confidential man to Damaji to the effect that Mumin Khan had entered into an agreement with Renkoji on sharing half to half the subah's revenue except the mahals of the city the port of Khanbhayat and the paraganah of Haveli. If he gave up partisanship with him he agreed on a half share in the mahals of the city and the government of the Nizamat. He further agreed to give security of Patawats for his satisfaction so that there would not be any slightest difference. Damaji declared this to Mumin Khan. He was pleased with this by submitting himself to decrees of fate in accordance with the exigency of time. The paraganah of Viramgam in place of Khanbhayat port came to the possession of the Marathas without partnership. Villages of the Haveli paraganah were equally divided. He allowed his interference in the mahals of tithes of the makasdars. He thus patched up the hole made by the Bhandari. Nextday, Damaji went for bath to the Dodisah passage of the Sabarmati which, from the Hindu religious point of view was regarded as holy. It was situated in vicinity of the Shahi Bagh. He arrived at that ford viewing from a distance the wall of the city wall from the river side. After the bath, he distributed one thousand rupees to the Brahmans in charity and returned. He posted his



army in confederacy with Renkoji at the trenches opposite to Jamalpur Gate as far as the gate wall. He laid great emphasis on pushing forward the battery, filling the ditch and destruction of the fort wall. Merchants, tradesmen and reputable persons had gradually come out of the city with their families and lived in purahs. They had decorated their shops and were occupied with transactions and dealings in their respective trades. The arrival of the Marathas in large number who were accustomed to brigandage created fright. Damaji learnt about it. He, therefore, proclaimed in his camp that if any one committed an act of oppression and carried away a thing, he would be punished with loss of life. In short, people were satisfied. The Marwaris became extremely fearful and frightful on the arrival of Damaji and the ineffectiveness of the Bhandaris' incantation on him for alliance with Mumin Khan and the thronging of Gujarati soldiers around Mumin Khan which consisted of nearly fifty thousand horse and foot. Nearly three thousand coward Marwaris-horse and foot-had returned safely twice or thrice to their respective places under escort of the Kolis. The guards posted outside, who stopped with all strictness, the provision of food and fodder, got captured. Price of cereals rose four times. Wheat and barley were sold at one price. The Bhandari closed gates of sources of water which were not walled for fetching water with bricks. Scarcity of water was also felt. After a few days, Damaji went to see Mumin Khan at Barah Numpur. He had taken an elephant, a horse, jewels, several trays of cloth and some robes of honour as presents for his companions. They discussed and consulted each other about conquest of the fort. He then went to his tent. He ordered Renkoji to diligently apply himself to make battery, plant cannons and push forward trenches in company of Mohammed Mumin, and the commanders of Mumin Khan. They destroyed shops situated on both sides of the road as well as houses outside the Jamalpur Gate and carried entrenchments to brink of the ditch. They began to fill it up. The Dekhanis carried on their heads bundles of thorny bushes and baskets full of dust and rubbish and threw them in the ditch. They brought some cannons opposite to the gate and began to discharge cannon balls. A severe battle was fought without food and sleep both at night and during day.

Verses

*They rolled up their sleeves for war
They gave up physical comforts
Idle eye lashes of beauties, there were two rows of soldiers
One below and one above
Were used bold enough to look
From down up and from up down*

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*From the volley of stones and bullets
Earth and sky both became narrow
Any one who put his head out of fortification
His head got pierced by bullet of a musket
On that side, there were all Marwaris
They struck fire in their bodies out of sense of honour
They stood firm at their respective places
In war with the enemy from behind the walls
From below, any one who raised his head in joy
Got brain of head scattered with a stone*

The ditch was filled and trench joined foot of the fort wall. The Bhandari learnt about it. He posted the best patawats and brave youths who were with him while he himself sat there ready for defence. The Dekhanis directed their energy more in hope of plunder and pillage than conquest of the fort even though they had reached foot of the wall. Mumin Khan thought, on account of bravery of the Marathas in a farsighted manner that perhaps the Dekhanis, finding a hole, might enter with force and violence into the city, resort to massacre and pillage, the city would be ruined. God knows as to what would manifest itself from behind the curtain of futurity. He did not openly talk about it but secretly he talked about to his confederates that they should outwardly keep the battle field warm by uproar, tumult and discharge of cannons and muskets but avoid entry into the city. Affairs should not be carried to such a pitch that the Dekhanis might enter the city. He closed up the road of communication of people from the city which was allowed before. The Marwaris thought of removal of trenches from below the wall. They came out by way of a window at the bottom of the foundation of the wall where they had made a passage to the ditch outside. As they were not negligent some got slain while others got wounded, they came out disappointed, frustrated, afflicted and miserable. At this juncture, the siege became difficult, Mumin Khan and the Dekhanis made greater effort than before. The Bhandari was at ease in respect of Mustafid Khan Qazi. The author's father, by grace of God enjoyed name and fame in that region. The Bhandari thought that his servant Mir Muhammed Zaman Jamadar had causal relation. He was intimate with a party of pardesis and a party of Gujaratis who served under him. Now that matter had become difficult, he would look to his bretheren in religion and old acquaintance with Mumin Khan. If he created disturbance, great damage and detriment could be imagined. This thorn pricked his heart and made him miserable. Although the same idea was there in his mind from before but he delayed it for the opportune time. At this juncture, he lost his strength due to this dangerous idea he thought of



Mustafid Khan He resorted to a stratagem One day, he brought out a royal order with the seal of 'Umdat ul Mulk Amir Khan He summoned them on ground of consultation when their presence was necessary It happened to be Thursday when they had fasted They excused themselves from presence After two days, he again summoned them They refused to go on a plea of laxative They had learnt a lesson from expulsion of the Qazi and ruin of his dependants They fell into deep thinking on arrival of a messenger from the Bhandari

Quatrain

*In the world a wise man is always miserable
His fate is always to suffer harm from the sky
Merit is not good in the world
Sword that is lustrous drinks blood*

The author's father suggested that giving an excuse everyday would become a cause of increased wildness and danger from the Bhandari It would be advisable to see him, know what he had got to say, and give a reply appropriate for the occasion

Verse

*If the time gave kingdoms to a wolf
He should be saluted for a day of safety*

This suggestion was approved of They went to the Bhandari He talked about the occasion of summoning the author's father The Bhandari thought others to be of the same idea as Mustafid Khan He talked about what he had in his mind saying, "I am certain, he would go and make Mumin Khan understand although he will keep himself away from creating disturbance Further, an order with the seal of 'Umdat ul Mulk has been received' He replied, "If it is a fact, what can be better than this for it would tend to general welfare But you think with justice The siege has prolonged all this time Armies are assembled There is a daily report of the city that there is hardship for maintenance, shortage of grass and grain, migration of a number of Marwaris and other servants from the city How can reason believe that he would cease to fight on mere utterance of words and making him understand all that and depart As he had no reply to give, he said, "It is true I do not think so " When he found that his stratagem proved ineffective and his pretext was futile he postponed it till he conceived of a matured thought He falsely said that they should send a letter in their own hand writing and seal in this respect to Mumin Khan It should be sent with his own man with a request to reply of it He put forth an excuse that last night he kept awake at the



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trenches and therefore he was tired He, therefore, permitted him to go He got up and went to his room when, so to say, the angel Gabriel delivered an invisible voice to his ears to the effect that God the Holy and Great should preserve and protect him from the evil of that tricky tyrant

Verse

*Many locks that have no keys
The Opener suddenly makes His appearance*

As his inmost thought was patent, the author's father said that he had something to say in privacy He summoned him, went to the room and sat there

Verse

*I talked to him with a pure heart
I read out to him the story of faithfulness*

"If he wished to play a trick he played upon the Qazi and turn us out, it is an impossible affair and an absurd idea

Hemistich

Beware of this false thought and an impossible idea

We will like to kill and be killed without dependents and reputation

Quatrain

*I said that perhaps you have a wish to sow a seed of desire
Nay nay I am wrong I have to leave all
World's affairs are to be left entirely,
Except Reputation which is too preserved*

If, on conjecture, we may be partisans of the appointed Nazim and as such we may have intention of creating disturbance which may become the cause of uneasiness of his mind, then it admitted of two alternatives which were mentioned above or else if the object is achieved, another person would be the subedar If the case yields a contrary result, life and family would be ruined

Verse

*Many heads have been lost in enmity
Door of enmity should not be opened*

This frenzy does not enter into our head and this idea does not cross into our mind When the conversation came to this point and words of the friend reached his ears

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Verse

*Balanced and wise words
Were liked by that unwise man*

An attendant who stood before him was turned out of the room, he struck his hand on my waist, took out the jamdhar and said, "If what was mentioned is true, remembrance of an oath and picking up of the jamdhar completely satisfy my distracted mind." He disclosed what was in his mind. He replied, "Remembrance of an oath is the cause of solace to your heart, what satisfaction can we have, on your word and deed?" The Bhandari, therefore, remembered the oath, picked up the jamdhar and said, "Evil and stratagem from me will not recoil on you." The writer took a similar oath. When both the sides opened their hearts and removed secret suspicions, as it has been said, so long as the oven is hot, it cooks bread, he said, "It would not be easy for you to go with large families and heavy loads." "If permission is given, we will send our families to a safe place while we ourselves will remain here." He said, "Damaji is really outside with a large army. Let us see what God does. It is a case of prestige. It is, therefore, necessary to wait for some time till he goes. I will give you permission then. Keep the sawari ready." Having taken the promise, he came and narrated the whole conversation to the author's father. Suspicion about the Bhandari's call was removed. To take out dependants would be a cause of fetters and distraction of the mind. They waited for the departure of Damaji. In short, Damaji repeatedly sent messages after the trenches were pushed to the foot of the fort-wall that an attack should once be made from four sides so that perhaps the door might be opened from one side and the desire might be fulfilled. Mumin Khan on, a plea of arranging a moving battery called rakkadhi, raised a two storeyed battery with planks and demanded respite for some time. As Damaji had spent nearly two months after his arrival, he left Renkoji with some others and proceeded to Saurath. The author went to the Bhandari to take permission to remove his dependents four days after the departure of Damaji. By chance, he had opened that very day the house of one of the wealthy Hindus, and seized house-hold articles and buried treasure. He found him sitting in all delight. He declared his intention. He gave permission to pass through Rajpur gate without delay and remissness. He immediately returned home, and arranged for litters for carriage of ladies. The ladies were seated in litters which were made in proportion to the window of the gate. He set out for the gate. It was winter. He had carried with him clothes and other necessary things without which no one could do. One of the guards outwardly considered these articles to be wealth. Good books of the Bhandari, having crossed his mind, he went on a pretext to get permission face to face



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with him and informed him about it. He received a reply that he should allow the author to pass through with whatever he had and that he should not prevent him from going. He returned with shame and abashment. He opened the window and allowed the litters and goods of the author as well as of others who had regarded him as a means of salvation and of coming out consisting of friends and strangers to pass through. By chance, the dependants of Mumin Khan had come then from the port of Khanbhayat. Many litters and load-beares were proceeding there. He went with those sawaris to Khanbhayat to his brother Ismail Muhammed Khan who lived there with some other families and sat there in comfort. In a way, he got joy in heart. In short, Mumin Khan actively engaged himself more than before, after departure of Damaji, in securing safety of lanes to the ditch, elevating batteries and blocking up paths for bringing grass and grain. He did not rest for a moment night and day from war with cannons and muskets. The garrisoned persons also were steadfast in defence and vigilance from behind the walls and gave justice to valour and prowess in this warfare.

Verse

*Many brains became empty with frenzy
There did not remain sufficient fire in lamps.*

The Bhandari sent soldiers from whatever place he could and whomsoever he got hold of every day and having opened the rooms of royal wealth left over by Hamid Khan except timber and broken planks, he left nothing

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CHAPTER 230

DETENTION OF MUHAMMED MUJAHIDUDDIN KHAN, NAIB-BAKHSI AND CHRONICLER BY THE BHANDARI ON SUSPICION OF POSSESSING WEALTH

Sirajuddin Khan, brother of Shaikh ul-Islam Khan died in the beginning of Mubarriz-ul-Mulk's government. He had appropriated a large sum of money of the government in the regime of His Majesty Khuld Makan. He then became a fakir and spent large sums of money in building masjids, caravanserais and sinking wells. The Bhandari learnt many facts about him from some slandering vagabonds. On suspicion that his descendants and especially his son Muhammed Mujahiduddin would have possessed a considerable sum of money, he consulted himself in regard to thinking and planning of his arrest, and imposing a fine on him. Imagining that if he openly sent some persons to arrest him and then to imprison him he might perhaps become obstinate due to sense of honour while others might side with him, create a disturbance and it might result in anything. If he was called alone, he might not come on a pretext. At last, he decided to call him and the author, so that he would come without any hesitation. He sent a message with some body to the effect that an important affair had taken place and therefore, he must come. The author went to the fort without any idea in his mind and informed the Bhandari who was inside about his arrival. The Bhandari had in mind the arrival of another person so he said, "I am coming". In the mean-while, Mujahiduddin also came. The author said to Fakira yasawal (attendant) who was a confidante of the Bhandari that both of them were present and that if he was not free that day, they would come at some other time. He whispered into his ears that he should wait for some time and further that he would obtain permission for his departure. He concluded from his reply as to whom he meant in this presentation and call and against whom he had designs. In the meanwhile, the man of the Bhandari came to summon the author and escorted him to the place where he sat. He had woven an excuse in respect of the call. He moved a step and said "Mujahiduddin has relationship with Qazi Mustafid Khan. They have plotted with each other. They have undertaken to give money and service under Mumin Khan to the guards at the window beneath the fort-wall and thus they made them their confederates so that they might let many persons to come within the city to create a riot. When I learnt about this plot, I changed the guards. Their intentions were nullified. I have now summoned him to rebuke and reproach him for the same. I acquainted you with it. He harbours such ideas in his mind inspite of his staying within the city which may bring about ruin in the city." With such untrue phrases and



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false words, he engaged in proving charge and accusation against him. The author, having learnt his inward thoughts, came out with sauciness and amity and said, that the cause of all this trouble was not in decorating words and adorning meaning. The object was understood.

Verse

*You want to give up courtesy
Apparently, you open door of enmity*

It was a wrong idea and a picture on water. The ox ate that volume. External existence is a bubble without any marrow from which nothing will come out. It is a useless work wherein a person troubles himself and others. When he knew that he reached pulp of his object, he smiled and said, "He would give not less than a lac of rupees. You have nothing to do with this sort of work you should go." However much he persisted in saying that it would be impolite and uncourteous to go leaving him. He should be called at some other time but it was of no avail.

Verse

*When weak crystal is broken by stone
It will not be repaired by skill of any one*

The Bhandari got up and went inside. The author came out and informed Mujahiduddin about what had happened. The attendant Fakira knew everything about the conversation. He came with circumvention and said, "The Bhandari calls you." With his cozening, he made the author go from that place. Mujahiduddin was entrusted to strict and severe tax-collectors. He sent guards of confiscation to his house. His son who was seven or eight years old was brought and detained with his father with threat and strictness, he annoyed that man in regard to assessment of his wealth. The more they searched his house, the less they found. But he remained detained with the wretched Marwari for some time. It is said that this flower of goodness was sown by Rahim Yawar Khan. In short when the price of cereals rose double while grass was sold at the price of saffron, the citizens who remained in the city due to worry of looking after their houses or for some other reason, went out men and women in despair leaving everything behind them. Chaste ladies, who never stepped out from verandah of their houses during life time, had never seen figures and heard sound of non relatives, came out openly, with a sheet of cloth over head and a child under arm-pit, weeping, cursing, starving, so to say, with no strength due to hunger in untold confusion and consternation. How can a morsel of food seized from dogs and



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cats go down the throat of human beings ! They were overwhelmed by strange circumstances and wild state of affairs. A city with such magnificence and a multitude of persons became empty and lamp less to such an extent that "There was no dweller in the house" came true

Verses

*There was scarcity of men
Neighbourhood was without men
Fire of cooking pots got extinguished through famine
What a famine ! It did not carry fire from it*

But a few persons happened to remain. The Marwaris, more or less obtained food-stuff. If some body came in time and requested them for it, they regarded him an equal out of manliness and sold it to him. The father of the author stayed on in hope of improvement of matters. He enjoyed reputation among the people who left the city. Thousands of friends and strangers—Hindus and Muslims owned much property. They brought their goods through fear of the Marwaris and filled rooms of houses with them. Every one wrote his name over his goods. All of them had gone out. The author's father lived in the city to guard goods of all these people. Every one of them received his goods intact, by the help and protection of God, after the disturbance was over. A short period of life was left to him. His temperament was not suitable to food and drink. He saw Bhandaris conduct towards Mujahiduddin, even though the Bhandari apparently was on a pledge and pact with him. From day to day, affairs became difficult for him. He gave up hope of living. How can one rely upon word and deed of the Bhandari. According to the maxim, "A drowning man catches at a straw."

Poem

*There was no hope of fidelity from those two colours
Qualities of an angel cannot be sought from a leopard
He was not secure from his artifice at any time
He did not hope security from him
He had no hope from that poisonous natured fellow
Who can rely upon a cobra*

He might charge and accuse him of some thing though not himself but might do through another person. God forbid ! He might suffer in prestige. What would be its consequence ! Hence, he requested permission to go out on a round of trouble about food and drink. He cheerfully said that he was permitted to go whenever he intended from whatever gate he liked. As several



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ideas and fears crossed his mind due to dog-natured Marwaris appointed at the gates at the time of going, he brought his departure to the notice of the Bhandari. He knodded in willingness. He fixed up evening as the time of departure with the guards of the Raikhad gate situated near the house and with whom he had acquaintance and confidence. Mumin Khan was informed about it. He wrote to him to send two horses near the garden of Ghaziuddin Husain on the other bank of Sabarmati at the appointed time on 24th Ziqatad. The author and his father came out at the appointed time and reached Mumin Khan nearly at mid-night. Next day, the Bhandari learnt about it. He wrote a letter that he might have been troubled for going out unawares. He should stay for sometime in the vicinity to know as to what transpired. Mir Muhammed Zaman and nearly twenty footmen, who were in the house, were ordered to look after his protection.

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CHAPTER 231

ATTACK OF MUMIN KHAN AND RENKOJI. MARTYRDOM OF QAIM ALI KHAN AND MIR ABUL QASIM NO PROGRESS, VIGILANCE IN BLOCKADE OF THE PATHS FOR RECEIVING PROVISIONS CONCLUSION OF PEACE BY THE BHANDARI AND HIS EXIT. ENTRY OF MUMIN KHAN'S KOTWAL AND RENKOJI IN THE CITY.

Vexation of the besieged for livelihood and scarcity felt by the garrisoned as mentioned reached the highest pitch. The besiegers kept the safety-lanes so diligently that they carried them to the brink of the ditch. Props of turrets, fortifications and pinnacles between the gate-wall and Astoria for elevation of battery and planting of cannons got shaken by blows of cannon-balls and gave way. Due to fall of stones and clods of earth, an elevated hillock was formed by means of which they could rise to the ascension of desire and climb up the ladder of goal. Mumin Khan summoned Renkoji, his own generals and the Dekhanis and held a council of consultation and broached the subject of the manner of assault. Brave soldiers and warriors of both sections opined to display their intrepidity and valour to the extent of their ability and capacity. It was decided that Muslim warriors and reputed soldiers should enter by one safety-lane under Qaim 'Ali Khan Bakhshi, the risalah of Fidauddin Khan and Mir Abul Qasim while the Dekhanis under Renkoji by the second lane and proceed to the ditch of the fort. They stepped forth with bravery, and climbed up top of the hillock to enter the fort. Having engaged in massacre and captivity of the black-faced Marwaris within the fort with valour and prowess, they should conquer the city. Jawanmard Khan and the trenchmen should surround centre-like the four sides of the fort, get ready and prepared for this work early in the morning, strain their ears to hear discharge of artillery above the battery at the entrance of the safety-lane and on hearing it, they should place the ladders in front of them and attack the enemy. If possible, they should climb up and enter the fort, otherwise they should keep the enemy puzzled about them so that they might not rush with help and succour.



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The assemblage accepted these instructions and hastened to their respective places and engaged in use of war implements and weapons

Poem

*In thought, the proud warriors one after the other
As to whose desire the sky moves tomorrow
Throughout night, lions of name and fame (were)
In anxiety for performing exploits in war
From mirrors of rusty swords
They applied red blood for polish
One got ready the kayaman bow
Another suited the helmet and the armour*

Next morning the Turk of the golden helmet raised his head with dagger-bearers of the lines of rays from the narrow place of safety lane of the equator with design of an assault on those who sat within the azure fort in the evening Mumin Khan sat in the safety lanes with support of Muslims and Renkoji with his Dekhanis as well as reputable warriors and ordered discharge of artillery placed above the battery

Poem

*The plain was heated with fire of cannons
Heads and brains became soft with stones of catapult
From its smoke the world was covered with clouds
What a cloud ! It rained stones*

Qum Ali Khan and Mir Abul Qasim with a squadron of Mughal and Hindustani warriors and the Dekhanis under the command of Baburao entered the safety lanes in the manner decided before Lightning like, they put their heads in the ditch, put their feet in all quickness and alertness on bullocks of stones and clods of earth of the demolished walls firmly and came over top of walls while others were ascending

Poem

*Experienced and brave soldiers
Place feet over that elevated ground
Lions hastened to the top
All with sharp teeth with revenge of a boar
They cared not for stones and arrows
They passed like wind from that place*

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As there was no place of shelter on rampart against blows of cannon-balls, the Marwaris protected themselves with care and caution behind walls of houses. They rolled back some of them by bullets of muskets the moment they came up

Verse

*Any one who had more boldness
Is slain earlier in battle field*

As cannon-fire had ceased due to reaching of the assaulters, the Marwaris in hot haste came under shelter of turrets of both the sides and began to attack those who climbed up like ants and cranes in rows with stones and muskets

Verse

*They poured stones from top of fortification
They put fire in ears of muskets*

They martyred the two respectable syeds Qaim 'Ali Khan and Mir Abul-Qasim along with other Mughal and Hindustani soldiers Baburao also rolled on the ground They made feet of others slip from above with the slain They could not maintain self-control They thought of escaping with life from that bloody vortex Every one tried to precede the other for coming to the safety-lane and thus they formed into a crowd Consequently, many of them got slain and wounded.

Poem

*A helmet fell down from head of one
Another had his body fallen on ground
Drummer forgot his drum
Leathern strap became a fetter round his neck
Many got slain from above and below
All were tired of the assault*

Qaim Ali Khan and Mir 'Abul Qasim were consigned to the grave by the side of the shrine of Ibrahim Shahid at Barah Nampur Wife of Baburao burnt herself along with her husband

Verse

*Oh Khusraw ' do not be inferior to a Hindu woman in love
For she burns her life for the dead*

The trenchmen of other sides were not graced for attack on any side except Muhammed Raza, darogha of commissariat of the risalah of Fidauddin



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Khan who was at the Khanjahan Gate He stepped forth with boldness and took himself to the wall of the fence and became a martyr Mumin Khan was convinced that the conquest of the fort was not possible by attack with the help of these soldiers He regarded victory on blockade of passages of supply of provisions He attended to it with diligence He himself began to strive for the same and gave strict orders to the guards to the same effect They too

Poem

*Swept away night sleep from eyes
Washed usages of eating from lips
They mingled night and day
They poured thorns on the path of sleep and food*

However much the Bhandari engaged in threat, menace and harm of Muhammed Munjahduddin Khan, he could not get a dam He, therefore, allowed him to go He came out with his family In short, when all the time was spent outside in blockade of supply of provisions, grain and grass became scarce in the city With all this, the Marwaris with souls of dogs spent nearly one month and a half at any cost The beleaguered fellows were reduced to great straits The Bhandaris assembled the patawats and the chiefs, sought advice in respect of remedy and said, "Complete nine months are spent in defence of the city in accordance with conditions of fort defence We received nothing but orders from the Maharajah which were not obeyed We received no succour as well as money for military equipment Monsoon is about to approach Condition of the city, provisions and war materials is patent" At the advice of patawats and counsellors, a message of peace was sent with condition that the amount was risen high in respect of the soldiers' salary and that there was lack of transport facilities due to death of animals, these should be provided as terms of peace A messenger was sent at close of the month of Moharram 1150 It was decided by negotiations that one lac of rupees in cash and some animals should be paid to him Fidauddin Khan and Muhammed Mumin should remain with the Bhandari as hostages till recovery of the amount in cash and kind and his departure He would then go submitting the city to his charge

Verses

*When the time of amity became warm
Hard hearts of revengeful persons became soft
Watchmen did not light lamps at night
They placed heads in slumber of tranquillity*

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The agreement of peace was sealed with the seal and security of chiefs of both the sides. As the subah was divided half to half with the Marathas, cash and kind were similarly divided. The Bhandari made preparations for departure. Mubārīz-ūl-Mulk had left some old and new cannons as well as lead and gun-powder. The Maharajah had sent some out of these to Jodhpur. Some of them were in use till now. Some cannons bought by the Maharajah had been brought from Surat to Khanbhayat. Mumin Khan had appropriated them. He left about fifty iron cannons and some useless ones. He came out of the city at close of the day on 6th Safar and encamped outside the Idar gate near Barāhī Hajipur on way to Jodhpur. He handed over keys of the gates. Muhammed Yusuf on behalf of Mumin Khan was appointed as Kotwal of the city. He entered the city on that very night in company of the Kotwal of Rēnkoji. He attended to defence and protection of the city. Astoria and Raipur gates were opened for intercourse of the public. The Bhandari stayed for a few days for transport and recovery of the amount. He set his face of adversity to Marwar with goods and chattles collected from houses of men as well as heavy loads of misery and tyranny on his neck.

Verse

A vicious tyrant does not remain
Curse of God clings to him

Mumin Khan waited for an elected hour. He sent a report of it to His Majesty and details of circumstances to Amir-ul-Umara Samsamud-Dawlah with swift couriers. He wrote letters of victory to all the Faujdars and Amils. Residents of the city rejoiced at the opening of gates for them. They entered their respective houses in joy and delight. They felt sorry at the carriage of their household goods and digging out of buried treasures. Those who had means began to re-build and make good the losses.



CHAPTER 232

ENTRY OF MUMIN KHAN FOLLOWED BY THAT OF RENKOJI IN THE CITY RENKOJI PUTS UP IN THE HOUSE OF RUSTAM 'ALI KHAN

It was on the auspicious day of Friday, 14th Safar, the hour elected by the astrologers that Mumin Khan, Fidauddin Khan and Jawanmard Khan entered the city through Raipur gate rejoicing. They were sitting on mountain-bodied elephants and came from the camp of Bara Nainpur with equipped army and artillery. They were accompanied by Mustafid Khan Qazi, 'Abdul Husain Khan, Naib Diwan of the Subah, 'Ali Muhammed Khan, Mumin 'Ali Khan, Muhammed Quli Khan, Baqir Muhammed Khan, Muhsin Khan, Sadiq 'Ali Khan, Syed Nurullah, jamadars of Gujarat and other regions. He hastened to the Jame 'Masjid, said Friday prayers, heard the holy sermon, gave a robe of honour to the Khatib (preacher) and entered the fort-citadel of Bhadra. He appointed Fidauddin Khan as Naib and Vajeram as peshkar of the Nizamat while Haji Mas'ud and Ramsang Hazari were appointed as joint patrolling faujdars. He issued a proclamation of safety and security, abolition of tyranny and hatred in the name of His Majesty and said that none should cause harm and injury to the common-folk and the elite. Nobles of the city, eminent Sveds, holy spiritual guides, royal servants, chiefs and sheikhs of every section of population and community congratulated and gave presents befitting their station in life. They offered prayers of grace and departed. Renkoji, who, a few days before had returned from Surath to see Damaji Rao and was on his way to native place, departed. He accompanied him as far as the Mahi river. He then went to Dholka and stayed there for certain circumstances. Mumin Khan sent Fidauddin Khan for solace and reception. He too entered the city with an army of the Dekhanis in all majesty and alighted in the house of Rustam 'Ali Khan situated on the bank of Sabar fixed for his residence. He posted his own men, under terms of agreement, at Raigadh gate, Khan Jahan, Jamalpur, gate wall, Astoria and Raipur. Opening and closing of gates were taken in their charge. He appointed naibs, havaldars, faujdars, thanadars at places of revenue such as the office for collection of religious taxes, miscellaneous taxes, annual market, mint, jewellers market, pan (betel leaves) market, oil mandi, vegetables mandi, fords and chakalas. He instructed them that they should administer affairs of the mahals in co operation with naibs of the Nazim as the government was to be shared half to half in all financial and state matters. The Dekhanis called them Mughals from beginning of invasions of princes and eminent amirs in the Dekhan but now they were their co sharers and partners in administration. People talked about the part of the Mughals and the part of the Marathas. This was the beginning of the Maratha interference in the city.

Hemistich

There was an uproar of two kings in one region

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CHAPTER 233

AN INTERNEGINE WAR BETWEEN THE SOLDIERS OF GUJARAT AND RENKOJI FOR OPPRESSION AND INTRUSION OF THE MARATHAS IN GUJARATI HOUSES

Such a day had never entered into imagination as well as was never seen in dream by the Dekhanis. It manifested itself to them. Every time, they jumped from their places in wonder and every one of them rubbed his eyes and said

Hemistich

Oh Lord ! What I see is in a wakeful state or in a dream

They occupied every place and house they liked with force and violence out of arrogance, boldness and vanity. They did not stop from prevention of owners of houses. The affair terminated from words quarrel in pelting of stones, beating by sticks, fisting and giving blows on fore head. Harassed persons had not yet rested from injustice of the Marwaris and exile and had not breathed properly when they got involved in this unforeseen calamity. They intended to take possession of the house of Syed Muzaffar alias Mastu which was an extensive and lovely building. He had relation with Syed Afzal and Syed Nasrullah brothers of Syed Muddasar. They could not bear harassment and violence of the Marathas. They wounded one, two, of them. The Dekhanis gathered together for rioting.

Poem

*From one mischief-monger of distracted affair
Many disturbances arose from all sides
Soldiers got excited on every side
They began to agitate like a surging flood
They shouted with one another with a loud cry
How long to endure death of a tyrant
If we lose our heads by bloody swords
It would be better than submission in cowardice*

Relatives of Syed Afzal many jamadars of Gujarat and other regions as well as those who suffered from the same disease joined together without caring for their households. The Dekhanis too like crows collected together at one place and began to fight with arrows and muskets. Syed Sadr Jahan, brother of Syed Fayaz Khan and Muhammed Hummat Dawoodi son



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martyred with a musket - bullet Others also were slain as well as wounded. Many Dekhanis too died in this skirmish. Fire of revolt flamed forth. Even though, Mumin Khan did not speak about it openly and kept himself free its responsibility yet he did not prevent any one of his relatives, acquaintances, and countrymen who joined in batches to help them and joined them from taking part in it. Nay, he induced and incited them by hints and suggestions. He thought that the more these silly Marathas were overpowered and afflicted and their eyes became fearful, the better it would be so that they might not in future behave in a shameless manner and be bold and daring. They should take account of their chief vice of man persecution and abstain from it. There were trenches and arrangement of rows of army in lanes and bazars. This state of affairs continued for three full day. Many persons from both sides got killed. Houses of oppressed and distressed persons situated in neighbourhood of the battle ground were plundered. They lost whatever was left by the Marwaris, in accordance with the saying, whatever is left by the thief is taken away by the soothsayer. In short, the Maratha warfare consisted of galloping the horse, remaining in the battled field and then fleeing away. They could not fight in lanes and bazars. There was crowding upon them from every side. They saw their own safety in coming out of the city. They vacated houses, left the city gates which were under their charge and went out. Renkoji with a few favourites who were in the house of Rustam 'Ali Khan thought that if the affairs could come to such a pitch, he should go out and make amends and reparations of it. Mumin Khan, out of foresight and thinking of the future imagined that his going out would mean great disturbance, and so he sent Fidauddin Khan and other well wishing confidantes in accordance with the exigency of time to console them with heart-pleasing words saying, "Residents of the city are mostly soldiers and the nobles. They indulged in this skirmish through fear of loss of reputation. We have no quarrel with you. You should restrain the Dekhanis in future so that they may not become source of harm and injury." Thus the riot was suppressed. The Dekhanis who entered the house of any one fearlessly, gained experience, stretched feet in proportion to the blanket and remained contented with houses situated round about the house of Rustam 'Ali Khan. They kept the gate of Khanbhat and the Jamalpur gate, being near to them under their control and left the others. It was at this time that the author, who had gone to Khanbhayat after the 10th of Muharram to see his brothers returned with Mukhlis Khan who was there for some time, came to the city and saw his father. He suffered from physical ailment. He, therefore, summoned his dependents from Khanbhayat. He recovered within a short time. Jawanmard Khan who was with Mumin Khan for nearly one year, obtained permission to go to Pattan and requested for the grant of the paraganah of Kheralu which was nearly in place of the paraganah



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of Prantij for his brother Zorawar Khan. Mumin Khan gave him a sanad and a permit in his own name. When news of exit of the Marwaris and entry of Mumin Khan spread far and wide, batches of ryots, common-folk and tradesmen, who had migrated slowly and slowly due to their tyranny to villages, paraganahs, Surat, Khanbhyat wherever they found a safe place and spent their lives in expectation to return to their native place, were seized with love of their native place and set out for Ahmedabad, their ancestral abode.

Quatrain

*Love of one's own country is better than the kingdom of Solomon.
Thorn of the native place is better than hyacinth and basil.
Joseph who ruled as a king over Egypt
Used to say, it is better to be a beggar of Kin'an.*

Every day fresh batches and bands of people returned in great hope and unspeakable alacrity because they thought that there would be no distress after this joy, no affliction after this delight and no difficulty after this ease. They did not know as to what hardships, affliction and vexations were destined for them. They arrived with joy and cheerfulness and devoted themselves to their respective trades and professions. Once again, there were splendour and pleasantness in the city. May it not remained hidden that inspite of visitation of continuous calamities in this region, had there been any other place and any one who became free from hardships of that place and spent some time in a place of safety, would not wish for return to that place, contrary to the people of Gujarat who night and day remembered it. The reason was that most of the tradesmen and professional men weave cloth. As the climate of other places was not congenial, they could not prepare embroidered cloth, as well as cotton and silk stuff so well as in Ahmedabad. They were, therefore, helpless. As far as possible, they regarded to come out of Ahmedabad as if their soul was in agony. In early times, clothes and other stuff were transacted in lacs. They were prosperous and in comfortable circumstances and free from arrest, imposition of fine and biwarah. Wealthy merchants stored things of every kind worth a large amount. Due to occurrence of events and calamities mentioned in detail above, they lost hoardings of their ancestors in hope of present and future betterment. In course of time, they were reduced to poverty and penury. Most of them got dispersed hither and thither.

Verse

*Every one wishes for good days
Difficulty is that I find every day getting worse and worse.*

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Soldiers lived in large numbers in the city, on the other bank of Sabar and Qasbas. They became source of resistance against the Kolis in this very region in thorny places and ravines. They attacked villages, drove away cattle, escorted Nazams, took responsibility of collecting peshkash from zamindars on a small salary, they got enlisted as recruits in the army for a few days, served the faujdars and the thanadars. They, thus, maintained themselves. Most of them lived on fodder and grains of their fields. There were wars and battles especially with the Marathas in other subahs. They did not accept service there. Now there remained name of them. In course of time, they got extinct due to unemployment, confiscation of their fields, by massacre and plunder. Those who were left were apparently needy and they took to spinning like women and maid servants. Their place was taken by unknown low persons who made profession of a soldier notorious. They were ignorant of name and fame and served as porters.

Verse

*Some common-folk have appeared in aristocratic garments
They bring good name to evil reputation*

Some of them, who of necessity, made bravery their profession, frequently went to various directions to try their luck. They returned in a ruined and distracted condition.

Verse

*If you sew up the earth with sky
They will not give you more than what is destined*

Had there been satisfaction from tyrannical governors, order, safety and security of roads, and prosperity would have been imagined within a short time even though God is the means of livelihood, and continuation of trade and art. "God erases what He likes and retains what He likes." Ruin and desolation had reached such a pitch that a lion visited the purah of Rasulabad, where there is the shrine of His Holiness Shah 'Alam may his grave be sanctified and the habitation of regal syeds and that it had grown up into a city. He became a source of harm and injury to men and animals because he lived there. Mumtaz Khan came to know about it. He went with an army and hunted it. He removed the menace of that beast. Many buildings in this city during the period of calamities and especially recently got ruined, they rolled against one another and turned into desolation. Jackals, foxes, hedgehogs, beasts and wild birds have made their holes and nests. Many a time, they are seen with our eyes.

Quatrain

*The palace in which Jamshed held the cup
Fox gave birth to young ones and the lion took rest
Behram who always caught the wild ass
See how the grave seized Behram*



CHAPTER 234

HIS MAJESTY READS A PETITION AND SEES THE PRESENT SENT BY MUMIN KHAN HE IS EXALTED WITH GRANT OF AN ADDITIONAL MANSAB, TITLE OF BAHADUR, A ROBE OF HONOUR, A JEWELLED TURBAN-STRAP, A BANNER AND A DRUM, AND THE USE OF A PALKI WITH TRAPPINGS MUMIN KHAN COMES OUT FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER AND COLLECTION OF PESHKASH FROM ZAMINDARS OF THE DISTRICT OF SABARMATI

When a petition along with a present containing a report about victory of Ahmedabad was received by His Majesty, he was granted by His Majesty an additional mansab of 1000 Zat, 1000 Sawar and so his mansab consisted original and additional-of 4000 Zat and 2000 Sawar He was granted a title of Bahadur, a standard, a drum, a special robe of honour, a turban strap, a jewelled turban-ornament, a sword-hilt with nine marks, an elephant and use of a palki with trappings He also received an order in praise and eulogy and for establishment of order in the subah of Ahmedabad These presents along with a few gaudy robes were sent for Jawanmard Khan and other confederates who performed exploits in this campaign with mace-bearer Zain ul-Abedin Khan Amir-ul-Umara Samsam-ud-dawlah wrote after much praise

Hemistich

This work is done by you and men perform such deeds

As the monsoon was over, it was time for raising of crops, reaping and removing of thorns from plants of the fields Mumin Khan engaged himself in establishment of order, assessment of due revenue from malguzars, collection of peshkash from zamindars, taking of securities from the Kolis of the Sabarmati district for not rising in revolt and raising of disturbance, preparation of essentials of artillery and recruitment of soldiers He wrote to Sher Khan and Jawanmard Khan Babi inviting them to share the administrative work He employed in his service Subhan Singh Hazari, Godar Singh with a cavalry of 700 horse, Shaikh 'Aqil, Mir Muhammed Zaman with 500 horse and the Marwaris who had deserted the Bhandari and lived in Ahmedabad He troubled Renkoji to accompany the Dekhani regiment He encamped near the garden of Muhammed Amin Khan on the bank of Sabarmati on 1st Jamadi II Renkoji also alighted at the Kankariya Tank Jawanmard Khan had arrived from Pattan as summoned. Renkoji showed negligence and remissness in accompanying the Maratha regiment Mumin Khan sent Fidauddin Khan to pacify him with sincerity. He moved from the bank of the Tank and encamped near Rakhial He decided to take five thousand rupees from the office-



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bearers of the mahal of the mint with a document of an order and recovered it under duress. Mumin Khan sent an advanced tent of his own to Adaly in Haveli paraganah, a distance of five kurohs from the city. Gangadas, leader of Sirk merchants had an affliction at heart from the time of the Maharajah. Again he said to him not to stay in Ahmedabad at the inducement of Khushal Chand Nagarsbeth. He left for Udaipur. In short, Mumin Khan went the next day to see Renkoji with Fidauddin Khan. He gave him a present of a horse. When they talked about joining the army, he demanded a respite for two days. Mumin Khan mounted his horse, crossed the river Sabar and entered his advanced tent. He appointed Jawanmard Khan in charge of vanguard of an army and for settlement of peshkash. Sher Khan Babi joined him having come from Barah Sinor. He said to him to join the vanguard with Jawanmard Khan. Renkoji tarried for two days and joined Mumin Khan as promised with a regiment of two thousand horse and foot. Huthce Singh Zamindar of Pithapur who was near by, came and accepted a sum to pay by way of peshkash. Fidauddin was ordered to return from Adaly as Naib of the city while Renkoji sent Ramaji as his naib. It was at this time that Qazi Mustafid Khan who held the mansab of 1000 Zat and 100 Sawar and who was indisposed for some time died on 20th Jamadi II. He was buried by the side of his ancestors in the garden. Mumin Khan, on hearing news of his death sent a letter of appointment to the post of the Qazi, after his death, in accordance with regulations, to his Khwajah Nuruddin Ahmed who assumed charge of his post. Mumin Khan marched and encamped at Mansa. The local zamindar came to see him. Even though, the planet of fortune and the star of luck of the people of Gujarat rose for a few days from abyss of adversity to peak of honour, it became free from declination and combustion of arrest. At this juncture innovation or evil practice of imposition of fine and extortion was more or less revived in the chabutra of Kotwali. The Kolis every night rised head of transgression and stretched their hands in plunder, carrying of provisions and capturing persons in purahs and resorted every day to pillage of passers-by. Mumin Khan while collecting peshkash reached Soja in the Kadi paraganah. He halted for assessment of the paraganah of Vyapur. Officers of Mumin Khan appropriated secretly more than half the share of the Mughal. Renkoji, therefore, came to the city on account of this injustice of the partner leaving his brother Akoji with a regiment on the occasion of Daseri. It was at this time that Ramaji carved an idol from a rock stone and installed it in a temple at Sultanpur. The Hindus thronged to worship it. An investigation began among the Mughal and Maratha Faujdars and Amils about a greater and lesser share in the paraganahs. Renkoji left Ramaji as before as his Naib in the city and proceeded to Viramgam and Saurath to collect peshkash separately. His brother Akoji remained with

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Mumin Khan for some time. He then left him and joined Renkoji. Mumin Khan went to Idar after completing his work at Vijapur and occupied himself with collection of peshkash from zamindars of Mohanpur District who were known as Rahbaran Prithvi zamindar of Manva who was in the army agreed to pay twenty three thousand of rupees as peshkash while the zamindar of Barsura ten thousand rupees they gave hostages for the same and were permitted to go. When Mumin Khan reached vicinity of Idar, brothers of the Maharajah, Anand Singh and Rai Singh came and met him. They settled the peshkash of the Zamindars of Mohanpur District which was included in the Idar jurisdiction and accompanied him as far as the border under their jurisdiction. Anand Singh went to Idar while his brother Rai Singh chose to accompany him to bear expenses according to his capacity for hospitality of Mumin Khan. At this juncture, Sher Muhammed Khan, on the transfer of Mir Dost Ali was appointed as Naib Fajdar of Junagadh on behalf of Huzair Khan. He came to the city and saw Fiduuddin Khan, Naib of the subah. Ramji Naib of Renkoji made investigations of villages and lands granted as maintenance charges to the syeds of Vatva and Rasulabad. They gathered together in the Jame Masjid on Friday and rose up to stop performance of prayers and recitation of the Khutbah (sermon). Fiduuddin Khan learnt about it, consoled them and said, "I will stop Ramji from this improper action." Prayers were said and the Khutbah was recited. Practice of imposing money on fields innovated by former Nazims was renewed. An exchange of words took place between Kotwals of both the parties in respect of more or less share of fines. Three, four persons of both the sides got wounded. On the death of Mustafid Khan, Muhammed Nizamuddin Khan, the son of the seat of excellence and perfection, Mawlana Nuruddin who was with His Majesty, was appointed as Qazi of the city. His nephew Sadr-ul-Haq Khan assumed charge of the office. When Mumin Khan, while collecting peshkash, reached Palanpur, the local Fajdar Palad Khan met him through Sher Khan Babi. It was at this time that the news was received of arrival of Dewji Nakkir at Baroda with a cavalry of two thousand horse. He therefore returned and arrived at Basi Dabrah situated at a distance of twenty kurohs from the city, Palad Khan was permitted to go. Jawanmard Khan left his brother Safdar Khan for maintenance of order at Putan and went away with permission. Ma'mur Khan arrived in the city as the Fajdar of Junagadh as the Naib of Huzair Khan. He showed the sword in his name. Dewji Nakkir crossed the river Mithi. Mumin Khan marched from Vijapur to Zawa at a distance of seven kurohs on 11th Sha'bin and encamped in the garden of Syed Huzam Khan alias Syed Khan near Behrampur on the city border and encamped. He ordered guards of the fort gates and the Kotwal that they should not allow any



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soldiers to enter the city without permission. Fidauddin Khan and nobles of the city went and saw him. Dewji reached Dholka on the way to Saurath and marched further. As Sher Muhammed Khan, Naib faujdar of Junagadh turned to make preparations for departure when Ma'mur Khan brought a sanad of that place. Other naibs complained to Mumin Khan about it. He replied that both of them should write to Hizabar Khan and that whoever would receive the sanad anew should assume charge of the office. When Dewji hastened from Dholka to Saurath, Mumin Khan halted for a few days at Isanpur at a distance of two kurohs for establishment of order on the bank of Vatrak and encamped at Kavlaj on the river bank. The Kolis of the place arrived for payment of peshkash and to give securities. Syed Muhammed a descendant of His Holiness Shah Alam, may his grave be sanctified, died on 28th Sha'ban. He was buried by the side of his ancestors. Mumin Khan nominated Syed Husain Amawi in his place. After some time, the sanad of trusteeship was received from His Majesty in the name of Syed Abdush Shakur, nephew of Syed Muhammed. Succession also was granted to him. Mumin Khan marched from Kavlaj to Adas to inquire about the arrival of Damaji from Songadh and his crossing the river Mahi. He then entered the city. Damaji reached Dholka and hastened to Saurath. Sher Khan Babu proceeded to Ghogha, mahal of his jagir with the permission of Mumin Khan. Mir Dost Ali, naib of Hizabar Khan stayed at Junagadh. Many Gujarati soldiers were not paid their salary. They objected to serve. They made demands of salary. That helpless man was entangled in the snare of their stratagem. To liberate himself from many of them who were internally in concord with Sher Khan, he invited him on an agreement of half to half so that they might together assess and collect the revenue in order that he might be free from the demands of soldiers. He came being pleased with that proposal. He spent some time in expediency and so behaved with him that that simple man got confounded and distracted. He dismissed him so he went away. Junagadh came under possession of Sher Khan without objection and partnership of any one. By chance Mir Hizabar died a natural death at the court. Sher Muhammed Khan and Ma'mur Khan, who expected assumption of charge and receipt of a fresh sanad had stayed on spent time in difficulties and returned to the capital. The Faujdari of Saurath on the death of Hizabar Khan was granted by His Majesty to Himmatt 'Ali Khan nephew of Mumin Khan who was with His Majesty. He wrote to his uncle for sending a naib. He delayed for a time due to annual visit of the Marathas in that district and the stay of Sher Khan. Damaji returned from Saurath. He deemed it necessary to punish the Kolis of Patih Chanwal who are noted mischief-mongers and so he marched on Chhanwar the resort of their chief Kanaji. The Kolis gathered together and engaged in warfare. The Dekhanis too made

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strenuous efforts to push forward their batteries, and the war lasted for a few days. Their attack failed. Damaji, therefore, wrote to Mumin Khan to send help in shape of a few cannons. He dispatched Fidauddin Khan with an equipped regiment and an artillery. The Kolis got shaken in two days, they left their place at night and dispersed. The place was burnt in fury of rage. Fidauddin Khan returned to Ahmedabad. Damaji went to his native place. He ordered Renkoji to return to the city to work as his Naib from the river Mahi as before.

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arrange for a feast. Next day, Fidauddin Khan, Jawanmard Khan, Muhammed Mumin cousin of Mumin Khan went with confederate nobles to Idar. After the feast was over, Rai Singh gave a present of a horse to Fidauddin Khan, as well as to Jawanmard Khan and Muhammed Mumin. They returned to the camp. He then reached Vadnagar in two marches which was under Jawanmard Khan. He too gave a feast and presents of horses. He then marched to Visalnagar. As Jama, leader of the Kolis of Kakraj, who was notorious for rebellion did not care for Jawanmard Khan with arrogance and who, in conceit and vanity, had extended hand of harassment over villages of Pattan, he had not suffered a defeat at Palisa. He turned to punish and chastise him at the request of Jawanmard Khan. He saw no strength of resistance in him. He fled to his place of residence. He returned after plundering that place. Jawanmard Khan went to Pattan from the vicinity of Kadi. Fidauddin Khan returned to Ahmedabad. It was at this time that Qazi Nizamuddin Khan entered the city with an elephant and other presents from His Majesty. He saw Mumin Khan.

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CHAPTER 237

COPY OF THE AGREEMENT

First of all, revenue etc should be collected in the whole city and in the purahs half to half Under no circumstances, there should be any difference and deviation from it Mumin Khan affixed his signature to it stating, God willing, there would be no difference The Pandit also should carry it out *Secondly*, intercourse should continue between men of this side in the city There should be no chawki from both the sides at the gates of Jamalpur and Khan Jahan Both affirmed with signature that there should be no chawki *Thirdly* sahuikars and tradesmen of the city and the purahs had communications from the beginning of this double government but for the last few days, they did not come to this side due to prohibition of the Nazim They used to come to the officers of this side as in the past In case, if some excuse was put forth occasionally, persons of this side should be summoned and brought to officers No officer of the Nizammat would raise any objection They affirmed this term with their signatures They agreed that there would be no molestation and communication would continue as before *Fourthly* anything which was in connection with additional tax at the chabutrah of Kotwali should be decided in concord by the Kotwals of both the sarkars There should be no difference even to the extent of one dam If the difference was noted, it should be investigated and acted upon There should be equal number of persons at the office of the Pandit Taxes should be written down and a security and a bond on the basis of half to half should be taken This too was affirmed with signatures There should be securities from both the sides There should be men of both the parties at the Pandit's office *Fifthly* darogahs of both the parties should sit at one place in the kutcheri of Nizammat and Adalat to assess cases of additional taxes without any difference A person should be sent from each side to summon any one There should be men from both the sides at the Pandit's office Signatures of both the darogahs should be taken *Sixthly* any one who went out from this side for conquest, no investigation should be made of the officers of the Naib affirming on proof a small number of men with the Naib of this side If, occasionally, a disturbance took place between amils of both the sides for correspondence in respect of transactions of the paraganahs no misbehaviour should be shown towards the Naib in the city There should be mediators in this respect about the following detailed statement Fidauddin Khan, 'Abdul Husain Khan, 'Ali Muhammed Khan, Sadiq 'Ali Khan, Zorawar Khan Babi should affix their signatures Several days passed in accordance with the agreement but everything continued as before both within and without



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Rajah Rai Singh who was for some time in Ahmedabad obtained permission to go to Idar. Mumin Khan gave him presents of a piece of cloth, jewels and a horse and allowed him to go. It was during this time that Munim Khan's nephew Muhammed Mumin Bakhshi was elevated to a mansab and the title of Nazar 'Ali Khan.

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CHAPTER 238

FLOOD IN THE RIVER SABARMATI

There was a heavy flood this year in the river Sabarmati. Waters entered the city. Waves of calamity rose to such a pitch that imagination could not comprehend to avoid it. It was clear from reports of many aged persons that a flood during the government of Mahabat Khan in the regime of His Majesty Khuld Makan had not risen to such a height both before and after it at any time but this flood was a degree higher than that. At many places, the city rampart gave way. Many walls of buildings got shaken. Many props of buildings got demolished like the city of Shiba due to the deluge of Iram. Many lofty buildings were observed to have become desolate. It caused great ruin to many villages situated on the bank. Due to coincidence of heavenly rotation, passage of nights and days and change of months and years, the world illuminating New year's Day coincided with the festival of Id uz zuha. A confluence of two Ids took place in the vernal assembly. Messenger of the east wind conveyed this good news to the garden Narcissus which kept its hopeful eyes open in expectation of these tidings, presented it with a tray of gold. Emperor Nadir Shah arrived from Iran for recreation in the spring-place of Hindustan with a large army and reached the place at a distance of forty kurohs from the capital. Peace was concluded after a royal war. Hostility changed into amity. The two kings assembled like the sun and the moon. Both entered the capital together. An auspicious conjunction of two blessed planets took place in the zodiac of Leo of the fort citadel. Although, events of that place and other countries had no intervention with writing of this book limited only to events of the subah of Gujarat but for the occasion of coins of Nadir Shah which till his stay in the capital became current in many cities of Hind with the following inscription on faces of dirams and dinars

Inscription

*There is a sultan over the sultans of the world
King of kings Nadir lord of the conjunction*

The words "may God make his kingdom permanent" were inscribed on the other side of the coin impressed at such a place in the mint of Ahmedabad on 16th Muharram, 1152. Rupees and ashrafiis were also coined.



CHAPTER 239

A CIVIL WAR WITH SUBHAN SINGH HAZARI AND HIS LEAVING THE CITY.

It was at this time that the juggling sky arranged a fresh battle-ground Subhan Singh Hazari, Ram Singh and Godar Singh who were the confederates of the Bhandari as well as Ratan Singh who had deserted him and lived in Ahmedabad. They employed themselves in the service of Mumin Khan with a cavalry of nearly one thousand horse. As the arrears of their salary increased and the amount rose high, others saw that he had a large body of troops, they joined him to support him as a brother. They forgot themselves out of pride and vanity, placed their feet beyond the limit of their blanket and began to demand their salary with harshness and severity.

Verse

*He who places his feet beyond proportion
Finds his own head at his own feet*

Mumin Khan consoled them in accordance with exigency of time with softness and politeness and tried to evade them.

Verse

*A hard work becomes easy with humility
A flame of fire can be extinguished with water.*

He kept his own brother ready at Bhadra through distress and sat there to create a riot. He carried his work to such a pitch as to kindle up fire of mischief. Mumin Khan, out of farsightness, settled payment of his salary by instalment on a promised day according to his pleasure and permitted him to go with watering of sweet tongue and fascinating words. He planned to do away with him. He sought for an excuse and said to himself

Verse

*If he became slack in designs against him
Perhaps he might forestall him*

By chance, an exchange of words took place at the house of a person with one of the confederates of Hazari. He went to Mumin Khan seeking justice against him. Mumin Khan sent word to Sujan Singh to prevent his men from oppressing and tyrannizing over helpless persons so that they might not molest them for houses. He gave an evasive reply out of pride and vanity whirled in the place of his kernelless brain and vehemence of



youth, which was a branch (part) of madness, made him not to think of good and bad consequences and this was beyond the capacity of Mumin Khan to bear

Poem

*When he knew that the scratched silk
Could not be amended by mending
One who suffered pricking of a thorn many times
Would not tolerate a thorn at his feet*

As the wound had become ripe, he opened it and allowed the pus to flow out. He ordered a party of Arabs and porters to beat and bind the oppressors. Hazari's men came forward to support them. Many persons of both the parties got wounded. Their quarrel and contention reached Sujan Singh. Mumin Khan's men forcibly went to his house in Mirzapur and besieged him. A war with cannons and muskets ensued. Ramsingh Hazari lay slain. The skirmish continued for full one day. Sujan Singh was reduced to straits.

Verse

*An ill wisher suffered injury from a star (ill luck)
That he was impressed in a ring of city walls*

He firmly continued to fight till close of the next day seeking for an escape. When the affair was out of control, and he saw no way of escape, he came out from one side with drawn swords on fast-running horses and took himself to the house of Renkoji, and entered it. His household articles removable and irremovable were plundered. Renkoji protected him that night and turned him out next morning from the Khan Jahan gate under the control of the Marathas. He hastened to Idar. This event took place on 23rd Safar. Nadir Shah left for Iran on 20th Safar. The Government was under control of His Majesty. A royal order was issued about his departure and the establishment of authority in the hands of His Majesty to the Nazims and Diwans of the Empire. Mumin Khan, after arrival of the order addressed to him, hastened to the Jame' Masjid on Friday. The Khatsb (preacher) recited the holy sermon with titles of His Majesty before the common folk and the elite. Coins were struck in mints in the name of His Majesty. Faces of rupees and ashrafiya were impressed afresh. Gold coins of Nadir Shah had not reached Ahmedabad. They were broken. Arcot coins had come from the Deccan. They were current here. Different coins old and new from every region got mixed. They appeared very strange. It was at this time that Muhammad Baqir Khan son of Mumin Khan the former diwan who had gone to the Capital during the regime of the Maharajah came to Ahmedabad. Mumin Khan appointed the nephew of Fidauddin Khan, Muhammad Husain, in place of Sadiq 'Ali Khan as the patrolling Faujdar.

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CHAPTER 240

RETURN OF DAMAJIRAO GAEKWAR FROM SAURATH WITH INTENTION TO RETURN TO HIS NATIVE PLACE. APPOINTMENT OF MALHAR KHUNI AS NAIB IN THE CITY IN PLACE RENKOJI.

Damaji was occupied for some time with collection of peshkash in Saurath. He was now free from this work. He returned on way to his native place. Renkoji went to meet him. He took him with himself. He appointed Malhar Khuni of Baroda as Naib in his place. He arrived at Isanpur at a distance of two kurohs from the city. Mumin Khan sent Fidauddin Khan and Vajeram peshkar to the Peshwa. He came on 25th Jamadi I and met Mumin Khan. He received a robe of honour, a jewelled turban-strap, a horse with three silver bridles and nearly fifty robes as presents along with his companions and put up in the house of Rustam 'Ali Khan, the residential quarters of the Naib Maratha. Mumin Khan saw him again after a few days. He too gave him presents of a horse and a piece of cloth. As the season of raising the crop had come nigh, Malhar stayed for some time in the city and came out for assessment of the paraganahs for the Maratha share appointing Madhav Pandit as his Naib. As Mumin Khan's men did not give the Marathas their fixed share in biwarah, mulets and did not allow them any part in settlement of cases, an exchange of hot words took place. As Madhav Pandit had no party of soldiers of his own, he employed Muhammed Ilah Din Ghorani and a number of Gujaratis in service and engaged in arrest of those persons whose cases had been decided and made investigations about more or less of his share. The Mughals came forward to object to it. The affair ended in preparation of entrenchments and an internecine war. Some persons from both the sides came forward ready and prepared for war when some well-wishers intervened and suppressed this warfare and thus the affair did not terminate in actual war. During the course of this few days' skirmish, a house, situated before the bazar of the Fort-citadel which belonged to Jagdev, Kotwal of the Maharajah who took a part of the land from the highway, constructed a building and which on the day of entry of Mumin Khan had fallen in the hands of the Marathas and which was occupied by Bhasker Vaki, was pulled down by Mumin Khan as he did not deem it proper for its being situated near the chabutra of Kotwali at the Bhadra Gate. It was in this year that Jawanmard Khan's brother Zorawar Khan who was with a party of Gonds of Udaipur as a hostage of Malhar was set free on payment of an amount of money. He came to Pattan and thence he came to Ahmedabad for a meeting. As the officers of the Maharajah had mixed copper with gold and silver during the regime of the Maharajah in the mahl of the mint, and struck coins, the ashrafi and



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the rupee of the Ahmedabad mint had suffered in currency. At this juncture, Mumin Khan said to bankers and officers of the mahal that they should melt the alloyed gold coins and turn them into genuine gold coins of Mubarak so that the ill-repute might disappear. But they told him about the alloy and revenue of the mint. Hence he abolished the revenue of the alloyed metal for one year. In spite of this ill-repute of the Ahmedabad mint did not disappear in outside places. Sadiq 'Ali Khan was appointed an Amin and faujdar of the paraganah of Petlad in place of Muhammed Hadi Khan. Muhammed Baqir Khan was appointed as the patrolling Faujdar in place of Muhammed Husain.



CHAPTER 241

MUMIN KHAN APPOINTS FIDAUDDIN KHAN WITH
AN ARMY FOR ASSESSMENT OF THE PARAGANAHS,
COLLECTION OF PESHKASH FROM ZAMINDARS,
AND TAKING OF SECURITIES FROM THE KOLIS.
OTHER EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE THIS YEAR.

It was time for raising of crops, reaping and harvesting of fields as well as the season for leading an army for assessment and collection of peshkash as well as taking of securities from Zamindars. Mumin Khan appointed Fidauddin Khan and Nazar 'Ali Khan for this work. Whenever Jawanmard Khan came as summoned every year inspite of change of the paraganah of Pattan and other paraganahs, he took an amount of money by way of daily expenses of his companions. These expenses were found to be heavy. His brother Zorawar Khan was now appointed on an agreement of less expenses. He accompanied Fidauddin Khan. Fidauddin Khan marched and encamped at Dabhoda in Ghorash Bhel. The Kolis of the place waged a defensive war for two days with arrows and muskets but ultimately, they paid peshkash and gave securities. He then encamped at Antarsunbah and stayed there for three days for a talk of settlement of the peshkash. During the course of that night, the Kolis came to vanguard of the army at the artillery and began to be saucy. Nazar 'Ali Khan reached with succour in company of his confederates. By chance, a bullet passed scratching the skin of his bosom. The Kolis retreated. Next day, the amount of peshkash and the matter of securities were settled. He marched to the district of Mandwah and tarried there. Agents of the local zamindar saw him and freed themselves from responsibility of payment of peshkash. As the kashra of Kapadvanj was near, he went and encamped there. He collected the legitimate dues of assessment. He marched with intention to plunder and pillage the villages of Virpur paraganah in possession of the zamindar of Lunawadi. He, thence, proceeded to Barah Sinor. With two marches further, he encamped on the bank of Mahi. He stayed for some time waiting for the arrival of Sultan Singh, manager of the zamindar of Lunawarah. In the meantime, he received letters from Mumin Khan to the effect that Malhar Khuni had brought all the grain-crop of paraganahs under confiscation and demanded additional stock from ryots. As assessment was not possible without advice and pleasure of amils of both the sides and as such the work of acquisition was stopped. Further he had a secret idea of war in his mind. He was, therefore, instructed to return soon to Ahmedabad. As the case of the zamindar of Lunawarah was not settled, he expected arrival of Sultan Singh. He delayed for two days more when he



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too came and gave him a present of two horses and an amount of three thousand rupes. Fidauddin Khan came by a long march in all haste for increased emphasis to Barahsinor and thence he went to Kapadwanj. He was under the impression that after his arrival, the agent of Malhar who was at Kapadwanj must have written for sending an army for his information. He had an idea of warfare and therefore, if he encountered him on the way, what face he would show. He gave a strict order, out of care and caution, to the Darogah of artillery that he should carry the cannons at close of night from Mahwar which he kept at the town of Jiryan. He wrote to Champa, the zamindar of Atarsunbah and the Kolis of Mandwah that they should present themselves at the ford of Kholwada on the bank of Vatrak for defence and passage of his camp, while he himself marched when two hours of the night were left without creating any sound from drums of departure so that the enemy might not know of his departure. He came to the town of Bhel in hot haste. On the way, he received a letter from Mumin Khan to the effect that there was no cause for consternation. He should go with all tranquillity from the place where he was to Petlad near which Malhar stayed and that he should settle assessment with his concord. He came to Kheda with two marches with satisfaction at heart. Muhammed Quli Khan met him on the road near Kanij with some oral messages from Mumin Khan from Ahmedabad and accompanied him. Mumin Khan had sent Muhammed Husain, nephew of Fidauddin Khan, after his departure, with an army consisting of nearly one thousand horse and foot along with three four cannons and an elephant with a view to warfare with Malhar towards Mundha in consultation with Anandram who cherished a passion to lead an army. He came to Kheda and stayed there for two days before the arrival of Fidauddin Khan. He now joined him. As Malhar Khan had reached Bhoj which was nearby Fidauddin Khan, on his arrival at Kheda, sent word to him expressing his wish to meet him. Next day, Malhar also had advanced from his camp in company of Muhammed Quli Khan and decided at dinner that muqaddams and ryots should be summoned at the borders of Petlad where they should settle and investigate the matters by mutual consent. Fidauddin Khan marched and encamped in the plain at the foot of the fort, the quarters of the Faujdar Sadiq 'Ali Khan, the local faujdar played the host. Malhar also arrived as promised. Conversation started. Vajeram went to Mumin Khan to report certain matters to him. By chance, the Kolis of the paraganah of Bhel raised heads in disturbance and proved a source of agitation. Mumin Khan sent 'Abdul Husain Khan and Vajeram with an elephant and a regiment to punish and chastise them. They set fire to one, two houses. As their number was small, the Kolis collected together and started beating and striking with malignity. Vajeram bore a slight wound by an arrow. Nazar Ali Khan came alone from Petlad as summoned by Mumin Khan. Muhammed Hussain hastened

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when concord and congeniality were restored. Mumin Khan and Renkoji marched from Khanbhayat for Viramgam. The author's father got himself separated from them on the way, and came to Ahmedabad. After their arrival at Viramgam, they engaged themselves in preparing raised grounds, and batteries. A war ensued with cannons and muskets. Nearly a month passed in this way and yet the image of conquest was not seen in the mirror of victory. Salary of Mumin Khan's soldiers rose high and so he did not deem it proper for himself to stay any further. He got himself separated from him and proceeded towards Kadi and Vijapur for assessment and collection of legitimate revenue as well as peshkash. Renkoji occupied himself with the siege and exerted himself more than before. The besieged ones did not notice any slackness in his determination inspite of Mumin Khan's departure, the party of Arabs and Rohilas got afraid of evil consequence and made demands of salary. Bhadu Singh acted with farsightedness out of care and caution, he had collected food-stuff, grass and other provisions necessary for human beings which could be easily supplied to them. Their object was to seek a pretext. They wished for money which could not be arranged then and they created an uproar. Necessarily, he had to knock at the door for peace on condition that the fortress of Patdi along with certain other villages should be left to him on surrender of Viramgam. Renkoji agreed to this term with pleasure. The Desai came out with reliable securities and hastened to Patdi. Viramgam was occupied by the Marathas as before. Mumin Khan had reached Mansa at a distance of seventeen kurohs from the city assessing and collecting revenue when he heard news of Damaji's arrival with a cavalry of ten thousand horse on the Mahi shore. He therefore, reached himself by a long march at Bagh-i-Shahi on 12th Ramazan. Fidauddin Khan and other grandees went and saw him. He entered the city after two days' stay there. At this juncture, a man declared that a treasure of the Gujarati sultans was hidden and concealed like elixir of life in a dark well, in a well at Mahmudabad known as the well of Nokhan. Mumin Khan appointed certain persons to search for it by digging the well and to take possession of it. The more they searched for it and dug it, the less they found. Damaji crossed the Mahi river, started for the Sabarmati district and laid siege to Mansa. The local zamindar defended himself by a stronghold of a thicket of thorny plants, fortification of a jungle and a multitude of Rajputs and Kolis. A war ensued with cannons and guns. As there was shortage of water in neighbourhood of population and camp of the army, Damaji ordered to dig wells. A number of wells were dug out within a short time. He then directed his energies to the assault with all diligence. He cleared the jungle and raised elevated grounds and made trenches. The zamindar firmly defended himself for nearly a month but then he found no power for resistance in him. He vacated the place and went away. Damaji burnt the place with fury, uprooted the thorny plants and demolished houses of residents. He then proceeded to Saurath to collect peshkash from zamindars.

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CHAPTER 243

RETURN OF DAMAJI TO SONGADH. SIEGE OF BROACH OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

When Damaji was free from collection of peshkash from Saurath, he marched to his residence of Songadh. Broach lay on the way. Pilaji since long had cherished an idea in the innermost recesses of his mind for its occupation but he died with that desire in his mind. His son Damaji acquired great power and position in this subah. He firmly determined to occupy it. He laid siege to it on his return. As its fort was situated very high on top of a mound of earth so much so that

Verse

*No difference could be made from its elevation
Between fire of a watchman and light of Saturn*

Imagination of lofty minded persons did not reach its depth while fancy of far-sighted persons was deficient to perceive its bottom. Its lofty fortification was a tent for world measuring cloud and the skirt of its high rampart shone like a fire sprinkling lightning.

Fragment

*With the eyes of head can be seen therein
Particulars of stars and shapes of sky
Very shortly, the watchman on its surface
becomes a spy for stars and a seer of angels*

On one side of it flows the river Nerbada which joins the sea of 'Ammatt. There is a tide twice in one full day. It is difficult, nay impossible to cross it without the help of horses of timber (boats). Damaji engaged in pushing trenches forward and mining. Nck 'Ahm Khan who was then the Faujdar on behalf of Asaf Jah defended himself by cannons and muskets. He wrote about circumstances of the war to Asaf Jah. The siege lasted for three months. In the meantime, Dulah Khan arrived with letters from Asaf Jah for stoppage (of war). It was not easy for Damaji to capture the fort by means of war. Out of regard for Asaf Jah whom he regarded as superior, he withdrew his hand from siege and hastened to his place. It was in this year that Mumin Khan appointed Muhammed Hadi Khan as faujdar and 'amil of Petlad in place of Sadiq 'Ali Khan. A civil war broke out between the Faujdar of Dholka Qum Quli Khan and the Nakh of Renkoji. Qum Quli Khan came out victorious.



He captured the Maratha At Renkoji's suggestion, Mumin Khan wrote for conciliation with one another He attended to duty as before 'Ali Hamid Khan, Darogah of Dak and foster brother of His Majesty died in a war against Nadir Shah when he accompanied Amir-ul-Umara This post of the Darogah was given to Hakim-ul-Mumalik Ma'sum 'Ali Khan Lehrasp Khan, maternal uncle of 'Abdul Husam Khan who was a relation of Mumin Khan, was appointed as Chronicler in place of the author It was at this time that he sent a royal order as well as provisions from a royal table Fidauddin Khan, thanadar of Sandalpur and Khanpur was elevated to the mansab original and additional of 3000 Zat, 2000 horse, a gorgeous robe, a sword, a banner, a drum and the title of Bahadur Presents which were sent with Khwajah Asadullah Khan the mace bearer, were received The Khans received them with dues of reception and decorum. He entered the city citadel rejoicing from the Bagh i-Shah

CHAPTER 244

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER.

May his asylum of valour, seat of bravery, place of favours, station of kindnesses, worthy of bounty, capable of presents Mumin Khan Bahadur remain hopeful of royal favours He should know that his petition about disturbance and revolt of miserable persons sent to the royal court was read by His Majesty. A royal order was issued to the knower of mysteries of the great sovereignty, well conversant with the secrets of the great Khulafat, general of sincere, faithful persons, commander of valiant troops of the grateful world, cream of Khans of lofty dignity, chief of amirs of elevated place, sincere intimate friend without doubt, best among royal sacrificers, Nizam ul-Mulk Bahadur, Fateh Jang, Sipah Salar Asaf Jih who was nearby for help and assistance He should strive to receive him with dues of obeisance This fact should be known as replete with good results



CHAPTER 245

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER WITH THE SEAL OF THE WA/IR-UL-MUMALIK IN RESPECT OF A GIFT OF PROVISIONS AND ISSU OF A ROYAL ORDER

Symbol of amirship and rulership, of lofty station, respectable dignity, station of royal favours His Imperial Majesty had sent at this time Persian melons for the royal servants His Majesty, lord of faith and state had beneficently sent, out of servant-favouring and remembrance, melons by way of provisions along with a royal order to the mark of intrepidity It was necessary, therefore, that he should fulfil dues of etiquette of reception in accordance with regulations and submit a petition of thanks for favours and a reply to the dignified mandate to the Royal Court In 1154, Mumin Khan came to Bagh-i Shahn with designs of leading an army, assessing paraganas, establishing order, collecting peshkash, taking security from zamindars and Kolis He halted for a few days for equipment of artillery and readiness of soldiers Fidauddin Khan accompanied him Fidauddin Khan marched to Dabhora and encamped The Kolis of the place engaged in war with him with protection of thorny plants, and mounds of earth in arrows and gun shots Mumin Khan, on hearing about the vanity of Kolis, personally arrived at the scene the next day A hard battle took place Many from both the sides were slain and wounded At last Aqa Muhammed Husain Bakhshi, risalah of Fidauddin Khan stepped forward with valour and intrepidity routed those wild people and set fire to their houses

Author's verse

*Kolis fled from that place
They held rubbish in mouth out of fear*

In this skirmish, an arrow hit an ear-lobe of the Aqa When the Kolis fled, Mumin Khan began to graze his animals and cut down raw and ripe fields They sought for protection and agreed to pay peshkash and give security for not committing mischief In early days, a thanadar was posted there He appointed Muhammed Shitab and Mahtab Jamindars as thanadars with their regiments He sent Fidauddin Khan ahead and himself returned to the city Fidauddin Khan proceeded towards the paraganah of Harsol and reached Satma collecting peshkash on the way He then went to Barahsinor and the paraganah of Thura for collection of peshkash It then became clear to him from the letter of Muhammed Hadi Khan, Faujdar of Petlad that an exchange of words took place between him and Renkoji who then stayed in a fortress



Hadi Khan was not pleased to go for certain reasons. This affair ended in harshness and severity. Ultimately, he was sent in company of the author and Vajeram. As Malhar was on the way, they met him. They talked about the revenue affairs. Vajeram did not deem it proper for him to go and so he returned from that place. Muhammed Hadi Khan reached Petlad with the author. He sent his dependents in darkness of night when no one could see them to Khanbhayat. Next day, he did not think it advisable for himself to go and see Renkoji. The author was pressed to go helplessly he hastened to Borsad out of regard for him and met him. It was decided that Renkoji and Fidauddin Khan should dine together at a suitable place to scrutinize matters of revenue face to face. The author returned to Petlad at midnight. Next, he went to Sojitra with Muhammed Hadi Khan and declared the facts. As Renkoji had an idea of warfare in mind, he wrote to Ramaji, Naib of the city to recruit horse and foot to create disturbance. Mumin Khan learnt about his designs and so he informed Fidauddin Khan about it. He, therefore, preferred movement to stay from Sojitra. Without creating noise and sound from the drum of departure, he passed a wrong road and proceeded towards Khanbhayat. Malhar who was nearby learnt about his arrival and so he ordered his soldiers to pursue him at top speed. They appeared near Nar and began to fight. As their number was small they turned their horses after a slight engagement. Fidauddin Khan encamped at the Narangsar Tank on the border of Khanbhayat. He alone entered the port. Next day, Malhar arrived at Jalah Mobah at a distance of two kurohs from the port with a design for warfare. Fidauddin Khan ordered his nephew Muhammed Husain Zorawar Khan and Aqa Muhammed Husain Bakhshi to proceed with equipment of artillery to fight with him and to rout him. They fought with them at every place with cannons and guns and reached Petlad. At this juncture, Ramaji, Naib of Renkoji showed insolence in the city and sought for an excuse to create disturbance. Mumin Khan too was ready with preparation of trenches. The kotwal of Renkoji came by way of kindling fire of warfare and exchanged words with Yusuf, the Kotwal of Mumin Khan. A few persons from both the sides got wounded. Yusuf captured him and sent him to Bhadra. Renkoji learnt about this occurrence. He started for Ahmedabad with all his army and encamped at Akrapur outside the city. As written by Mumin Khan, the regiment which had reached Petlad in pursuit of the Dekhanis, brought itself in one night to the city. Mumin Khan inquired from Renkoji the cause of quarrel. Next day, he personally went and consoled him. He made him sit in a litter by his side and brought him to Bhadra and sent him away with ceremonies and presents. He hastened to his tent. Fidauddin Khan who stayed in the Bhandra at Khanbhayat, set out for the city and reached it on 20th Ramizam. It was in this year that a robe of honour



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and an elephant were sent by His Majesty for Mumin Khan with Musawi Khan mace-bearer. He brought them by going outside the city for reception with due decorum. Mustakhar Khan was appointed as Faujdar of Petlad in place of Muhammed Hadi Khan. Mukhlis Khan who held the mansab of 3000 Zat, 2000 Horse and the Jagir of Mahmudabad died in the month of Rajab of this year. Syed Fayyaz Khan, who held the mansab of Hazari, 200 Horse, was the faujdar, Jagirdar of Ahmednagar. He died on 26th Sha'ban.

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CHAPTER 246

INTERNECINE WAR WITH RENKOJI

Renkoji kept himself from disturbance and warfare due to exigency of time but apparently he acted as a friend playing a wolfish game of amity. But his heart was filthy for certain reasons. He planned to collect soldiers and enter into alliance with certain persons in the city. Surjan Singh Hazari had entered into his service some time before. He sent him to seek Rajah Rai Singh's alliance on tempting promises. He suffered from a chronic disease of old revenge in his heart. He went to Idar and engaged in his inducement and misguidance. He brought him with a brave battalion and encamped at Akrapur. Renkoji regarded it as the result of his increased dignity and went out to receive him. He received him with great respect and honour. He fixed the house of Syed Muzaffer alias Syed Mastu situated on the road, which in reality was an entrenchment, for his stay. He brought him in his company to it. He tried his utmost in showing honour and respect to his honourable guest. He paid a sum of money as daily allowance for soldiers who had accompanied him. He waited for the arrival of Jagjwan Pawar Maratha who was sent with an army by Damaji at his request. Mumin Khan also became aware of his intention. He appointed everywhere, out of care and caution, his own men opposite to Renkoji's men as well as at entrance to lanes. Preparations of trenches from both the sides came to light. Night and day, they kept a watch for observing activities of each other. Nearly a month and a half passed in this way. The Rajah received expenses in the beginning very regularly but in course of time it began to be reduced everyday. Rai Singh, whose expenses were heavy, was not satisfied with what he received. Further, his eyes woke up from heavy slumber of negligence and he realized that hostility and affectation of friendship with the Nazim of the subah and partisonship with Renkoji did not befit his dignity. He repented of it. He began to make amends for it. He informed Nazir 'Ali Khan, nephew of Mumin Khan with whom he was intimate about his idea. He in his turn, informed his uncle about it. A meeting was arranged. On 17th Zilhaj, Mumin Khan went to the garden of Jagdev, Kotwal of Maharaja Abhey Singh situated near the Sarangpur gate within the city. Rajah Rai Singh met him in all abashment with his head downcast in all shame. Mumin Khan brought him out from the veil of confusion by conciliation and warmth of affection and brought him with himself. He gave him a present of a piece of cloth, jewels, a female elephant, and appointed him thanadar of Anmaharah in the paraganah of Modasa, Mekrai, Ahmednagar, Harsur, and Prantij as conditional jagir and granted him a permit of charge from the Diwan office as well as a bond and a sanad for two years. He put him up in the house of Nazir 'Ali Khan. At this juncture, Jagjwan Pawar arrived. On 23rd of the month,



Mumin Khan's men attacked the entrenchment of Renkoji in the morning. A war ensued. It lasted for nearly ten days with cannons and muskets. Every day, many persons from both the sides were killed and wounded. Many houses of the people got destroyed in this war. Renkoji saw no advantage in the city war. He expressed sorrow and came out of the city leaving Ramaji as before as Naib of the city on 1st Muharram, 1165. He stayed for two days and went to Borsad with Jagjiwan Pawar where he had built a fortress and collected war-materials. His idea was to make amends of the city in paraganahs. It was at this time, that Jiwandas came with a sanad of Amilship and Faujdari of Dholka paraganah with the seal of Asaf Jah, who, as before, was continued in jagir by His Majesty. When he saw no possibility of assumption of duty, he went back without his desire being fulfilled. Rajah Anand Singh brother of Rai Singh fought with the Marathas in Idar but he got slain in battle. His brother Rai Singh hastened back to Idar.



CHAPTER 247

DEPARTURE OF 'ABDUL HUSAIN KHAN, NAIB DIWAN OF THE SUBAH DUE TO UNPLESANTNESS WITH MUMIN KHAN. MUHAMMED ASADULLAH BECOMES NAIB DIWAN WHO WORKS AS NAIB OF TALIB 'ALI KHAN 'STAY OF 'ABDUL HUSAIN KHAN AT BORSAD WITH RENKOJI. MUMIN KHAN'S MEETING WITH RENKOJI THEIR DEPARTURE TOWARDS SAURATH FOR COLLECTION OF PESHKASH RETURN OF RENKOJI AS WRITTEN BY DAMAJI MUMIN KHAN'S FURTHER MARCH OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR

It was stated before that the Diwan of the subah was entrusted, on the death of 'Abdul Ghami Khan, to his grandson Talib 'Ali Khan by His Majesty but the latter's maternal uncle 'Abdul Husain Khan assumed charge of it. Although some orders were received by 'Abdul Husain Khan in his name but whenever permits for grant and confiscation of jagirs as well as other affairs were issued from the office of the crown-lands, they were in the name of Talib 'Ali Khan. A royal order which was issued in the name of the author for the Diwan would be recorded at its proper place, God willing. After his death, 'Abdul Husain Khan was not confirmed in his post. Unpleasantness and bitterness took place between him and Mumin Khan for certain reasons. Even though he received nearly twenty thousand rupees annually, he left Ahmedabad with absurd intention and far-fetched ideas and halted at Barah Nainpur for proceeding to the Royal Court. Mumin Khan appointed his cousin Muhammed Asadullah Khan as Naib of Talib 'Ali Khan for matters financial. 'Abdul Husain Khan proceeded further and reached Borsad situated on the road and met Renkoji. Both of them were afflicted and had heavy heart with Mumin Khan, they complained against him and cooked ideas of subedari. Renkoji had a deed but he waited for the amount of money for expense to realize his wish. He considered it easy of acquisition with courage. He corresponded with those who had access with His Majesty and waited for a reply. This statement had to come talk of the town, Mumin Khan, looking to the future.

Verse

*Time is pregnant with good and evil
Star, sometime is friend and sometime, foe*

came out for recreation and hunting alone to Mahmudabad with Firduddin Khan, Muftakhar Khan and Mumin 'Ali Khan, leaving Nazar 'Ali Khan in the city. He then sent a proposal for addition in Mansab,



award of a title of Bahadur, a standard, a drum and a seal of Bahaduri to Jawanmard Khan who had come to Ahmedabad for marriage of his brother to conciliate his heart with Jairam who was on the establishment of the city. He went to Bagh-i-Shahi for reception with due decorum and returned home rejoicing. He left his brother Zorawar Khan for some time at Ahmedabad and hastened to Pattan. In short, Mumin Khan marched from Mahmudabad and reached Nadiad where he stayed for some administrative work and then proceeded to Petlad. It was during this time that His Majesty granted to Mumin Khan an addition to mansab which came up to additional and original 6000 Zat, 6000 Sawar, award of the title of Najmud-dawlah Mumin Khan Bahadur Dilawar Jang, a special robe of six pieces, a jewelled turban-strap, an elephant and certain honours. (Miharatib certain honours conferred on princes and great nobles, they are denoted by the figure of a fish with other insignia (two balls) carried as ensigns upon elephants). A royal order which was issued in connection with this was sent with fast couriers. Hakim-ul-Mamalik Mirsum 'Ali Khan arrived. Mumin Khan pitched a tent outside the Kasba. It was a regulation that the chronicler who was also the Darogha of the Dak, delivered royal farman and orders. It was at the suggestion of 'Abdul Husain Khan who at the instigation of Mirza Lehrasp Khan the chronicler, his maternal-uncle, appointed Muhammad 'Ali Khan to the post of the chronicler with a robe. The farman was entrusted to him and sent ahead. He hastened to receive it with due decorum.



CHAPTER 248

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER

May Mumtaz Khan, asylum of bravery, seat of intrepidity, station of favours, manifestation of kindness, worthy of largesse and fit for bounty be hopeful of royal favours. He should know that in this auspicious time, joy-increasing, royal beneficence and benevolence, out of his cherishment for servants and favour had glorified and exalted him deserving of kindness with the award of the title of Najm-ud-Dawlah, Dilawar Jang, recipient of high honours, robe of honour, an elephant, a grant of addition in mansab which with original and additional-came to 6000 Zat, 6000 Sawar out of which two thousand were do-aspah. He should fulfil thanks for this favour of His Majesty and strive hard for punishment and chastisement of mischievous malcontents. It should be regarded as payment of respects to His Majesty. It was written on 11th Rabi '11, 25th year of ascension to the throne. In short, Mumtaz Khan stayed for a few days at Petlad, he wrote to Renkoji for peace. After coming and going of envoys, as Borsad was his place of residence which was at a distance of five kurohs from Petlad, he sent Fidauddin Khan and Mustakhar Khan for a meeting and delivery of oral message. They enjoyed dinner, fixed meeting with Najm-ud dawlah and returned the same day. Next day, Najm ud dawlah started for Borsad from Petlad. Renkoji met him by going to a distance of two kurohs for his reception. He seated him in a litter with himself and alighted him on the bank of a tank. As he had a tent and materials only for himself, Renkoji sent several tents and some other necessary articles with a request that he would be his guest till his stay at that place. Every day he sent their expenses. Every day, he met him twice, in morning and evening and turned hostility into amity. One day, he went to see the fortress built by Renkoji at his request. Renkoji treated him with presents of cloth and a horse with silver bridle. Fidauddin Khan also was treated in the same manner. He gave cloth to others after the fashion of the Dekhan. Najm ud dawlah, out of conciliation and winning his heart gave him in writing several villages which Renkoji desired from Chorasī Bandar of Khanbhayat and parganah of Petlad entirely without partnership of any one else. They further agreed to go together to Saurath for collection of peshkash at the time of reaping and harvesting of fields. He marched from that place to Khanbhayat. He sent Haji as Kotwal of the city in place of Yusuf Mas'ud. It was at this time that he suffered from physical ailment. He had, of necessity, to stay there for nearly one month and a half. He marched when he recovered and arrived at Vaso. Renkoji joined him there with his army as promised. He had to stay for a short while due to a relapse of ailment. He came to Dholka



by continuous marches. He gave a female elephant to Renkoji-bought for himself from Udaipur. He then turned to assessment of Dholka paraganah and tarried for nearly a month. As Dholka was in charge of Qaim Quli Khan, he got displeased in the midst of conversation in regard to revenue of the paraganah, he got up at night unawares and hastened to Ahmedabad. Mirza Lehrasp Khan, on hearing about the transfer of the Ta'likah came from the city, and inquired about indisposition of Nijm ud dawlah who asked him about suspicion of 'Abdul Husain Khan's guidance. He now feared about his disgrace and so he took refuge with Renkoji. 'Abdul Husain Khan, who was at Borsad, got despaired of Renkoji and went to Songadh to see Damaji. It was in this year that Vajeram peshkar of Nijm-ud dawlah founded a step-well for comfort and welfare of God's creatures between the Jamalpur gate and the wall gate where also like the Panch Koh (Kuwa) there was plenty of water in the wells due to vicinity of water of the ditch.



Ghogha by continuous marches. He settled peshkash with Bhavsingh zamindar and several others of Sihore. As Sher Khan had occupied the port of Ghogha which was under the port of Khanbhat, he had appointed a nath. He stayed there for the rest of the month of fasts. He proceeded to Kathiawad on 2nd Shawwal and brought himself to Halar and Islamnagar alias Nawa nagar collecting peshkash on the way. He fought for nearly twenty days with the local zamindar with cannons and muskets. Ultimately, fifty thousand rupees were settled as the amount of peshkash. He marched on the last day of Ziq ad and returned to Ahmedabad. Physical ailment of Najm ud dawlah was not completely cured. It now became serious and culminated into dropsy. During his absence, Nazar 'Ali Khan and Vajeram had marched with Zorwar Khan against the Kolis of the paraganah of Bhel. They stayed there for some time in taking security and collecting peshkash. One day, the Kolis behaved with impudence on the way, attacked camp of the merchants and carried away whatever they could seize. Shihabuddin Khan, a cousin of Zorwar Khan who went for succour got slain. Their boldness increased more than before. Hence, they read 'Return is commendable' and came to Ahmedabad. Najm ud dawlah collecting peshkash from zamindars on the way, on his return entered the city on 18th Zilhajj when his disease reached the fourth degree and he remained bed ridden. Renkojs who had left to see Damaji fought with Babu Nayak before the crossing passage of Mahi river. Nayak fled. They therefore stayed in Borsad. On hearing about arrival and illness of Najm ud dawlah he apparently went to pay a sick visit to him at Ahmedabad. He met him twice. It was in this year that the chief among perfect men and the leader among masters of speech

Verse

*Wisdom (was) in his school like a child in primary stage
Merit (was) in his presence like a child in school*

Mawlana Nuruddin died in the afternoon on Wednesday, 9th Sha'ban at the age of 91 years. One of his pupils found the date of his death from 'Heir of the men of the House.'



CHAPTER 249

DEATH OF NAJM-UD-DAWLAH RECEIPT OF A ROYAL ORDER IN THE NAME OF FIDAUDDIN KHAN AND MUFTAKHAR KHAN, DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THEM WAR WITH RENKOJI.

In the year 1156, the disease of Najm-ud-dawlah was beyond treatment

Poem

*There was no hope of cure of that disease
Physicians did not know treatment of death.
When his indisposition went beyond limit
Physician became helpless of treatment.*

He died when three hours and a half of the day had passed on 8th Muharram. He was buried in the beginning of night in the mausoleum of Rustam 'Ali Khan situated in the city

Fragment

*If you had rested with the friend throughout life,
If you had tasted pleasures of the world throughout life
At close of life, at the time of departure from the world
It was a dream you saw all life.*

Fidauddin Khan and Muftakhar Khan wrote to Hakim-ul-Mumalik about this event and submitted a petition to His Majesty. They occupied themselves with mourning. On the third day, technically known as Ziyarat in Hind, nobles, grandees, soldiers, servants etc gathered together. After being free from recitation of Fatiha, chiefs of the Jamadars who were his employees, were consoled and solaced by Fidauddin Khan and Muftakhar Khan as befitted each one's rank. He cheered them with good news for continuation in service as before. They then permitted them to go. But domineering sway and awe created by Najm-ud-dawlah in the hearts of people began to decline from day to day and then it was completely gone. Every one from among the people portrayed himself according to his desire, fearlessly displayed it and achieved it with contention and dispute. Old servants, who lived in obscurity due to dread of Najm-ud-dawlah, waited for an opportunity of such a day thinking to get back their dues of the old days, they collected together at every place. Fidauddin Khan, who during the life-time of Najm-ud-dawlah wielded authority and managed state and financial matters, devoted



himself to the management of all affairs with complete authority. He changed many servants and employees and appointed his own men in their posts. It was found to be unpleasant by many and thus seeds of discord were sown in the fields of concord. In reality, a sum of money was needed for expenses because revenue was not recovered from paraganahs due to famine. Fidauddin Khan and Mustakhar Khan sometime thought of getting something from Qaim Quli Khan and his sister the wife of Najm ud dawlāh and sometime they wanted to effect economy by dismissing servants and employees whose names were in the record of payment. Every day, they held consultation in this respect until the servants came to know about it. They took shelter in a body at the house of Renkoji and demanded security. As the work could not be done without them, helplessly, the author's father and Sadiq 'Alī Khan came as guaranties. This too turned out to be a matter of heartlessness for them. Sister of Qaim Quli Khan, seeing this state of affairs, became anxious for the future, and sent her possessions in cash except ornaments gradually to the house of her sister's husband Muhammed Zaman Beg and thus she lightened her anxiety. In short, when news of Najm ud-dawlāh's death reached His Majesty through Hakim-ul-Mumalik, a royal order was issued bearing the seal of Wazir-ul-Mumalik to Fidauddin Khan and Mustakhar Khan jointly to engage themselves in conciliation and protection of the subah. It reached them on 7th Safar. The Khans devoted them selves to fulfil conditions of reception, turned their faces towards the royal court under regulations, took the order and conveyed its contents to the ears of the high and the low.



CHAPTER 250

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER

May Fidauddin Khan Bahadur and Muftakhar Khan Bahadur-asylums of bravery and amirship, seats of intrepidity, be recipients of royal favours His Majesty read petition Death of Najm-ud-dawlah was reported to him As it is the pleasure of God, there is no remedy against it At any rate, safety of the subjects should be wished for In accordance with the policy of favouring servants, endless beneficence and open sympathy are bestowed and observed in respect of the asylum of valour and the true successor with mark of loftiness Muftakhar Khan A royal order was issued to the effect that the seat of bravery should patronize and cheer up the son of the deceased He should consider himself as the recipient of His Majesty's favours every day Both of them should engage in protection and defence of the state till receipt of a fresh order. It is therefore indited that they should, in accordance with the royal order, be very careful in devotion to duty for management of affairs connected with the subah. As the name of Fidauddin Khan preceded that of Muftakhar Khan he was, openly, superior to him in age, years and like an uncle to Muftakhar Khan Fidauddin Khan, therefore, tied the order with his head, both mounted the elephant and sat in the same litter and entered the city rejoicing This became the cause of watering the seed of discord which was sown Every day it began to grow, and ultimately formed itself into a bunch of disaffection and hostility between them It was talked about by the common-folk as well as the elite Anandram who had his say in matters of good and evil with Najm-ud-dawlah was charged with an offence in the previous year He was ignored. He fled through fear. Najm-ud-dawlah demolished his house His temperament was a wonderful source of disturbance and disaffection He got an opportunity at this time He saw Renkoji and plotted with him On seeing ways, manners and dissatisfaction of employees and discord among khans, he instigated Renkoji, began to flow devil-like in his veins and skin and misled him for liberating the kingdom He guided him with pretexts and delusions and made him concordant with himself

Poem

*Through folly, he took to path of transgression
That silly man took to such a path
Any one whose good days are turned
Nothing but loss of the way falls to his lot*

Renkoji became covetous, night and day, he deliberated actively over this plan Apparently to mislead them, he displayed increased sorrow and

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mourning for Najm ud dawlath's death and spoke in terms of consolation and well wishing with Fidauddin Khan and Mustakhar Khan. Internally, he spent his time in conciliating hearts of familiar and unfamiliar persons to win over to his side. The Khans also measured the path of good conduct and politeness in accordance with the exigency of time because

Verse

*A polite person never experiences harshness from any one
Do not walk except on the path of politeness*

and they thought that

Verse

*From that dreadful furious dragon
We may be safe with incantation*

His heart was replete with rancour and discord. Nothing but artificiality from which the smell of concord did not reach the nostrils of men of intelligence, came to be displayed by him. Courtesy and amity of the Khans who mostly went to see him by way of indifference, were attributed by him to his power and weakness of the other party. He thought that the rotation of the sky was according to his own desire.

Verse

*A boaster sees none except himself
For he keeps a curtain of vanity before him*

He ordered Sujan Singh who was his servant to collect horse and footmen, horseless Gujarati soldiers and mercenaries with a bond of salary to be paid in old coins of depreciated value. He wanted to achieve his object at the expense of another. He showed to Fidauddin Khan and Mustakhar Khan out of crooked ideas that even though he had absurd intention and false idea about demand of money in his head but he would not allow him to carry it out in practice. Renkoji gave a paliki, a horse, a robe, a parasol to Anandram, the originator of this scheme. He made him his peshkar and principal manager of his affairs. He twice came to the Khans with absolute authority and great pomp with an open countenance and made inquiries about ways and manners. He saw every day the plant of discord bearing the fruit of absence of concord, he recited a new incantation satan like before every one in his leisure time. He reported everything in writing to Renkoji. Sometime, he turned the cause of recruitment with this tune and sang it to the effect that it was due to fear of



Damaji that the salary was not paid in time and that he did not become a partner in the scheme. Sums were due to him, nay, he expected aid and assistance from them. Every morning he composed a new chapter and read it every evening, he wrote a new book on a tune of a musical note and thus he sang two songs in one note. Renkoji's hidden idea had become known to the masses from assemblage of men. The Khans, therefore, became suspicious. Many of them stopped their visits to his house. Anandram found it out through sagacity. Twice or thrice, ghoul-like, he misled them by trick and stratagem and made them meet Renkoji. He too put it on the face of work an image woven and prepared by Anandram. He too pressed him on oath for satisfaction of his mind and purity of his heart out of dread and enmity. Anandram through fear that perhaps once again the game fallen in snare might get frightened, he tamed it with heartiness and warmth of feeling within a few days. He fled with Renkoji keeping all of them armed in the house and kept them in ambush. He carried the Khans to his house on an excuse of consultation. They went there with empty brains. It so happened that the author too was present in that gathering. As God did not wish, he showed no boldness. The Khans returned. People of Gujarat were from old times close and intimate with the author's father, some men of the ambuscade informed him about his plan. The Khans were informed about it to the effect that they should not openly make themselves familiar due to exigency of time. They decided that both of them in future should not visit his house at one and the same time. Anandram who made frequent visits found it out. He again resorted to tame the frightened games and to noose them. Renkoji rubbed hands of grief with hands of repentance due to ensnared games becoming loose. He tried another trick. He sent a message to the effect that the assemblage of men was due to preservation of reputation. Superficial observers held that every day they raised a new note of distress which became the cause of grief and fear.

Verse

*With an apology of repentance, one can be free from punishment of God
But one cannot be free from tongue of men*

With a fear that perhaps, on hearing baseless rumours, a disturbance and a breach might take place in foundation of friendship which might become the cause of hatred and rancour, he thought of sending away new recruits outside. Internally, his idea was that Ramaji had gone out with his regiment and that he would stay at a distance of seven, eight kurohs from the city. He engaged in recruitment of kasbris with a peaceful mind. He should keep himself ready to come when summoned. He, therefore, sent him (Ramaji) out. Renkoji twice visited Bhadra at the advice of Renkoji. Once again



personally, he polished the rust of mirror of hearts with the polish of tongue according to his own belief and purified it. He then said that desistance from interview would place a handle in the hands of calumniators. There should be no crack in the prop of sincerity. They should consider his house as their own, illumine it by their visits as before and feel joyous through meetings. He then left them. He decided with himself that if the sky rotated according to his heart's desire at that time they would pass by their house. His desire would be achieved without any thought and thus he would feel tranquil at heart. It was not advisable for the Khans to turn their faces from him and show open enmity. It was decided that they should not go to his house together. Mustakhar alone mounted a horse and proceeded to his house. Having heard news of his alone visiting him from the spies, he sent a message excusing himself for a meeting. Mustakhar Khan returned from midst of the way. His internal wish was that Fidauddin Khan and he would both come together at one place. By chance it was at this time that an Arab Jamadar Haji Bakr who too was one of the old salarymen of Najm ud dawliah arrived as summoned by Renkoji from Sher Khan. Babi announcing discharge and search of service with four hundred Arabs. He halted at Behrampur. Fidauddin learnt about his arrival. He sent word to Renkoji that he should not permit him to enter the city through the gate under his control. He did not care for prevention, entered the city through Jamalpur gate and alighted at the house of Sher Khan. He prepared a trench. In reply to Fidauddin Khan, 'an excuse is worse than an offence', he sent word 'As the dependents of Haji Bakr have entered the city after a long time I have taken a bond from him that he should not demand arrears of salary from you. I have, therefore, allowed him to enter the city. He would go out after a few days. If something hostile happens he would be turned out in all severity. You should be quite at ease. Some of the wise men thought that opportunistic policy was a ruse of his wicked ways, domineering authority, arrests of men for payment of fines and other acts of his self conceit. They found out his object from talks of his employees. It was clear that he frequently played the back gammon of deceit. They disclosed it to the khans out of well wishing. They were under the magic spell of Anandram's adulation. The game of their plan had fallen in the grave yard. The only effect was that they did not go together to his house.

Hemistich

It hen there is no ear of intelligence of what u e is the beauty of speech

Anandram who, outwardly posed himself as a well wisher and sympathetic friend, invented a new trick. He behaved as an enemy in garb of a



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friend He began to sing two songs with one tune He said to Fidauddin Khan and Muftakhar Khan, "As you need money to pay off demands of soldiers and other expenses, you should talk to Khushal Chand Sheth and Bahidas, muqaddam of Nadiad who in time of Najm ud dawlah had great say in all affairs small and great-in respects of taxes, biwarah and fines that if they were made to be arrested at the hands of Renkoji, the fine that would be levied on them, would be equally divided while the stigma of bad name would stick to Renkoji." He, thus, showed him green gardens and satisfied himself that they failed to understand good and bad points of this affair as show of his own authority and ascendancy Renkoji summoned both of them, arrested them and subjected them to strict and stern tax collectors He took with force and violence one hundred rupees from each as tax Muhammed Hadi Khan who then managed affairs, sent his men every night to demand half the share of revenue Slowly and slowly, the curtain of stratagem of Renkoji began to be torn He began to earn a bad name The Khans' doubt became certain Anandram, having perceived it, brought Renkoji at close of the day in the Bhadra to seek remedy for stoppage of breach of perfidy and stitching up the rent of the collar of deceit A tent was erected for night play He arranged a special meeting with Fidauddin Khan and Muftakhar Khan No stranger was present When three hours of night had passed he took an oath for corroboration of pact and pledge with various sleights of hand and different satanical delusions and closed eyes, ears and intelligence for devising stratagems by means of exorcising incantations He guided him in accordance with his object Ghoul like, he played tricks and went home Fidauddin Khan was completely satisfied out of simplicity, he regarded that shower of wheat and seller of barley, that enemy in garb of a friend, whiteness within dark curtain of night, false dawn as true dawn He was indifferent to what has been said,

Poem

*Avoid that which an enemy asks you to do
That you strike hand of deception on the knee
If he points out road straight like arrow
Turn from it and take to the left path*

In short, next day when the dark knavish horse of night was free from deceit and fraud and hid itself in the cellar of the veil of hide of night by digging the face The horse of morning placed a howdah of gold on the camel of the sky for covering the expanse of time and set out for travelling Fidauddin Khan started for the port of Kharabhayat with soldiers-discharged and in service He reached the house of Sadiq 'Ali Khan and Syed Nurullah situated



on the road and said to them that they should be vigilant before Mustakhar Khan night and day in Bhadra till his return. They sat idle as they were unemployed. Every one of them went and stayed there out of loyalty with their followers, brothers and brothers' sons. Farsighted men and intelligent persons fell in a vortex of amazement at the last night's meeting with a prolonged privacy about which no one had any knowledge and the sudden departure of Fidauddin Khan. They weighed them as negligence and vacation of the field in the balance of guess and measure of excuse and plan. Anandram saw that the arrow of his plan hit the target of desire, he once again resorted to stratagem and deception and opened the shop of fraud and deceit. He had kept various articles of stratagem and different kinds of clothes of exorcism, woven and embroidered which he had kept ready and prepared for such a day. He displayed them before Mustakhar Khan by visits in morning and evening, privately and openly, frequently, and in different colours. He deceived him by his chattles. He made him so inclined and disposed towards him that he ordered his servants to rebuild his house which was demolished by Nym ud dawlāh. Renkoji spread the carpet of fraud and deception. He engaged in warmth of affection sometime with Qaim Quli Khan and sometime with Vajeram by display of sincerity and loyalty and pulled them towards him by promises of fixed places like association with the Khans as suited his intentions. By such tricks he besmeared face of the sun with mud and measured the moon with a gaz when Sher Khan Babi at this time arrived from Junagadh with a regiment of brave soldiers as written by Renkoji who had given him hope of appointment as Naib of the subah. He reached vicinity of Dholka, halted there for a second call and plundered two villages of Chorasi Khanbhayat. Renkoji was satisfied from all sides. A good army was collected. Fidauddin Khan had taken with him most of the soldiers discharged and in service to Khanbhayat in hope of getting money. He had there seized goods of silk merchants and imposed bawarah and mulcts on them. He was thus engaged in extorting money from them. Seizing this opportunity as a boon he ordered his men to alight in houses situated at entrance of lanes and roads by way of entrenchments. He thought of a plan as he had newly entered into pledge and pact, and secured purity of hearts. He summoned Mustakhar Khan, Qaim Quli Khan and Muhammed Hadi Khan for consultation only to arrest them so that his object would be achieved without headache and noise and sound. Really speaking, he had observed well. But as destiny was not in accord with his plan, he could not go further. In short, Mustakhar Khan, and Muhammed Hadi Khan got themselves prepared at close of the day on 1st of Rabi 'II for the sake of obligation and wish frequently expressed by him and out of his regard, came to the house of Qaim Quli Khan situated in such a manner as to overlook the shore of Sabarmati and engaged in



recreation on the river side in expectation of his (Qaim Quli Khan's) preparation. By chance, the elephants were brought for watering when horsemen of Renkoji appeared on the scene. They killed an elephant driver and carried away an elephant. Mustakhar Khan and others saw this scene with their own eyes. This incident was the cause of their halt. Perfidy and fraud came to light from the veil of doubt. What was hidden in the heart of Renkoji became manifest. Till now this matter was only a story but now it culminated in a factual knowledge. They fell athinking about their safety and means of defence of the Bhadra. Renkoji, who, constantly kept his spies in the Bhadra to convey news to him for every minor thing, learnt at that very moment about the determination to come to the Bhadra, cancellation of their visit to him and capture of their elephant. He repented of this untimely move for the prey entangled in the snare got shv. He immediately returned the elephant saying, that this unworthy deed was committed by men of Sujan Singh who had intention of creating disturbance in his mind and that he was discharged with a rebuke and reproach and sent out. He further said that they should not at all allow the dust of grief go round the forehead of imagination because he stood firmly by his pledge and pact. As the tray of ignominy had fallen from his terrace, it proved of no avail. Renkoji also realized that the rent was not to be mended and that the wound was not to be healed. Delay and deliberation were not useful in that affair.

Hemistich

For there are dangers in delay and the seeker suffers a loss

Now that the rival had become vigilant he should not be given an opportunity to breathe and power to scratch his head. On the next night he distributed lead and gunpowder to men and decided that they should make an assault unawares at rise of the morning and appearance of the light bestowing body, open the gate of Bhadra and enter into it. Nearly two watches of the night had passed when the True Informer informed Mustakhar Khan. He gave a stern order to guards of the gates of Bhadra that they should open the gates without permission. He appointed all those who were present to defend the gates when suddenly

Verse

*At breath of dawn, this merciless slayer
Rose from the east with a tray and sword in hand*

Renkoji's men assaulted as decided. They came in a plain in front of the fort and rushed on the chabutra of Kotwali. realpatidar.com



engaged in war and defence with his followers and did not allow them to take possession of the chabutra. They stood at the building of the canal, engaged in gunfire and inflamed the fire of war at the gate of Bhadra. Renkoji's men plundered shops situated on the road, with a multitude of sight-seers and entered the gate of arms-dealers everywhere. Surjan Singh sat at the trench with his followers at the house of Syed 'Aqil Khan near the market plain with their support. A war waged with cannons and guns from both the sides. By chance, some of the swivel-gunners whom Najm-ud-dawlah out of care and caution for such a day had posted on the terrace of the Three Gates due to frequent internecine wars with the Marathas. They were there guarding night and day. When Renkoji's men intended for the terrace, they rushed for war. As they had seized the whole plain, all the buildings and shops in front of the Bhadra, except the gates so that the war might wage on one side and they might not fire swivel guns. They too did not molest them as such they were satisfied with one another. In short, Renkoji appointed horse-men and footmen for control of gate of city fortification and removal of the guards. He occupied the Astoria gate and the Raipur gate. Muhammed 'Aqil Jamadar, who was discharged and other soldiers who were in sympathy with him, had sat there in expectation of receiving salary. They joined with Mustakhar Khan. Basitullah son of Muhammed 'Aqil stood with his followers at the four sides of the Bankud Road. At this juncture, Gujarati horsemen who were in employment of Renkoji arrived there completely armed in order to convey themselves to him at this time of work. Basitullah blocked up their path and did not allow them to step further. Sadiq 'Ali Khan and Syed Nurullah emerged from the Bhadra fort with a party of soldiers attacked Renkoji's men at the gate of arms-dealers, routed them and posted themselves at the spot. Nazar 'Ali Khan arrived with his followers at the chabutra of cattle market to the succour of Haji Mas'ud Kotwal. He placed cannons face to face with them. He waged war with cannon-fire. Muhammed Ja'far son of Muhammed Hadi Khan who stood for defence of the Bhadra gate was hit by a bullet in legs through a crevice and became lame. At this juncture, Ramaji whom Renkoji formerly had sent out by way of a stratagem for such a day and who was at Jaipur at a distance of seven kurohs from the city, brought himself at top speed on hearing about warfare in the city. Mir Muhammed Zaman Janadar who too was on the discharged list, stood at the entrance of the tailors' street and did not allow any enemy to pass by that side. Divine will had meant otherwise in accordance with "When God wished a thing, He had some reasons for it." At this time, Muhammed Shahbaz Rohila who formerly freed himself from service of Najm-ud-dawlah and spent his life in Saurath and Idar arrived at Behrampur as summoned by Renkoji with two hundred Afghans. But negotiations for

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service broke down in respect of fixation of salary Renkoji, on a false supposition that a large army had been collected and that most of the gates were under his control and that how long Muftakhar Khan would hold the fort with a small army with him, connived at him. On the same absurd idea, he did not utilize services of Sher Khan who, at Dholka, waited for his second call, at the advice of Anandram who told him as to how much was now left to capture so that a stranger might be asked to share. He, therefore, wrote to him that his services were not needed. In short, Muftakhar Khan learnt about the arrival of Muhammed Shahbaz Khan and failure of Renkoji's terms of service with him. He sent his servant Ibrahim Rohila to him and employed him in service on terms agreeable to him. He immediately paid him one thousand rupees in cash. It was agreed that on the morning of next day, he would enter by the Daryapur gate as the gates of that side of the city were under control of Renkoji. He acted accordingly. He arrived in hot haste, lifted the trench of Batwa sheri and assaulted the entrenchment of the Karez building like a sudden calamity and heavenly decree. He stayed and wounded many of them. The swivel gunners of the Three Gates now got an opportunity to discharge their guns and thus they completely swept the proud plain with rubbish of the enemy. Muhammed Shahbaz seized the Karez building and posted himself there. Renkoji's men captured madrasah of Saif Khan, Kharu gate and the house of Syed 'Aqil Khan and began to fire cannons and guns from behind the walls. When Sher Khan Babu received a reply from Renkoji against his wish, he despaired of him and began to sound the other party. He sent Muhammed Farid Kirani, his confidential man to Muftakhar Khan to the effect that if he agreed to pay expenses of his soldiers, he would immediately come and join him. Muftakhar Khan had sent a man to summon Fidauddin Khan on account of the evil day and that event. He started at night with a reply that sharing administrative work under these circumstances was the cause of good results. He must come. He stated that the expenses would be paid on a sanad in consultation with Fidauddin Khan who was on his way to Ahmedabad and that they would be settled face to face. Sher Khan encamped at Kochrab on the other side of Sabarmati having arrived from Dholka on 7th of that month with a force of nearly four hundred horse and foot. On morning of the next day when hide wearer of the golden cap stirred up his fast-running horse with intention to conquer the kingdom of Nimroz, Fidauddin Khan with standing army of the port of Khanbhayat and Aqa Muhammed Husain Naib Faujdar of Petlad arrived at top speed. They planned to bring Sher Khan. They gave trouble to the author's father due to his former relations with him to go and bring him. Qum Quli Khan was made to accompany him. The author who was there did not deem it proper to give him trouble in accordance with exigency of time and

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accompanied Qaim Quli Khan. He saw Sher Khān. Qaim Quli Khan declared ardent desire of the Khans who wanted to see him. He delayed entering the city for certain reasons. He made a hint to the author and said to his peshkar "If he stands as a security, there is no objection." In the meanwhile, the author's father whom Fidauddin Khan once again pressed hard and sent him, arrived. When there was water, there was no need to perform ablutions with dust. Sher Khan did not open his lips with yes or no, mounted his horse. The author who came ahead of him from the Khimpur Gate, entered the fort through window of the garden and informed him. On account of the arrival of Fidauddin Khan, and Sher Khan's joining the other party, Renkoji saw that no progress was made in war during these two, three days while well wishing of Anandram yielded contrary results. He fell athinking about the end of affairs. He woke up from the deep slumber of negligence opened the eye of foresight, saw corpse of his plan in a dissolved state and found hints of thought disturbed and scattered. He, of necessity, disclosed something of it to his Dekhami servants who till now enjoyed no importance due to Anandram's presence and began to seek remedy for the same from them. Krishnaji nephew of Bhasker, who after his death occupied the post of Wakil and paid him visits. He entered the Bhadra through the medium of Vajeram by treading the sands of Sabarmati so that he might strive to improve relations between them and do away with war. His arrival coincided with that of the author. He did not meet Fidauddin Khan but wanted to meet him in privacy. Sher Khan arrived at this juncture. A council was held for consultation and deliberation in the residence of Qaim Quli Khan. Pledge and pact were corroborated on oath to bring about a meeting between the two. News was received at this time that Renkoji's men having advanced' captured the Sarangpur Gate and chabutra of the Khadia road a trench. Fidauddin Khan ordered Aqa Muhammed Husain to go with a regiment to rout them. Krishnaji had acquaintance with the author. Nearly two watches remained for expectation when he sent message that if a chance of meeting with Fidauddin Khan was possible in private, many things which might remove disaffection might be told. The author arranged a meeting for him at some unknown place. He apologized by saying that Renkoji never entertained an absurd idea in his mind and frenzy for this matter in his head. Now he repented of his deed. He would enter into pledge and pact again for satisfaction and solace and then he would proceed to Borsad. Amity at any rate is better than hostility. He showed humbleness and humility as much as possible. The more he said, the less he heard. As heavenly decree had ordained it differently, he repined,

Hemistich

I pledged not to believe your pledge again

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Chand Sheth and Validas muqaddam who were in captivity of Renkoji seized this opportunity and came out when they found him involved in his own difficulties. Fidauddin Khan and Sher Khan came near the house-wall of Muhammed Beg Khan which was near the house of Rustam 'Ali Khan where Renkoji lived and when he was in a helpless state due to his own men and fired guns from behind the wall. He ordered to break the wall and attack him. Having made breaches everywhere, they entered into it. Renkoji was besieged in the house of Rustam 'Ali Khan from where he fought with arrows and muskies. Mirza Lehrasp Khan with his son Mir Isma'il lived under Renkoji's shelter due to Najm-ud-dawlah's displeasure. He looked after them with care and consideration and he treated them as companions. When Renkoji found himself in straits, he sent a message for negotiation of peace. Fidauddin Khan did not permit him to go and detained him. In short, two cannons were placed opposite to his house from side of the river Sabar. They shook foundation of stability of the besieged. Renkoji took himself in a corner along with his companions on top of the gate and its terrace which was on one side of it. He then engaged in war.

Poem

*When calamity comes from wall and terrace
What is the use of closing the gate with care ?
When injury descends from heaven
What use that the wall should be high*

Rabble and vagabonds came up from the wall and terrace of the house

Poem

*From every corner some fast runners
Climbed wall of that house
They began to dig wall and door
One with a gimlet in hand the other an axe,
One made the wall low by a breach
Struck hand in neck of that breach
One cast aside two stones
Made with them steps of a ladder*

The matter came to such a pitch that the author's father, out of foresight and far sightedness who had tasted heat and cold of the time and according to a statement that whatever an old man sees in a burnt brick, a young man is not able to see in a mirror, called the author and sent through him a message to Fidauddin Khan to the effect that it was advisable to make peace with Renkoji.



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in a way that the mind might enjoy tranquillity in all respects He should extract a pledge and pact from him to make him grateful and pledged to obligation

Poem

*Oh man of faith! Do good to an enemy
For ultimately goodness does its own work
When an enemy becomes helpless before any one
Forgiveness is better than revenge in his case
When an enemy lies low at your feet
Out of thanks for that, hold his hand*

He should further think of the evil consequences of enmity with Damaji for the star of fortune of the Maratha was in the ascendant and it was not possible for him to try his strength with him He should think as to where this enmity and hostility would lead His ruin and destruction as well as subjection of his house to plunder at the hands of looters would not mean more than this that they would carry his chattels while the stigma of ill-repute would stick to him

Verse

*I relate to you whatever is the requisite of mission
Either derive advice from my talk or grief*

His message was conveyed to him in the midst of struggle and the author delivered it to him for "A messenger's duty is to convey the message" He did not accept it as it was not ordained In short, Fidauddin Khan, in order that Anandram who was source of disturbance might not run away, asked Renkoj to surrender him He, out of humanity, replied, that he was slain But the Dekhani pandits who had no love for him, surrendered him Fidauddin Khan made his hands a circle round his shoulder and sent him dragged to the Bhadr with insult and disdain

Fragment

*Time is like wind and wind from the beginning
Removes veil with honour from face of a rose
After a week in that very assembly
Pulls his body to the dust of disgrace*

It was decided for Renkoj that he should be entrusted to Sher Khan and that he should give a written security bearing his seal that his men should vacate Viramgam and Borsad and surrender them to him Renkoj, due to



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exigency of time as ruffians and vagabonds had gathered around him from all sides and had resorted to plunder, and that he might be slain or captured, heard what he said and made Sher Khan to write it and gave it to him. He brought Renkoji with his family, pandits and porters to his own house. Krishnaji with sincerity that he had, came to the house of the author situated near the residence of Sher Khan with his dependents and lived there. The house of Renkoji as well as the houses of those who were connected with him were subjected to plunder by men of the Khans and the masses. Sujan Singh Hazari, who took shelter with Sher Khan, was asked to go after giving a receipt for arrears of salary of the time of Najm-ud-dawlah. Fire of disturbance got extinguished. Fidauddin Khan breathed with authority and absolutism, confiscated makhals of the city as well as those of the paraganah of Haveli which formed share of the Maratha and put them in charge of Muhammed Hadi Khan. Qaim Quli Khan was appointed as Patrolling Faujdar while Yusuf was appointed as Kotwal in place of Haji Mas'ud. Mirza Lehrasp was continued as Chronicler. He devoted himself, without any co-sharer, to governmental and administrative work of the Nizamat. Aqa Muhammed Husain was sent to Petlad as Faujdar. He fixed four hundred rupees per day for the companions of Sher Khan. He received this amount for some days. It was at this time that the presents of His Majesty sent for Najm ud dawlah before his death with the mace bearer Zain ul Abedin Khan reached Udaipur where the mace bearer heard news of Najm-ud dawlah's death. He stayed there and wrote about his death to Hakim ul-Mamalik. A royal order was then issued that they should be delivered to his son Mustakhar Khan. He proceeded further from that place and reached outskirts of the city. Mustakhar Khan learnt about it. He hastened for reception with all etiquette with Fidauddin Khan, Sher Khan and the grandees, turned his face towards the Royal Court with all decorum under regulations and received them. He entered the city with rejoicings. Anandram who was put in charge of Vajeram, had collected nearly fifty thousand rupees in cash and kind during the period of his access to Najm-ud dawlah by way of bribe. It was recovered from him with threat, rebuke and reproach. Mustakhar Khan regarded Sher Khan as a partisan of Fidauddin Khan. Again a plant of hostility between them had taken roots from before in their minds. He, therefore imagined him to be his enemy. He secretly corresponded with Laldas, wakil of Jawanmard Khan on this assumed matter because he regarded him under obligation and favours of Najm ud-dawlah. He expected his partisanship and regard for himself and so he might assist and support him in stability and continuity of government. He did not know.

Hemistich

That injustice from a friend is better than support from strangers

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He decided to bring in the subject of presents of an elephant and a horse given to Sher Khan

Verse

*Time portrays a thousand pictures and there is not
One such as is in the mirror of our imagination.*

He started from Pattan for Fatiha with his brother Zorawar Khan and members of his family and came to the city on 26th Rabi 'II. He met the Khans and halted at the house of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan. He was invited to a feast on 1st Jamadi I. Presents were exchanged, promises and pledges were made between them and corroborated with oaths on the Quran

Verse

*If a man discharges responsibility for fulfilment of a promise
He does more than you imagine.*

At the time of departure, wearing apparel, a female elephant and a horse were given as presents to Jawanmard Khan while wearing apparel and a horse were given to his brother. It was at this time that 'Abdul Husam Khan who formerly had gone to Songadh, attached himself to Damaji, took part in a war against Babu Nayak, returned to Khanbhayat when Damaji had gone to Sataragadh. He lived there for some days. He came to Ahmedabad at this time for Fatiha and saw Mustakhar Khan. It was at this time that Syed Raju Saheb, sajjadah-nashin of His Holiness Qurb-ul-'Alam may his grave be sanctifier situated at Vatwa died.



CHAPTER 251

COMING OUT OF FIDAUDDIN KHAN FOR ASSESSMENT OF PARAGANAHS AND COLLECTION OF PESHKASH AT BAGH-I- SHAHI DEPARTURE OF RENKOJI WITH OBSCURITY TO BORSAD SHER KHAN'S DEPARTURE TO BARAHSINOR AND OTHER EVENTS

As pledges and promises were confirmed on oath between Fidauddin Khan, Mustakhar Khan and Jawanmard Khan, Fidauddin Khan marched on 2nd Jamadi I for assessment of paraganahs, collection of peshkash, and band-obast (settlement for rent) with zamindars and Kolis as it was season for raising of crop and reaping of fields. He found the field free from disturbance of strangers and without thorns. He said,

Verse

*The world had become such as we wished
Oh God! Protect it from influence of an evil eye*

Quatrain

*From the time of rotation of the sky
Many abstemious, wise men are in bewilderment
Do not be puffed up with the joy you have
A thousand sorrows are hidden in every joy*

Regarding opportunity as a boon and help of good fortune, he encamped at Bagh-i-Shahi and halted for a few days for equipment of artillery and preparation of soldiers. Sher Khan repeatedly said to him in respect of Renkoji as to what should be done with him. He did not receive a satisfactory reply. Renkoji, on hearing about it, as Jawanmard Khan had bitterness in his mind from the days of Najm-ud-dawlah, became anxious about future and began to deliberate on remedy. He thought as to what reliance could be placed on Sher Khan. Jawanmard Khan and Fidauddin Khan had become one. He therefore thought that he would fall in the field of destruction and so he became more fearful than before. The more he observed with depth and seriousness, the more he found the doors of escape and liberation bolted for him. Of necessity, he struck the hand of supplication and humility at the skirt of Sher Khan's wife, daughter of Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni whose stratagem manfully stepped forward for his liberation. He engaged in wearing the collar of gratitude and obligation with covetousness of the present and promise of the future. That Lady acceded to his request, placed the finger of acce-

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ptance on the eyes and began to plan about it. By chance, there was an anniversary of Baba Ali Sher, may his grave be sanctified, at Sarkhej. People of Gujarat hastened there on the anniversary day out of faith for Ziyarat (visit) and fatiha (reciting verses of the holy Quran) and spent much. That lady carried Renkoji under cover of a female-rath with her on a plea to visit. Sarkhej. Thence, she made him proceed further. She hid members of his family in a house of which none had any knowledge. She managed this matter in such a manner that neither her husband nor any one else found a clue to it. Truth of " verily their stratagem is great " became clear.

Verses

*Hearts of men are twain due to fraud of women
Stratagems of women are sufficiently great
Respectable men are made miserable by deceit of woman
A wise man gets entangled in deceit of a woman
May no one become helpless at deceit of a woman
May there be not a deceitful woman at all.*

Next day i. e. 12th of that month, this closed secret got divulged. Sher Khan and others learnt about it. By chance, Fidauddin Khan had a feast with Jawanmard Khan in the garden. He had extracted a promise from Sher Khan. But he hesitated to go due to inquiry and investigation as to departure of Renkoji as well as out of shame for his negligence. He did not attend it as promised. At close of the day, he came with his party and disclosed about his disappearance. He made God as witness and said that he knew nothing about his departure. He went home to get hold of Renkoji's family on a clue of probable conversations. Fidauddin Khan also came to the Bhadra after a watch of the night had passed, sent harsh messages through Jawanmard Khan and said that any at cost, his family must be entrusted to him. The more he searched, the less he found. Fidauddin conjectured that he had hidden them. He ordered Yusuf Kotwal to block up lanes for the whole night and keep a watch on his street. He should form a lane-barrier till morning when crow of the dark-faced night begins to fly at the attack of male hawk of the sun and brilliance of world-illuminating day spreads over the expanse of the world. They should post themselves by blocking the lanes round about the house and street of Sher Khan so that they might, perhaps, trace out the hidden (lost) persons. Sher Khan through fear found that the personality of sleep did not form friendship with his eyes and restlessness of his side departed from bed of rest. For preservation of his reputation, he kept his men ready and maintained vigilance at night. Fire of war was about to break out and consume everything dry and wet. The author's father went to see Fidauddin Khan. The



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author learnt about his departure in a house which was situated in the same street and informed his father about the occurrence. He prevented Fidauddin Khan from resorting to his action and investigation. He advised him to verify the statement of Sher Khan to the effect that he really was not aware of the event. He took Muhammed Hadi Khan with him and went to Sher Khan for conciliation and avoidance of disturbance. The party which had blocked the lane was removed. They caught hold of the hand of Sher Khan and brought him to their house. This revolt subsided. Sher Khan stayed till evening and then went to his house. But it was settled that the pandits should surrender Renkoji and that his porters and soldiers should be sent out of the city. Fidauddin Khan's men arrested nearly sixty men of the Pandits and detained them in the house of Syed 'Aqil Khan. The porters were expelled. From among the pandits also Ramaji and Krishnaji along with twelve other men who were reliable were summoned to the Bhadra, and imprisoned while the others were expelled from the city. By chance, nearly twenty Dekham males and females who were relations of Krishnaji were in the house of the author. Fidauddin Khan's men came to take them away but they desisted when the author stood surety for them. Sher Khan's wife, when she got an opportunity, changed the dress of Renkoji's women and sent them to Borsad. Sher Khan spent nearly ten days in hope and fear in a veil of confusion. He saw no advisability for himself to stay. He went to Barahsinor on an excuse of hunting. His wife came out after him with permission of Fidauddin Khan with several raths and palkis of Renkoji. It is said that gold vessels, silver utensils and other articles which belonged to him were given to her as reward for help. She appropriated them for her self and remained with her. Responsibility of this statement rests with the narrator. Renkoji straightway went to his nest at Borsad from Sarkhej like a bird who obtains freedom from the narrow cage and flies with help of the wing of good fortune. He wrote a letter to Fidauddin Khan, Mustakhar Khan and other grandees to the effect that cash and kind to the extent of lacs of rupees had been plundered from his house. All these valuables belonged to Damaji. They should deem it their responsibility to recover them. But the Khans gave no reply. In short, whatever punishment such as beating, vilifying, torture and flagellation was possible, for wicked Anandram, source and origin of all mischief, was meted out to him. He was caught hold of. As a lesson for his wicked deed, four strokes were given to him on his beard and whiskers, his ears and nose were erased by a knife of punishment from the face of his face and was seated on a donkey.

Hemistich

This punishment was not much for that offense

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He was paraded through the city and streets. His stomach was cut to pieces in front of the chabutra of Kotwali. They were thus free from his mischief-mongering

Poem

*Punishment to a liar is meritorious
He who practises untruth, it is proper for him.
Do not behave well with ill-natured men
Do not do good to a snake and a scorpion,
As a lesson, his beard was shaved
He lost his prestige in that gathering
(Lustre of his face was lost in that gathering).
To kindle fire between two persons
Is not wisdom. It is to burn oneself in it
After inquiry of an old offence
They killed him and thus freed themselves from his revenge*

On 15th Jamadi II, Fidauddin Khan marched with Jawanmard Khan, having left Mustakhar Khan for administrative management of the city, assessment and collection of revenue as well as collection of peshkash towards the paraganah of Bhel. He remained engaged in that work for nearly one month. He returned when he heard news of arrival of Khanderao, brother of Damaji, his crossing the river Mahi and Renkoji joining him. He came to Kankariya Tank situated on border of the city. He received news that Khanderao and Renkoji had besieged the fort of Petlad and a war waged with cannons and muskets. He sent lead and gun-powder twice with palanquin-bearers at the request of Aqa Muhammed Husain, the local faujdar. He sent Balidas muqaddam for negotiation of peace and complaints against Renkoji to Khanderao. He imposed an amount of money by way of biwarah, and fines on merchants of the city and thus he paid salary of soldiers. As Fidauddin Khan was ease-loving, he thought of a plan whose end was not conducive to good.

Verse

*Much wealth which comes on the passage
A man loses the way when he is literate*

He talked of deputyship of the subah with Jawanmard Khan. Vajeram peshkar began to wrangle about it with Ajab Singh, his principal manager of affairs. The substance of it was that the mahals of the city and paraganah of



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Haveli should be left for expenses of the Khans while salary of soldiers, assessment and collection of revenue from paraganahs peshkash and expedition of army would be his charge.

Verse

*Reins should worthily be entrusted to your hands
Courage is assistance and also victory.*

He did not know as to what was in store for him. He spent a few days in examination of matters of revenue.

Fragment

*The sky wanted to do harm
But it had no power and authority
At last, it did what it wanted
In a way which was not in thought,*

In the meanwhile, news of subedars of 'Abdul 'Aziz Khan alias Maqbul-i-'Alam spread. As there was no lustre of truth in the letters of the capital, it was regarded as a rumour. Sometime had not passed when two servants of Maqbul-i-'Alam came with his letter and a copy of the royal order about assignment of the subah sent to Jawanmard Khan. They remained outside out of care and caution and intimated to Jawanmard Khan about their arrival.

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CHAPTER 252

RECEIPT OF 'ABDUL 'AZIZ KHAN'S ALIAS MAQBUL-I-'ALAM'S LETTER IN RESPECT OF DEPUTYSHIP OF THE SUBAH ALONG WITH A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER WITH THE SEAL OF QAZI OF JUNAIR IN CONNECTION WITH APPOINTMENT IN THE SUBAH OF GUJARAT TO JAWANMARD KHAN BABI RIOT OF SOLDIERS DETENTION OF MUFTAKHAR KHAN AND QAIM QULI KHAN BY FIDAUDDIN KHAN FOR DEMAND OF MONEY. OCCUPATION OF THE SUBAH BY JAWANMARD KHAN

'Abdul 'Aziz Khan alias Maqbul-i-'Alam was Qile'dar of the Junair fort on behalf of Asaf Jah. On receipt of Nijm-ud dawlah's death and disturbance in parts of this region, he managed to get a copy of the royal order with a seal of Wazir-ul-Mamalik I'timad-ud-dawlah and bearing the seal of Qazi of Junair. He wrote to Jawanmard Khan appointing him as Naib of the subah. He sent it with his own two servants. He brought them in the city, acquainted himself with contents of the letter and alighted him in one of his houses due to policy and exigency of time. He forbade him entrance, exit and meeting with other persons. He engaged in plan, and consultation with well-wishers in respect of assumption of charge of office. He spread news for recruitment of soldiers and summoned the zamindar of Kutch with a risalah of horsemen and foot men for help. He thus informed the people about recruitment. He entered the city on a plea of not receiving salary from the sarkar of Fidauddin Khan but he desisted from taking any action. But the arrival of Maqbul-i-'Alam's messengers became talk of the town. People in general were tired of payment of biwarrah and fines.

Quatrain

*Do not oppress for in this soon perishable field
You will reap with a sickle of time what you sow
How well said an aged cultivator to his son
Oh tender soul! you will not reap except what you sow*

They held meetings for talking and discussing about them and began to sing songs in season and out of season. Ultimately Fidauddin Khan and Mustakhar Khan heard the sound of these songs. They became suspicious about dilatory tactics of Jawanmard Khan. Mustakhar Khan visited his house and took him to Fidauddin Khan who had encamped in ignominious Bagh. When he put forth a plea for not receiving salary, he made Muhammad Hadi Khan pay that amount of money. He apparently went out on an



excuse of recovery of money but he again entered the city. From talks of those who had personally seen the copy of the royal order and the letter of Maqbul-i-'Alam as well as from speeches of people with their addition and subtraction, he understood the excuse of Jawanmard Khan. Fidauddin Khan alone entered the Bhadra for inquiry and ascertainment of its truth and falsehood. He thought of seeing the order and the letter with a view to his old intimacy with him, as well as with an idea to unravel this doubtful matter, and acquaint himself with truth and falsehood of talks of people. On Sunday morning of the month of Sha'ban of 1156, he went to see him. He showed the copy of the order along with the letter of Maqbul-i-'Alam. The author, out of sincerity, requested him to give those letters to him to show them to his father on a promise of returning them to him. He brought them and showed them to his father. He reported the facts to Fidauddin Khan out of sincere unanimity. He, so to say, was keen and ardent about them. He immediately hinted him to come and bring them with him. He went to him nearly at mid-day and declared to him that he had brought the letter and the copy on a plea of showing them to the author's father. If he had anything to say in that matter, he would have sent them with others. He further informed him that it was clear and manifest from the subject matter of the copy of the order that it was clearly spurious and forged for it was not written in a regular court style because it did not state about the appointment in the subah on the death of Najm ud-dawlah or about transfer. It was an occasion for thought and deliberation. As a copy was not there at the time of writing these pages so that he would have written the matter as it was for knowledge of men of foresight and wisdom. In short in spite of his position, Fidauddin Khan till then worked with the help of fortune of another man who was no more in the midst and the hand of destiny made him blind to see the face of his righteousness.

Verse

*Time came for the kingdom that like an hair from dough
It is soon taken out from an incapable man*

He immediately sent for Mustakhar Khan, Ali Muhammed Khan, Muhammed Hadi Khan, Nazar 'Ali Khan, Muhammed Quli Khan, Sadiq 'Ali Khan, Qaim Quli Khan and Vajeram peshkar. He said to the author to stay till they all gathered. In a confused state, he summoned Sarwar Habshi Jamadar of the Arabs, Dafe'dar Shahbaz Rohila, peshkar of the mahal of the mint who the pivot of affair and whispered to them for an hour. The author conjectured that perhaps he kept the Arab and the Rohila parties



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ready in order to give an order to Jawanmard Khan to go out of the city. If in reality, it so transpired, he would go when at close of the day, the author received a letter of Jawanmard Khan to the effect that Sarwar Habsli and Rohila went to the mint and appropriated with force and violence three thousand rupees coined today. All the servants and officers had come with complaints for redress of grievances. It should be said that this affair was not proper. Now it became clear as to what was the meaning of whispering. The letter was shown to Fidauddin Khan, Mustakhar Khan and Muhammed Hadi Khan who were present. He said that such improper action meant removal with one's own hands and striking an axe on one's own feet. Mustakhar Khan also corroborated his statement. But it did occur to Fidauddin Khan's mind. Occurrence of this event removed doubt from the mind of the common-folk and the elite.

Verse

*When destiny wishes, it makes one's head downcast
It guides you to evil deeds*

In short, at close of the day when the summoned persons gathered together, they held discussion on the copy of the royal order. As fate had done its work they all fixed their glance at Fidauddin Khan and strained their ears to hear his speech. None opened lips with yes or no.

Poem

*Fate is a hand with five fingers
When it wishes some one to do its work
It places its two fingers on his eyes and two on ears
One on lips and says, "Be quiet"*

He found himself helpless for payment to the soldiers and always sought for corner of safety with an idea to spend with ease what he possessed.

Verse

*The world will come to an end with good and evil, it is better
That they should spend their life with pleasant temperament*

He had a talk with Jawanmard Khan about deputyship before the arrival of letters. He again discussed the same topic with a false idea and absurd thought.

Hemistich

Such was fate What plan can be adopted

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He remarked, "What sweetness is there in the subah. The country has passed in possession of the Marathas. If Jawanmard Khan takes upon himself the responsibility of payment to the soldiers; we wish from God to remove this calamity from over our head."

Verse

*We detached heart from hope that we had
We did not root out the seed that we sowed*

As all persons regarded Fidauddin Khan as their elder, although his statement was contrary to the opinion of people, they considered it to be an essence of welfare and betterment and so they placed the seal of silence on their lips.

Verse

*Whatever God honoured and glorified does
Has graces of which no one has any knowledge.*

Nearly in the evening when it was time for dismissal of the Rumi of Day and appointment of the Negro of Night, 'Ali Muhammed Khan, Muhammed Quli Khan, the author and Vajeram went to Jawanmard Khan to announce this fact.

Verse

*Any one who is ready for wealth
If he does not seek it, wealth will seek him.*

They went and were in the midst of conversation with him when a letter in the handwriting of Fidauddin Khan wherein the names of four men were mentioned was received. It was stated therein as to what could be better than this that the subah should be in charge of Jawanmard Khan who was a friend. But they should arrange for the salary of soldiers who had been collected by the Jamadars. It was decided that Jawanmard Khan should enter the fort of Bhadra the next day. Well-wishers collected together. As the amount was big, they realized the responsibility. The wise deliberated upon the sum to be raised. This fact was conveyed with Vajeram. Every one went to his house to know what would happen the next day. Jawanmard Khan, through this conversation which did not enter into his imagining faculty saw plant of his hope bearing fruit, rose of his desire to blossom and he received fragrance of his object in nostrils of his life. He said,

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Verse

*Promise which was given by destiny was fulfilled
Work which time did not wish it as accomplished*

In short, next morning, the author saw Jawanmard Khan in accordance with promise of the previous night. He got ready and said that he waited on the road for 'Ali Muhammed Khan so that he might accompany him. The author returned. Near the house, he saw him coming with Fidauddin Khan whose mind, in short, was filled with excitement. He met him. He approached the author's father and said, that they should together go to the house of Jawanmard Khan for a talk with him. The author said that it was not advisable and proper to go to his house. He replied that, that place was also good. When he noticed his persistence, he sent a message to Jawanmard Khan. He came. When the jamadars and others learnt about out-going of Fidauddin Khan and in-coming of Jawanmard Khan, many of them collected together to get information about end of affairs. Fidauddin Khan, the author's father and Mahammed Quli Khan sat separately with Jawanmard Khan. They discussed about salary of the soldiers. As the amount was big, they understood the responsibility as Jawanmard Khan apparently was the Naib of another person. After a conversation, it was decided that they should plunder together the neighbouring villages which were in a way wealthy, they seized animate and inanimate articles. These objects were given to the soldiers as salary. Thirty thousand rupees were to be charged on the paraganah of Haveli to be raised at the reaping and harvesting time as salary. It was settled that next day morning both the parties should engage in this work. They then went to their respective houses.

Verse

*Who knows what will happen tomorrow
Except one who also created the morrow*

Fidauddin Khan, thinking the wrath of a poor man to be borne by a poor man, got his regiment camping at the Kankariya Tank ready under generalship of his nephew Muhammed Husain and sent it to Ghuyaspur situated at a distance of three kurohs from the city which was under him from the beginning of government and where he had laid out a garden. He drove cattle of the place and brought them. Cultivators and farmers chased them, came to the city throwing dust over head and saw Jawanmard Khan for justice. He imagined this occurrence as a piece of good fortune and augury of time and found the arrow of desire hit the target of object. He became indifferent towards the army and its depredations of villages.

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Hemistich

He practised the old custom

In short, the jamadars became suspicious about former retirement and driving of cattle. They inquired of Fidauddin Khan about the agreement. He told them out of simplicity, what had been settled. It was now certain that he had withdrawn himself from the subah. Some of the mediators of Jawanmard Khan who were related to them or had intimacy with them so gave out that the former retirement was meant, with experience, to obtain the object, to throw a stone of dispersion and to fulfil the object for Fidauddin Khan intended to proceed to Khanbhayat with his family by way of the garden window of the Bhadra Fort. Jawanmard Khan stood security for reaching him there and that that plan was to be executed either today or tomorrow. Again, some were given good news of employment and increased salary. It was engraved on their minds. They informed one another about it. At close of day, all the jamadars and artillery in the fort were assembled together in the fort. When two hours of the day remained, Fidauddin Khan came out. They demanded their salary and practised severity so much so that he could not bear it. He resorted to harsh reply.

Verse

*He showed harshness and evil disposition
He opened the door of mischief unto himself*

Having made a promise for the next day, he wanted to get in. On hearing the promise of tomorrow, their doubt became certain. Whatever the well wishers of Jawanmard Khan had heard was true. Work must be done before approach of dark night. One of them put his hand at the waist of Fidauddin Khan and did not allow him to go. He made him seat. On this exchange of words, Mustakhar Khan and Qum Quli Khan came out in excitement to inquire about the tumult. They made them seat by his side. The remaining jamadars, Arabs and Rohilas, horsemen and footmen in service and out of service got information about this occurrence, set out towards the fort and thus a great crowd was collected. It was a wonderful spectacle of a multitude. Some hastened to bring Nazir 'Ali Khan from his house. He seized an opportunity and took refuge with Jawanmard Khan. Porters detained Muhammed Zaman son of Fidauddin Khan in his house. The jamadars carried away five elephants of Najm ud dawliah and Fidauddin Khan to their houses tied them there while the bargirs did with horses. In short, nearly a watch of the night had passed, Jawanmard Khan saw the occurrence of this event in accordance with his wish and desire. Perhaps guards of gates, passages



and chabutra of Kotwali might have gone away and so rabble and vagabonds might seize this opportunity to plunder. He, therefore, thought of making arrangement for protection of the city. He sent his own servant Salim Jamadar of the Arabs to the Karez building situated at maidan of the bazar. He posted a party at the Serai of 'Azam Khan where lead and gun-powder were stored. On intelligence of it, Fidauddin Khan summoned the author at midnight. He went and saw that a great crowd was collected there. The Arabs behaved with much harshness. In short, Jawanmard Khan appointed the Kotwal without permission and without fulfilling terms of contract. He should be forbidden to do so. His conversation was for the protection of the city. Now that the work was completed, Salim, at close of the same time, issued a proclamation in the name of Maqbul-i-'Alam while he himself sat at the chabutra of Kotwali. He appointed guards and watchmen at various passages.

Quatrain

*To night, the flame of brand of the sky is extinguished
Light of the moon and the sun in his brain is no more.
Bring out a hand and carry away what you wish
Lamp of this dark house is extinguished*

Next day, the uproar increased. In the meantime, Ramaji and other pandits as well as Renkoji who were released from prison, made their appearance. When a report of the above incident reached Khanderao who was engaged in a siege at Petlad and war with Aqa Muhammed Husain, he wrote in all haste to Fidauddin Khan and Muftakhar Khan that he should send a letter about surrender of the fortress of Petlad which they had besieged and that he should rest assured that they would reach at top speed to quell the uproar and make him free. As they were divested of power and some of the Jamadars were content with that, no reply was sent. In the meantime, sister of Qaim Quli Khan, wife of Najm-ud-dawlah, who was ill for some time, was on the point of dying. Qaim Quli Khan requested the jamadars to permit him to go to bid her last farewell and see her for the last time. First, they were not pleased to grant him permission but ultimately it was settled that Syed Meher 'Ali Jamadar and the Marwaris should remain present at her door as watchmen so that he should go inside and come back. By chance, the moment he reached her, she died. Qaim Quli Khan came out for funeral ceremony and remained there. She was buried by the side of Najm-ud-dawlah nearly at one watch of the night. He then returned. He engaged in mourning at the gate of her palace with guards around him. That very night, they suspected that there were lacs of rupees whereupon the jamadars said to Qaim Quli Khan



that their salary was in arrear from the time of Najm-ud-dawlah and that he owed money to them. They, therefore, kept in custody the successors of the deceased lady. They were guarded under seals. He locked, without any pretext, boxes and rooms after examination and showed the seals. He gave a list of ornaments in detail to Qaim Quli Khan. That very night, he thought of his own escape by paying them their dues. He settled with Syed Meher 'Ali and the Marwaris that he would pay four annas per head per day till suppression of uproar. He corroborated the pact on oath. He thus made them his confederates and companions. Next day, the Jamadars sent message for bringing Qaim Quli Khan, Meher Ali and others sent a reply that "You and we demand salary. Let Fidauddin Khan and Mustakhar Khan be with them while Qaim Quli Khan is with us. We will not bring him." They got ready for contention. In short, Jawanmard Khan saw rotation of the sky in accordance with his desire and broached of independent authority and absolute power. He said,

Verse

*Every joy which the sky had killed for us
That was decreed by time with one graceful act*

He sent his own men along with ryots of Ghvaspur and restored to them their cattle wherever they were. He posted some of them at the Bhadra gate. He sent a message and porters for vacation of the fort. Fidauddin Khan and Mustakhar Khan, of necessity, began to bring out loads and baggage due to violence of soldiers. The family and goods of Fidauddin Khan were kept in the house of Muhammed Beg Khan situated at Khanpur which he had bought. The dependents and household articles of Mustakhar Khan were kept in the house of Haji Amer Hasan which Najm-ud-dawlah had kept in mortgage from the time of the Bhandari and which was near the house of Fidauddin Khan. Qaim Quli Khan kept his articles and dependents in the house of Muhammed Zaman Beg, husband of his sister who lived in the house of Meher 'Ali Khan. The jamadars sent them with their own men. Every one of the Khins was escorted by the sepoy's in the city. Fidauddin Khan was taken to a bungalow of the garden which he had built in front of his house, Mustakhar Khan was removed to the house of Haji Amir Husam. Qaim Quli Khan was removed to the house of Muhammed Zaman Beg when two watches of the day had passed by way of the maidan of the bazar by beating drums under escort of Syed Meher 'Ali and the Marwaris accompanied by nearly five hundred horse and foot completely armed and equipped after the uproar by others subdued as they had sharpened their teeth of greed



against him Jawanmard Khan's men entered the fort without fear and started coming and going. Guards were posted at the gates. Qaim Quli Khan paid dues of Meher 'Ali and the Marwaris by instalments and engaged in total payment. They posted themselves night and day by way of an entrenchment round about the house of Meher 'Ali Khan. Jawanmard Khan internally thought that as association with the Khans was not congenial, he should remain in his companionship. Dues of service would be fulfilled, apologies would be made. He, therefore, sent a message to him and made him his supporter with concord so that if occasionally anything happened, he might support him. Sher Khan Babi lived in Barahsinor. On hearing about the above occurrences he occupied the Kasbah of Kapadwanj and the paraganah of Thama and put them in charge of his own men. He came to Ahmedabad with his family. The soldiers had great hope in Qaim Quli Khan whom they regarded as a golden bird, who slipped from their hands. In the prime of youth Mufiakhar Khan enjoyed great authority but now he had no hold on the household furniture of Najm ud dawlāh except an elephant, a horse, an ox and a camel. He exercised strictness and sternness more than before on Fidauddin Khan. When he could not bear them, he too treated him with harshness.

Verse

*He did not behave with men with humanity
That he can be thought of as a man*

He spent a few days in hardship may it not fall to the lot of an enemy and then he thought of a scheme. He sent a message to Jawanmard Khan to this effect that he had no leisure to drink water, to breathe and to scratch head. It was not possible for him to discharge his responsibility. He requested him to take into consideration his former relations and settle some amount of money for him to deliberate and accomplish something.

Verse

*Such is the scheme of this old woman (world)
That she gives poison when she makes you taste milk.*

Jawanmard Khan saw him at close of the day. After conversation and discussion with the jamadars, it was settled that Muhammad Hadi Khan should be kept as a hostage in place of Fidauddin and that he should be permitted to go inside so that he might plan something. He went inside, collected next day some jewel-studded ornaments silver utensils, gold-embroidered clothes etc. and assessed the price. He spent some days in this manner. Jawanmard Khan appointed Abdul Husain Khan as before as naib-diwan of the subah.



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Muhammed Atadullahi was discharged. On Friday, 15th of the above month, which was an elected hour, he mounted a horse with pomp and magnificence, went to the Jame Masjid, said Friday prayer, heard the holy sermon, gave a robe to the preacher and entered the Bhadra fort rejoicing without hardship and distress which never crossed his imagination.

Verse

*Neither the earth was besmeared with blood of any one
Nor even an ant was crushed to death under sole of a foot*

Nobles of the city such as eminent syeds, holy mashaikh (spiritual guides) leaders of communities of Bohras and Hindus came one after another for congratulations. Residents of the city in general, on imagination and thought, that they had now a Nazim who was of their native place expressed joy and occupied themselves with their respective trades and professions. Those persons, in particular, who had hidden and concealed themselves within a curtain of obscurity through fear of arrest came out and rendered thanks for they would, in future, be free from payment of biwarahi and fines.

Hemistich

What an absurd idea ! What an impossible thought

In short Fidauddin Khan sat within the house for nearly ten twelve days. Outwardly, he schemed to pay dues of soldiers but there was, really, no way to come out of responsibility he thought of means to lead a retired life and of liberation. Sher Khan's wife who had intimate relations with the wife of Fidauddin Khan came, one day during this time, for a visit. Soldiers, in accordance with the saying that one who is bitten by a snake is afraid of a cord of elecampane, did not allow her to get down on a suspicion that perhaps she might plan after the fashion of Renkji's escape. She returned. Perhaps there might have been a secret message. In short on night of 15th of the above month Fidauddin Khan made a breach in the wall of the house with a design to come out from his hut to go to the house of Sher Khan under the indigo coloured curtain of the night which made the world dark and black and waited for tumult due to intercourse of people to subside. Wife of Muhammed Hadi Khan who was the mother of Fidauddin Khan's wife and who too was within the house, secretly informed her husband about this matter that he should think of a scheme for his escape for there would remain no moment till morning. Muhammed Hadi Khan called Jamadar Shaikh Muhammed 'Aqil to himself and talked to him about the idea. He took upon himself the responsibility for payment of his dues of twenty thousand rupees to extricate



him from that vortex and keep a guard at his house and permit him to go after payment of money. Pledge and pact were made for this. Fidauddin Khan came out of the breach with his wife at an opportune time and went to the nearby house of Sadiq 'Ali Khan. He seated his wife in the rath and straight way went to the house of Sher Khan and took rest. At close of the night when people slept with a slumber of negligence, men of Shaikh Aqil brought out Muhammed Hadi Khan and carried him away. In the morning when the soldiers raised their heads from pillows, they found no trace of Fidauddin Khan and Muhammed Hadi Khan. They fell in a sea of amazement and began to make diligent search. The more they sought, the less they found. After three days, they found a clue of them. As they had no power, they clustered around Mastakhar Khan. Sardar Khan, brother of Jawanmard Khan came from Radhanpur as summoned. Ramaji, other pandits and Renkoji had no confidence in Jawanmard Khan. They requested the author's father that they should be allowed to go. Hence, every one of them was given a pair of clothes in accordance with usage of the Dekhan, along with a rath and a horse and they were allowed to go under permission of Jawanmard Khan. They went and joined Renkoji and reported their experience. Aqa Muhammed Husain defended the fort of Petlad by fighting with the Marathas. When Renkoji found no breach, he arranged to dig a mine and fill it with gun-powder beneath the wall. In the meanwhile, he heard news about Jawanmard Khan's entry into the Bhadra and the exit of the Khans. As he had acquaintance with the above Aqa, he sent a message to him that all the steadfastness and killing men were for one who was no more in the midst. Such an event happened at Ahmedabad. It was proper to stop fighting and go with comfort wherever he liked with bag and baggage by surrender of the fort. In spite of this, he wrote to his brother Muhammed Quli Khan at Ahmedabad that he would stand with firmness in case succour and war-materials were sent by Jawanmard Khan. As it was not done, he read "Peace is commendable" and came out in all determination and hastened to Khanbhavat. The fort of Petlad was occupied by the Marathas. Renkoji, for the sake of test for he had a design to demolish the fort, set fire to the mine and blew it up. Remaining part of it was demolished. He marched to Ahmedabad in all haste for strengthening his affairs and reached Babuta at a distance of three kurohis from Dholka. He sent a message with Krishnaji to Jawanmard Khan and proposed his own reliable man, the author and Sadiq 'Ali Khan for negotiations. He, therefore, sent Ajab Singh peshkar to accompany the author and Sadiq 'Ali Khan. Renkoji's object in summoning the author was due to his good behaviour with the pandits and therefore, he wished that he should be a means in these negotiations. In short, they met at that place and talked of continuity of half-to-half share of the subrah with Ajab Singh who was his principal manager of affairs.



CHAPTER 253

RECEIPT OF A ROYAL ORDER IN RESPECT OF INVEST- MENT OF AUTHORITY OF THE SUBAH IN THE NAME OF MUFTAKHIR KHAN A CIVIL WAR WITH JAWAN- MARD KHAN OUT-GOING OF MUFTAKHIR KHAN FROM AHMEDABAD

Fidauddin Khan, after keeping himself aloof, seized an opportunity to proceed to the capital at night inognito. Vajiram peshkar also entered in o service of Sher Khan. All the sepoy's raised a hue and cry against Muftakhir Khan. Of necessity, animate and inanimate property that he had, he handed over to the sepoy's when, in the meantime, as the above events were reported by Hakim ul-Mamalik to His Majesty, a royal order bearing the seal of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik was issued to Muftakhir Khan to the effect that the subah was not put in charge of 'Abdul 'Aziz Khan by His Majesty and that he should with absolute authority devote himself to the work of the Nizamat. Jawanmard Khan was informed through swift couriers to keep his hands off the Nizamat. Muftakhir Khan, on getting intelligence of it, held consultation with some persons. It was decided that the place where he lived near the Bhadra fort was not a strong one. If, in case, the other party did not obey the order inspite of showing it to him, the affair would result in bitterness. Self-respect was to be maintained. House of Shuja'at Khan, where, in reality, 'Abdul Husain Khan resided and which was extensive and strong should be occupied and there engaged in scheming for the affair. He shifted to that place where he summoned Muhammed Shahbaz Rohila and others whom he considered to be in concord with himself, acquainted them with the orders and employed them in service. He sent the Royal Order to Jawanmard Khan and began to move in the matter of friendship with politeness. He sent a message to him, "Do not talk of the past", it was advisable and proper that they should be friendly and intimate as before and that he should vacate the Bhadra and brother-like he should co-operate with him in exercising authority as a Naib. He did not receive a reply as he desired. Former claims and rights were changed into rebellion. He set aside pledges and promises corroborated on oath on the vault of oblivion prepared himself for a war and said,

Verses

*Judgment which you have formed with yourself
Is not such You played a false game*

On the morning of 4th Ramzan, he despatched his men for a siege

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peace might become possible. The author replied to him that though the income might be less, fertility of the paraganah which was well known had not suffered. The only difference was that it was in the hands of one party otherwise it was the same as before. If half the Maratha share was given up in place of half of the paraganah of Haveli of Ahmedabad so that it was entirely left to the Mughals. Efforts would then be made for increased yield in the revenue. He said that when all the matters were set right, he would not go out of his word. By chance, Balidas, the evil natured devil was from the time of Najm ud dawlah, the break fast eater of transactions of the Marathas. He received amounts of money as presents from both the sides in lieu of service. He had gone to Petlad on behalf of Fidauddin Khan for negotiations with Khanderao as mentioned above. At the time of return, he arrived at Kheda. He stayed there on hearing about the event at Ahmedabad. On hearing about the arrival of the author and others, he became restless like a fish out of water that perhaps he would fail in achievement of his object. He sent word to the author and came to Ahmedabad with him. For the last two days Narhar Pandit came to the author's father for negotiations about matters of revenue. Khanderao and Renkoji marched and encamped at Bakhar on the bank of Sabarmati situated at a distance of three kurohs from the city. Jawanmard Khan entered the tent at the Kankariya Tank. Qaim Quli Khan came with a regiment for companionship. Nextday, the author went to see Jawanmard Khan. He learnt that Balidas had seen him in advance of him, talked to him about certain matters and thus made him favourably disposed to him. They held separate talks in private with Narhar Pandit and Krishnaji. When he learnt about the author's arrival, he sent word that he should wait awhile, he would come. He realized as to what broth was in the cup. He did not expect such matters to take place for the work that he had come. He did not wish it at all. It was only out of respect for Renkoji who willy nilly had become insistent and persistent for him to go otherwise, he would have kept himself aloof from it. None had any information about the matter of half the share of the paraganah of Haveli. Balidas visited the Maratha army twice and thrice and he set right the settlement of peace by leaving the paraganah of Petlad with any exchange. In the meantime, Sher Khan Babu sent a message to Renkoji in accordance with the wish of Fidauddin Khan to the effect that he wanted to come to him. If he came to Sarkhej, he would bring him there so that the meeting might take place. Renkoji accepted the proposal and went to the promised place. Sher Khan, having seated Fidauddin Khan with himself on an elephant and women in raths, came by the gate of Raighad to the bank of Sabar two hours after night fall on 24th Ramzan. Guards on duty did not protest. They were escorted to Renkoji. He then returned. Renkoji brought Fidauddin Khan to his pavilion and



began to complain about his past conduct.

Poem

*When a man is put to shame, do not taunt him.
Do not stab with a dagger twice at one place.
To be wild with the injured
Is sprinkling salt on a wound.
Do not taunt who is ashamed of you.
Do not increase the wound by a lancet.*

He said, "Even though I had done evil, but you committed greater evil than that. You took no account of foresight inspite of humility and entreaty. Had there been concord, the matter would not have reached this pitch. Now I will not fail in rendering whatever service I can."

Verse

*It is easy to reward evil with evil
If you are a man, "Do good to one who did evil to you."*

He sent him a tent and articles of a feast and alighted him. Revenue matters of the subah were set right with the Marathas. Safdar Khan with Mustakhir Khan went to see Renkoji with a female elephant to be given as a present to him. Maratha named Murar came to Ahmedabad as Naib of the Marathas in the city. Sher Khan proceeded to Barah Sinor. Khanderao and Kanaji having marched from Banjur, went to Dholka. Renkoji was permitted to proceed to Petlad. He hastened to Saurath. Fidauddin Khan declared to Renkoji that the subah was not transferred by His Majesty. Another order had been newly sent about investment of authority. If he confederated with him and helped him to bring flowed water to the river, he could do it. He said that it was known to him but it got ruined because of him. If he made arrangement for expenses, he was ready. He proceeded to Khanbhayat for making arrangement for the same. As Renkoji had in mind to take half the share of that place which Najm-ud-dawlah held in entirety in place of Viramgam, he hastened to that place and alighted at the Narangsar Tank. Mustakhir Khan and Najm Khan met him and made his Naib assume his duties. They held a council of consultation for management of administration of the subah for which Fidauddin Khan had moved. After discussion, it was settled that if one lac of rupees were immediately raised, he would be ready for it. The Khans tried to arrange for the same. They were able to collect eighty thou and rupees within a month by seizing what Najm Khan and other relations had with them as well as by extorting cash and goods from merchants in every possible



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manner They made efforts to collect the remaining amount. Renkoji whose object was to get a share of the port of Khanbhayat as well as extortion of gold said that he would go to Borsad situated at a distance of ten kurohs from Khanbhayat and make preparations there Whenever they would come collecting the remaining amount he would take part in the campaign He hastened to Borsad It was then known that his speech and deed smacked of falsehood As Fidauddin Khan was the cause and originator of this matter, they attributed it to his treachery and thus they caused him harm He got hurt and went with his family to Dahwan, the residence of the tyrant Jalbah Koli and resided there Jawanmard Khan, after settlement of revenue matters with the Marathas and march of Khanderao entered the city from the Naginah Bagh, and devoted himself to administrative duties He sent his brother Zorawar Khan as Naib of Pattan city The sepoys who had seized his articles and household goods in payment of their salary, some of them returned them out of flattery in anticipation of service while others returned to him his tents and sale proceeds The same tents were raised over his head and the same carpets were spread beneath his feet Servants and retainers stood as before "Oh men of sight! take a lesson"

Verse

*Such is the usage of the rotating sky
That it bestows with affection and seizes with wrath*

They bought two elephants one makhnah and the other a female elephant of Sher Khan, one elephant of Jawanmard Khan, one elephant of Zorawar Khan from among horses and elephants from the jamadars at half the price Gunners who had preserved three hundred guns besides their own were employed in service Ultimately, he seized those guns He appropriated seventy-five cannons small and big-lead and gun-powder which belonged to Najm-ud-dawlah He appointed his brother Safdar Khan as Naib and manager of financial and administrative matters and sent him to the paraganah of Kadi with an army for assessment and collection of peshkash Nazar 'Ali Khan, Muhammed Zaman Beg, Mumin 'Ali Khan and Muhammed Quli Khan did not deem it advisable for themselves to live in Ahmedabad They, therefore, started for the capital on 12th Zilq'ad Talib 'Ali Khan, the Diwan of the subah who was in the Royal Presence, died at this time

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CHAPTER 254

DEPARTURE OF 'ABDUL 'AZIZ KHAN FROM THE FORT OF JUNAIR TO AHMEDABAD. HIS DEATH ON THE WAY.

When the letters of Jawanmard Khan based on assumption of charge of the subah, exit of Fida'uddin Khan and Muftakhir Khan reached 'Abdul 'Aziz Khan alias Maqbul-i-'Alam who was engaged in fort-defence of Junair, he actively engaged himself in collection of soldiers and essential materials of artillery. He brought down a few cannons and materials from the fort and engaged in recruitment. He employed Rustamrao from among the Marathas in service and invited Fatehyab Khan, Qile'dar of Malibra who was loyal for confederacy. He set out with them with full equipment.

Verse

*A pigeon who will not see another nest
Fate pulled him as far as the grains and the snare.*

In short, he, first of all, thought capture of Surat port as his goal. The port-officer, on getting intelligence of it, engaged himself in protection, defence and strengthening the turret and city fortifications and sat prepared for resistance. He did not care for the Maratha danger even though he had to pass through Songadh, he did not adopt the path of conciliation and amity with them because of their power in the subah. He passed through that district in all power and reached Berachah (vedachha). Devji Nakkir, the Naib of Damajirao was aware of his pride of strength. He saw his passing through that side with fearlessness. He thought to himself that if he reached Ahmedabad, he would settle down and what kind of treatment he would mete out. He, therefore, wrote to the port-officer of Surat that he should defend himself with all authority in his power and that he would resist him from outside. 'Abdul 'Aziz Khan, on getting intelligence of it, postponed occupation of Surat for some other time and determined to proceed to Ahmedabad. Devji Nakkir blocked his passage and advanced for resistance. He waylaid while fighting without being afraid of a large number of the enemy. Every day many persons from both the sides got slain and wounded. Rustamrao, formerly, was very often in service of Damajirao. Devji gave him temptation and inclined him to his side. One day, Maqbul-i-'Alam marched to Khem Khatodra, a hard battle took place. There was shortage of provisions, lead and gunpowder. At the same time, many jamadars got slain. 'Alimyan who was in charge of the vanguard was fatally wounded and he died that very night.



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Rustamrao who was in collusion with Devji, instigated some other jamadars and de erted They went over to the side of Devji In spite of this state of affairs, he thought of reaching Broach which was nearby He, therefore, marched and reached Panoli situated at a distance of four kurohs from Broach The field grew narrow for him He got wounded From an elephant, he mounted a horse He broke the Maratha rows and reached the Narb da shore with a few soldiers It was not possible for him to cross the river without boat, Nek 'Alam Khan either through fear or at the suggestion of Devji blocked up the boats He, therefore, galloped the horse on water to cross through swimming Suddenly, his horse got stuck in the mire when a Maratha party reached him and made him cross Fatchyah Khan was captured and slain This event took place on 21st of Ziqa'd of that year Jawanmard Khan came to know about this event Sovereignty at that time was under his domination, he thought of the future and entered into a pact with Mustakhr Khan in a way he wished it before that he should be appointed a Naib with absolute authority

Verse

*Come it is time for peace, friendship and loyalty
On condition that I will not relate the story as
to what happened*

But what conciliation could there be with him in accordance with the talk of self interested persons They said with doubt

Verse

*When you practise wickedness, do not be safe from calamities
For retribution became necessary for nature*

In spite of correspondence with him twice or thrice, this fact came to light from letters of the capital that Fakharuddowlah was appointed to the subah and so their negotiations were stopped

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CHAPTER 255

SUBEDARI OF FAKHRUDDAWLAH FAKHRUDDIN KHAN BAHADUR SHUJA'AT JUNG APPOINTMENT OF JAWANMARD KHAN AS NAIB DIWANI OF 'ABDUL HUSAIN AND QAIM QULI KHAN

When the above event was reported by the news writers and petitions of Muftakhir Khan to His Majesty, His Majesty granted the subedari of Ahmedabad to Fakhruddaulah Fakhruddin Khan Bahadur Shuja'at Jung who held the mansab of 7000 Zat 7000 Sawar. He had to pay two lacs of rupees as pesh-kash to the government. He was exalted and glorified with grant of a royal robe, a turban-strap, a jewelled turban-ornament and an elephant. A report of Muqbul-i-'Alam's death had not reached His Majesty. He sent a sanad of deputyship without a name to a banker named Sitaram with whom he had former acquaintance. He wrote to him that any one of the provincial mansubdars who had qualifications for deputyship and who was able to discharge responsibility as such, his name should be written out and sent to him. Receipt of the sanad to Jawanmard Khan who hesitated became manifest. There was again none who could hold the office. Hence, Jawanmard Khan who till then was the Naib of Muqbul-i-'Alam, imagined it to be a freak of good fortune, took the sanad and wrote down his own name. Regulations for reception of such written documents were not customary. But he went to Bagh-i-Shahi for information and announcement of it on 24th Zilhajj, he tied it to his head, entered the city and issued a proclamation in the name of Fakhruddaulah. He sent the Wakil with petitions. A temple of Chintaman was built during the regime of His Majesty Firdaus Makani as well as during the time of government and nizamat of vakils of His Majesty Khuld Makan. Satidas Jawhari was explained religious principles under order of His Majesty, it was converted into a masjid and named it Quwwat ul-Islam. It was mentioned at its proper place. Several idols of Parasnath, God of the shrawak community were carved out of marble. They waited for an appointed day to instal the idol when by heavenly decrees, house of the idol turned into house of the Eternal God. Out of them, two idols, each one of which weighed one hundred maunds were preserved on a pretext of breaking them and so they were buried in the ground. At this time, his heir, finding weakness of Islam, disappearance of religious zeal from hearts, minds inclined and disposed towards trash of the world obtained permission by bribery and dug them out. They brought them publicly in carts in the city, installed them in an under-ground temple and worshipped them secretly in that under-ground house through fear of Muslims. They revived idol-worship. In the year 1157, Sardar Khan



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returned after assessment and collection of peshkash from the zamindars of the Sabar district and entered the city. As the time of return had approached, Khanderao nominated Renkoji as an absolute Naib and hastened to his native place. Renkoji arrived at Arhar Matar on the Vatrak river at a distance of twelve kurohs from the city and wrote to Jawanmard Khan for meeting in connection with conversation of certain matters. He went in company of Qaim Quli Khan and the author to the camp of Renkoji at Kheda. They met each other, changed turbans, entered into a brotherly pact and returned. Kishnaji, on the transfer of Murar Nayak, came to the city as Naib for the Maratha share and assumed charge of his post. It was at this time that Fakhruddawlah, after receipt of letters and wakil of Jawanmard Khan sent a robe of six pieces with Khan Muhammed Khin and his wakil. The evil practice of biwarah which was discontinued for some time was renewed by way of head-counting of Hindus and Muslims at the rate of three rupees and a half. A good opinion of the ryots and the common folk was changed into 'Verily some of the opinions are bad'. What they expected from one of their native land yielded a contrary result. Joy changed into grief.

Poem

*Such is a practice of the old sky
That when you raise your head, it uproots you
In this emerald house of two doors
A mourner follows a minstrel*

Nearly forty thousand rupees were twice collected from Syed Fazil Sajjadah-nashin of Imam ud din who rested at Karmata. He extorted nearly sixty, seventy thousand rupees with force and violence by putting in prison from Muhammed 'Abdul Wahid, a Bohra merchant. That oppressed man had paid a sum by way of fine during the government of Najm ud-dawlah. Now that he was most joyous and glad, he fled to Surat weeping and wailing by saying "This is the greatest calamity". Shaikh Hasan Arab Zuraki, a merchant had stored silk worth ten thousand rupees in his house and had gone to Khanbhayat port. He took out that stock and confiscated it. He laid the foundation of capture, extortion, and dragging offenders for public punishment.

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CHAPTER 256

DEATH OF KHAN-I-MAGHFIRAT NISHAN, 'ALI MUHAMMED KHAN, AMIN OF KATHRA PARCHA (OFFICE FOR COLLECTION OF RELIGIOUS TAXES FROM MUSLIMS)

One of the sorrowful events of this year was the death of the author's father God, Holy and Great had created him tender of heart and God-fearing He had detached his heart for he had no endurance and strength to see events of the world, ways of revolutions of the sky and ruin of this country Desire of a good end crossed his mind. He entrusted his dependents-small and big-to the care and protection of the Real Protector in the port of Surat, ennobled himself with the honour of the next world Ahmedabad was his place of residence since long He always deliberated upon shifting from that place and so he disposed of superfluous goods He devoted himself for making arrangements of transport vehicles and portering animals He wrote to Devji Nakhir for a permit for exemption of Maratha road-tax and sent information of his determined idea to Tegh Beg Khan, the post officer of Surat He received proper replies from both of them His resolve was firm The will of God which dominated over all was different Jawanmard Khan learnt about his resolve. He came to see him in company of his brother Safdar Khan and Qaim Quli Khan He tried his utmost with heartiness to cancel his intention but he was not pleased with it. They decided that the author as far as it was destined would work as the Amin He gave earnest money to muleteers and fixed 10th Jamadi I as the day of departure By chance, the young daughter of the author to whom he was greatly attached got temperature and had pimples His intention got frustrated As the cup of her life was brimful, she died within a few days He was seized with great sorrow On the third day, he too got temperature and the disease grew serious from day to day The author's brother Isma'il Muhammed Khan was called from Kharabhayat on account of his serious condition Ultimately, the affair was beyond deliberation, medicine and treatment. Sunday, 2nd Jamadi II, at nearly two hours after the day had risen was recorded in the office of fate that "When their death came, it would not be before and after an hour " He departed from this earthly place to the garden of paradise and involved those who remained behind him in grief of separation and promise to see on the day of Judgment

Verse

*A cloud rose from the sea of grief
At poured a torrent from mountain to mountain*

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1965-06-03 -Mirat I Ahmadi -A History of Gujarat (838)

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As it was inevitable, the tongue recited, "Verily to God we belong and to Him we shall return " After a funeral ceremony, he was consigned to the grave We hope, God the Holy and the Great would forgive him with the light of His forgiveness He had paternal kindness for his children God be praised, he died having seen them in a contented position May the Liberal and Munificent Giver keep his sons and grandsons under grace of His companionship and turn end of their affairs into good by His obligation and generosity

Verse

*May that auspicious son live
Who kindles lamp of the father*

He was a sympathiser and well-wisher of the people He did not cause harm and injury to any one. Citizens in general, friends and strangers were all filled with grief and sorrow

Verse

*Good and bad persons, all will die
Happy is that person who carried the ball of goodness*

After Fatima and usages of the third day, the author who was the eldest gathered to gether all his brothers and consoled and solaced them saying,

Quatrain

*World is like an inn and we are guests in it
You should not imagine that we shall live in it
That Creator, full of glory remains and that is enough
The rest are " Death is upon every one "*

It is certain that every living being has to taste the unpalatable syrup of death and to pack up the kit of existence to the world of non-existence. This grief and sorrow is not worth forgetting till the rest of Lorrowed life

Verse

*This moist cloud from the shoreless sea
Is smoke of my heart wherein my tears are hidden*

Now a plan should be thought of and a remedy should be sought so that the name of the deceased might be recorded and remembered with goodness on the pages of night and day

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Verse

*May his soul be bright and auspicious
Although he died, may his name be alive*

A worthy son, that is, a pious remnant is sought by people morning and evening from the court of the Listener of prayers. It was for such a day that his intention was to visit the Holy Places and reaching his descendants at Surat port. The will of God manifested itself. It is advisable, in reality, that this event should be reported to the favourite of His Majesty Behroz Khan who was a means of access to His Majesty to see as to what reply he gave. All others approved this idea. The event was reported. Behroz Khan, having come to know of it, took into consideration his loyalty and sincerity and reported the matter to His Majesty. His Majesty granted him a mansab, a title, appointment as an Amin and continued the jagir of the deceased in the name of the author. Two robes of mourning one for the author and the other for Isma'il Muhammed Khan were sent from the court. He ordered sanads of service, jagir, addition in mansab and a title to be entrusted with the vakil. He wrote condolence with warmth of heart which was usage of great men. As office of the darogah of the harbour of Surat port was in charge of Isma'il Muhammed Khan from the time of Najm ud dawlāh, he of necessity, hastened to that place forty days after his father's death. It was in this year that Pahad Khan Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur died. His uncle Muhammed Bahadur appropriated his place.

Verse

*When one goes, another takes his place
The world is not left without a master*

Khanderao, who had hastened to Umabai was appointed to this side along with his brother Damaji. Ramchandra came to the city as his Naib. At this juncture, news of Fakhruddawlah's arrival got spread. Batches after batches of unemployed soldiers started in search of service.



He acquainted Jawanmard Khan with his intention. When the soldiers of evening attacked the army of the kingdom of Nirroz (mid-day) he separated at night and came to the Sarangpur gate. Jawanmard Khan at place, dined with him and gladdened him on a promise an elephant as a reward for this deed. He allowed him to go as he had not a big army. Unemployed soldiers were enlisted in as they did not receive salary so that they were in a dilemma of what not to do. They were involved in a vortex of amazement.

Poem ,

*When a calamity descends on a soldier
It is due to folly of a captain
If you need kingly pomp
Strengthen the heart and hand of a swordsman
One who sacrifices head for you
You need not grudge gold to him
He is with you for a moment on the day of battle
Even if you give him the world it would be less
In empty handed warrior in action
Is a hawk without wings and feathers in prey*

Jawanmard Khan found desertion of the Rajah and dispiritedness of others as felicity of time and help of good fortune. He then thought of creating disaffection among Jamadars who had been gathered by Sher Khan. He also did not like Sher Khan to be with him. He therefore, sent a message to Sher Khan that Khanderao was on a march to this side with a large army and that he was about to come. Now that he had seen social behaviour of Fakhr ud dawlāh it was better for him to renounce his confederacy. He had conveyed to him the reply. Rai Singh received from Fakhr ud dawlāh. He had given up hope of receiving expenses from him and was amazed at his own deed. Having heard this song he should lay obligation on his cousin, and convey an excuse of difficulty about expenses to Fakhr ud dawlāh's ears. Every day, he took shelter at the fort with his own confederates as well as the Jamadars who had joined him. Fakhr ud dawlāh came to know about this occurrence. He mounted a horse desired to be bold and desist him from such a step. When he had left his place, he galloped his horse in all haste. As he was unfamiliar with the road, he came by mistake in haste to the Astoria gate. Here too he did not find him. In the meantime, a man of the fort on duty saw a stranger, and threw a sword at him. He received a slight wound on his neck. He, of necessity, returned to the fortification and said,

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Quatrain

*Yesterday there was such a soul exultating union
And today such a world consuming separation
Alas ! the accountant of the diwan of fate
Gives livelihood to this and livelihood to that*

Sher Khan stayed at the gate of a garden which Yusuf Kotwal of Najm-ud-dawlah had built at the foot of a wall of the fort between the Astoria and Raipur gates till the time of hanging of the indigo veil over the face of the day and then proceeded towards Barahsinor. Different soldiers who had recently gathered, sought a way of escape and kept themselves aside. Fakhr-ud-dawlah posted himself at the fortifications with a regiment which had accompanied him. Safdar Khan was engaged in war with cannons and muskets from the side of the purahs with an army. From the other side, the Dekhans continued warfare. They dared rush forward on account of this occurrence. They surrounded him centre-like and fought till evening when the advance guard of the negro soldiers made their appearance. Fire of war flamed forth from hour to hour. The garrisoned soldiers tried their utmost in defence by firing guns and throwing meteors of missiles. As the other party consisted of a large number of soldiers while they were a small force the field became narrow when a watch of the night had passed on the 14th night of Ramzan. The hands of oppression of the Dekhans stretched to plunder of animate and inanimate property. They poured on him from four sides and captured him.

Hemistich

A lion who becomes a captive to a dog is also due to fate

Verse

*When a fish fell in jaws of a crocodile
Of necessity, it set heart and soul on death*

He had with him his dependents, wife, sons, men and women, small and big and they were never involved in a difficulty such as this. Heretic Marathas removed ornaments from hands and necks of women. They passed through such a distressful state which may not fall even to the lot of enemies. In this tumultuous scene, one of the wives of Fakhr-ud-dawlah got separated from others through fear with a seven year old child. She took refuge and hid herself in a house of one of the residents of Syedpur in the neighbourhood.



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Verse

*With a son and fascinating happiness
She spent a few days in joy*

His affairs, at present, came to this pitch. In short, next day when the Negro of night was free from night assault, it retreated. Mir Faqirullah, Bakhshi of Fakhr ud dawlah came to the city with a party of soldiers and merchants who were plundered in a wounded state with clothes stripped off and wailing. They stayed in the Jame Masjid with that state. Residents of the city engaged in looking after them out of fear of God and supplied them with food, clothes and other human necessities for acquisition of a good name, reward and retribution in the next world. Jawanmard Khan learnt about the wife of Fakhr ud dawlah and his child. He sent Haji Nurullah with a rath to bring her to his place and treated her with respect. At this juncture, a messenger of Gangadhar with a loyal eunuch of Fakhr ud dawlah came in search and inquiry of her to the city. They took her with them. Large amounts of money consisting of gold, jewels, costly clothes, Turkish horses, mountain bodied elephants with complete paraphernalia of amirship and rulership worth lacs of rupees along with horses and camels of his companions fell into the hands of the Marathas. Some of the tradesmen had brought sheets of shawls with them in hope of profit. They too were carried away by the Marathas. A part of it was received by Jawanmard Khan.

Verse

*If a bad stone breaks a gold cup
Price of stone does not increase and that of gold does not lessen*

However much a branch of a creeping plant of gourd extends itself to a straight cypress, the sky knows which head is worthy of chiefship. If grass boasts of equality with emerald but

Hemisitch

This one is set in the signet ring while the other is put in a sack

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CHAPTER 258

ARRIVAL OF KHANDERAO FOR COLLECTION OF PILLAGED GOODS OF FAKHR-UD-DAWLAH. IMPRISONS RENKOJI MEETING WITH JAWANMARD KHAN. HE CARRIES FAKHR- UD-DAWLAH WITH HIM AND GUARDS HIM IN THE FORTRESS OF GHIYASPUR

Khanderao, brother of Damaji who was appointed as her Naib by Urnabai came from his native place to this side. He reached Baroda. He heard about captivity of Fakhr-ud-dawlah and plunder of his camp. He crossed the river Mahi without any delay to seize the plundered goods. He took Renkoji who was in the fort of Borsad with him. He reached the Tank Chandolah on the outskirts of the city on 18th Ramazan. He collected all the pillaged wealth and goods and brought them under his possession. He had resentment against Renkoji. He arrested him along with some pandits and servants on the ground of accounts. As he had to meet Jawanmard Khan, he came to the Naginah Bagh situated at the Kankariya Tank on both sides. They made pacts and pledges and exchanged presents. They parted from each other, Khanderao stayed the next day and departed with Fakhr-ud-dawlah and his dependents in unguarded vehicles.

Poem

*Such is the usage of the abode of fraud
Sometime one is in exaltation and sometime in fall,
From the former there is joy, from the latter affliction
Sometime on earth, sometime on elevation.*

He confiscated animate and inanimate property of Renkoji at Borsad, appointed his Naib and entrusted Renkoji to him so that he might imprison him. He kept Fakhr-ud-dawlah in the fortress which was the residential quarter of the Thanadar of Ghiyaspur on the shore of Mahi river. It was a strong place. He was kept in custody under guards. He marched towards Saurath. Jawanmard Khan opened the fort gates after Khanderao's march, breathed of absolute authority and power and devoted himself to management of administrative work with ease and joy.

Verse

*Find the period of merrioment
For the pearl is not always found in a shell.*

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Abdul Hussain Khan, Naib Diwan of the subah had writtend about certain matters to Fakhr-ud-dawlah against his desire. He caught hold of those letters. He, therefore, removed him and placed Qaim Quli Khan incharge of Naib Diwani and jagirs. After some time, Safdar Khan got vexed with his brother for a certain matter and hastened to Radhanpur. Jawanmard Khan marched on 1st Shawwal, leaving Qaim Quli Khan as Naib in the city for assessment of paraganahs, collection of peshkash and taking securities from zamundars and Kolis. He took Sadiq 'Ali Khan, Muhammed Hadi Khan and the author with himself. After being free from the districts of Sabar and Vatrak, he marched to Belnagar which was under possession of his brother Zorawar Khan. He halted there for a few days. The author started for Ahmedabad on hearing about indisposition of his brother Isma'il Muhammed Khan who was at Khanbhayat. He had to fight with Koli robbers near Pethapur. Some got slain and wounded. The author was hit by a few arrows. They did not prove fatal as God the Holy and the Great protected him.

Verse

*If the world's sword moves from its place
It does not cut a vein so long as God does not wish it.*

He entered the city on the Id-uz-zuha day. He called his brother from Khanbhayat. Jawanmard Khan marched further and reached Radhanpur. He conciliated Safdar Khan and removed his vexation. He came to the city on 17th Rabi II, 1158. Safdar Khan also arrived at this time. Khanderao returned from Saurath and reached Dholka. He appointed Trimbak Pandit as Naib in the city in place of Moro Pandit. He then started for Baroda. As the cup of life of Isma'il Muhammed Khan was full to the brim, he died on 3rd Sha'ban. The author was not yet free from grief and affliction of his father when he had to bear this additional grief which roasted his liver.

Verse

*Time, every moment places a brand of grief on liver
One wound is not healed when another is placed*

Alas for his youth! There is no remedy and alternative except patience and endurance for this inevitable event. Hence he devoted himself to prayers for his forgiveness.

Verses

*We are dolls, the sky is a player with dolls
By way of reality not by way of unreality*

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*We play the game on the leather-sheet of life
We went one by one to the box of non-existence.*

He was Darogah of the harbour of Khanbhayat port from the time of Najm-ud-dawlah. Merchants were pleased with and grateful to him for his good conduct. Najm Khan had the image of well-wishing impressed and inscribed on the tablet of his heart. He always worked with his advice and consultation. He felt much on hearing about this unpleasant event. He wrote a letter of condolence to the author and desired to send one of his brothers to him in his place. Hence Qasim 'Ali was sent after the ceremony of forty days. Najm Khan put the harbour in his charge. It was in this year that foundation of many buildings were shaken due to excessively heavy rains. Jawanmard Khan appointed Muhammed 'Azmat Kirani as Faujdar of Dholka in place of Qaim Quli Khan. He employed Muhammed Shahbaz Rohila in service with three hundred horse and foot. Umabai's men brought out Renkoji from prison and took him to her. Khan-derao also hastened to Umabai after him.



CHAPTER 259

SETTING UP OF FAKHR-UD DAWLAH BY POTAJI PATEL TO FRIGHTEN JAWANMARD KHAN APPOINTMENT OF RENKOJI AS NAIB OF DAMAJI AS BLFORE WAR OF SHER KHAN WITH FAKHR-UD- DAWLAH ARRIVAL OF RENKOJI

Affairs terminated into bitterness and unpleasantness between Jawanmard Khan and the Naib of the Marathas in connection with the division of amount of biwarah levied on certain sections of citizens as well as for that of fines. He complained about it to Potaji Patel who was the commander and administrator of Khanderao's affairs at Petlad. Fakhr-ud-dawlah who was in detention in the fortress of Ghuyaspur was given a palki, seated on an elephant, as well as a tent for exhibition to Jawanmard Khan and attainment of his own object, and set up like an effigy and a scarecrow. In the meanwhile, news circulated about continuation of Renkoji in the office of the Naib as before. Jawanmard Khan regarded it a good augury. As against the will of Potaji, he deprived the Naib of Khanderao of his power in the city and seized the income of mahals and the paraganah of Haveli. Potaji tried to stop him from this step. He despatched Kosaji and Gangadhar for assessment, collection and removal of Jawanmard Khan's Amils with a Dekhani army and a regiment of kasbatis who were in service in the name of Fakhr-ud-doulah as well as to occupy the paraganah of Mundah and other places on all sides. Fakhr-ud-dawlah was decorated like an effigy to frighten children and made him a general of the army. Renkoji who had intimate relations with Sher Khan wrote to him that he should collect an army till his arrival and wait for him till then. Sher Khan summoned soldiers from all sides and employed them in service. He fixed his glance in expectation on the road at Renkoji's arrival and sat at Kapadwanj. He started for this side by way of Khandesh and so there was some delay in his arrival. Sher Khan was confused about expenses of sepoy and so he plundered some villages of the paraganah of Mundah and Nadiad. As he had no accurate information about Renkoji, he sent, according to exigency of time, and out of foresight Muhammed Imam Badi' to Potaji Patel to negotiate with him for concord and unanimity. He himself returned to Kapadwanj and came to Kananhal. Fakhr ud dawlah who had reached that vicinity with the Maratha regiment, made a night attack on Sher Khan and engaged in war with him with arrows and guns. Some soldiers on both sides got slain and wounded. At the approach of morning, he stopped fighting and encamped opposite to him. At this juncture, Muhammed Imam Badi' met Potaji, and opened gates of confederacy with Sher Khan. A reliable man



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arrived from him who informed Fakhr-ud dawlah and the Maratha sardars about it. He met sardars of both sides. Fakhr-ud-dawlah said to Sher Khan that "Do not remember the past." Now that you have trodden the path of confederacy and companionship with the Marathas and they are helping and supporting you, you should gird up loins of courage and make amends for the past. Water which has flown should be brought back." The substance of his object was that he should go back to Ahmedabad after having occupied the paragraphs and demand justice of heart from Jawanmard Khan.

Hemistich

What is the will of God in between

Negotiations continued for two days and promises and pledges were made. Sher Khan was hesitant and vacillating in companionship and friendship when he suddenly received a letter of Renkoji informing him about his arrival at Barahmor. Sher Khan gave up hesitation and tried to divulge that secret. The kasbah of Kapadwanj was under his occupation. There was a small distance from that place. He slept a sleep of negligence at the time when he should have kept his eyes and ears on the other party.

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Verse

*At dawn when this king of golden retinue
Beat drum and raised a standard from the east*

arranged rows of army for battle-field opposite to Fakhr-ud-dawlah

Verse

*When distance between two rows became near
Eyes of the sun got dimmed thereby*

Warriors and soldiers of both the armies galloped their horses to attack one another

Verse

*They galloped horses against one another
Welfare at once departed from the midst*

At the first attack, props of stability of Sher Khan's Kasbaties got shaken with a slight struggle. It created a breach in the foundation of stability of others. They had no strength of resistance. They retreated leaving the field to the enemy.

Poem

*They fled from resurrection-day
It was a habit of Kasbaties in flight
Hands of drummers failed to work
Hide cracked and the stick broke
Two armies got entangled
They mixed together night and day*

On seeing this state of affairs, sweat of sense of honour of Sher Khan began to flow and so he did not allow disgrace of flight upon him.

Verse

*He writhed within himself like a coiled serpent
He raised a lustrous poisonous sword*

He stood firm in the battle field advanced further with the help of fearlessness and intrepidity and defended himself. But what could he alone do? Even though he might be Rustam of the age. But what could he do alone, even if he might be brazen bodied (title of Rustam). At this juncture his



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horse fell down by a shot from a gun. He was armoured and immersed in iron, and walked on foot. The enemy came from right and left. It was near to bring him down from back of the horse of existence when his water bearer gave him a draught of the water of life which was the source of his life, that is, he led his horse in front and made himself his guard and fell dead with honour. Sher Khan mounted the horse, came out from that bloody vortex and fatal peril, and garrisoned himself with Renkoji within four walls of Kapadwanj fort. Both the armies prepared trenches and fought with cannons and guns. In the year 1159, siege of Kapadwanj prolonged for sometime. There was no possibility of advance in any way both for the insiders and the outsiders. Every one of them began to seek for a remedy. By chance, Malhar Holkar was sent by Bajirao for assessment and collection of revenue from the subah of Malwa with an army. He happened to pass from neighbourhood of the paraganah of Godhra and Dohad. The zamindar of Lunawarah had a contention with the kasba of Virpur. He brought him for attainment of his desire and attacked Virpur. As it was at a short distance from Kapadwanj, Renkoji learnt about him, wrote to Malhar Holkar about his circumstances, and sought his help. He replied that if he agreed to pay him two lacs of rupees in cash, two elephants, on condition of his one month's stay by way of claim of help of his soldiers he was ready to come to his help. Renkoji accepted his terms. He sent his brother Akoji with some confidential men of Sher Khan as hostages and invited him. Fakhr-ud-dawlah, Gangadhar and Gosaji learnt about this pact. As they had no strength of resistance against that large army, they lifted the siege. They pulled up their socks without having seen water. They beat drums of retreat on 12th Safar. By chance, Malhar had marched before Renkoji's messengers reached him. They got no chance to meet him. Renkoji regarded this event as a godly victory and divine help, he came out from narrowness of the four walls and attended to his work. The Dekhanis set out for Dholka with Fakhr-ud-dawlah. They expelled the local foudar Muhammad 'Azmat and occupied it. When Damaji learnt about the disturbances created by Khanderao's men and setting up of Fakhr-ud-dawlah, he came to Dholka with Khanderao to subside contention and also because he had not visited the subah for the last several years. He summoned Renkoji to himself. Gangadhar and Gosaji heard about Damaji's arrival with Khanderao, they took Fakhr-ud-dawlah with them, came from Dholka to Jetpur in the paraganah of Haveli at a distance of seven kurohis from the city which had a fortress in possession of the Marathas but which then was in occupation of Jivramnand Khan. Ambhar Habshi was in charge of it with a few horsemen and footmen on his behalf. They halted there. The Habshi had no strength to offer resistance and so he came out of the fort. Gangadhar appointed his own



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men for its defence. In the meantime, Damaji marched from Baroda and reached Vaso in Petlad Taluka situated at a distance of seventeen kurohs from the city. Gangadhar went with Fakhr-ud-dawlah and joined him. Damaji halted there for some days, conciliated his brother Khaderao by the grant of the paraganah of Nadiad and appointment as Naib at Baroda. Borsad too was given to him at his request. Thus contention and hostility were warded off. Fidauddin Khan came out from Khanbhayat from the day of his unpleasantness with Muftakhir Khan and lived in Dhawan. Now that Damaji and others had assembled together, he came to attainment of some of his wishes. But it was of no avail. Damaji marched from Vaso and came to Kokli at a distance of ten kurohs from the city. He negotiated with Jawanmard Khan about some revenue matters. He sent Katoji Takbir to Saurath with a Maratha regiment with Fakhr-ud-dawlah. He then returned to his native place. Renkoji and Fidauddin Khan followed him as far as the Mahi river. Fidauddin went to Dhawan and Renkoji attended to his duties. As the fort of Borsad, residence of Renkoji remained under Khanderao, he thought of residing at Umreth situated at a distance of thirty kurohs from the city, he laid foundation of the fortress, left some persons to supervise its construction and went to Dholka for assessment.

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CHAPTER 260

DEATH OF TEGH BEG KHAN, PORT-OFFICER OF SURAT APPOINTMENT OF HIS BROTHER SAFDAR MUHAMMED KHAN AS PORT-OFFICER

It was in this year that the boat of existence laden with the cargo of joy and prosperity of Tegh Beg Khan, port-officer of Surat foundered due to contrary blow of severe wind in front of the storm of death on Tuesday, 21st of Sha'ban. The rope of the sail of his hope got broken and fell in a wide whirlpool of destruction.

Verse

*In this whirlpool, a thousand boats sank
Of which not a plank became visible*

And the grinding mill of the sky which rotated for some time according to his desire, ultimately, it pounded the grain of his life

Poem

*World is a man robbing grinding mill
For this mill revolves on blood
Behold its two upper and lower stones
One is the sky and the other the earth.
You are a grain in between them
Be with yourself if you are wise
For suddenly this mill will rotate
Reduce your bones to powder*

His brother Safdar Muhammed Khan who acted as Naib reported to His Majesty, after he was free from mourning, details of this inevitable event as well as protection, defence and conciliation of local residents. He despatched seven swift horses of Arab descent, ten thousand ashrafis of pure gold as peshkash to His Majesty. His vakil Muhammed Hadi placed them for view of His Majesty through Safdar Jung. His Majesty granted him a robe, an elephant, addition in mansab, title of Bahadur and a sanad of port-officership. They were entrusted to his vakil.



CHAPTER 261

APPOINTMENT OF THE AUTHOR AS DIWAN OF THE SUBAH AFTER THE DEATH OF TALIB 'ALI KHAN

It was in this year that the author was appointed, after the death of Talib 'Ali Khan as Diwan of the subah. Substance of it is - Under the guidance and instigation of the cursed fellow of devilish habit, satanic nature, demon-faced, mean-minded, of ghoul action, man-harming Hindu of base origin, bad lineage, a juggler, a magician

Poem

*An infidel of wicked habits a spiritual guide
All stratagem, perfect deception,
Like a ghoul, tall in stature,
Ugly faced, of hideous countenance
Of vicious creed, low birth, wonderfully cursed,
All things of his unlawful except blood.*

As crooked nature was mixed with his malignant qualities, he surpassed his co-workers in every matter with imposture. He came to the author's father many years before for management of affairs and worked as his assistant. He earned rectitude and reputation among nobles and equals and thus he became well-known and famous

Poem

*To exalt heads of mean persons
And to expect goodness from them
Is to lessen or lose one's own relation
To nourish a serpent within a pocket*

He saw the boss good in himself, he made market of wickedness dull and goods of fraud of no value and trod the path of safety with courtesy. But many a time, he displayed inability and turned to in accordance with the saying, "Every thing turns to its origin" and practised troublesomeness.

Verse

*Any one whose origin is wicked, never catches reflection of the good
Training of unworthy persons is like walnuts on a dome*

In accordance with his crooked nature, he caused trouble with debt.

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Verse

*Sting of a scorpion is not by way of revenge
It is the requisite of its nature*

The author could not bear and so he was not in concord with him. In short, after dismissal of Mubarriz ul-Mulk, the author's father had no work which was not worthy of him. He recommended him and got him employed in the sarkar of Najm ud dawlāh, ultimately, the turn of government and nizamat of Najm ud dawlāh came. He was appointed to the Karori of the nizamat of the Kathra Parcha and octroi duties. People hated him due to his wicked deeds and vicious actions. It so happened that Fidauddin Khan was displeased with him for a certain affair. Najm-ud-dawlāh made inquiries and was on the point of imposing a fine. He entrusted him to strict and stern tax collectors under the leadership of 'Abdul Wahhab Beg. The matter ended in torture, beating, and binding. That deceitful hyena struck hand of poverty on the skirt of the deceased Istishfah Khan in all humility and humiliation. He in consideration that his word was respected and that he knew him, interceded on his behalf and obliged him. Nazim ud dawlāh and Fidauddin Khan forgave his offences out of respect for him. But he was dismissed from service.

Verse

*A head that is worthy of punishment by a sword
It is pity if you give him syrup*

That cheat got acquainted with the wife of Najm ud dawlāh. He gave her deceptive promises and got in her employ for efficient management of her villages. After the death of Najm ud dawlāh and his wife, Fidauddin Khan and Muftakhir Khan held counsel to arrest him. The author happened to be present there whom they acquainted about it after inquiry. He took his children aside and took shelter under the deceased Khan.

Verse

*To do good to wicked persons is like
Doing evil to good persons*

Until the case of the Khans was settled in the manner mentioned above, the carpet of their government was folded up. The carpet spreader of time spread carpet of government for Jawanmard Khan. His brother Safdar Khan reclined on the four cushions of deputyship and was appointed to manage state and financial matters. That deceitful cheat thought of his future that he should



be preserved and protected against maintenance, punishment and fine As he was acquainted with every minute matter of Nizammat from the days of government of Mubarriz-ul-Mulk and the diwani of the deceased Khan, Safdar Khan and his servants were not familiar with that sort of work

Hemistich

I admit that God gives a garment but where is the body

Verse

*Every vision that was made brilliant
A garment was stitched in proportion to the body*

He plotted with one of the brothers of satans He talked to Safdar Khan to try to find out a person conversant with administrative matters He desired a man who should guide him in such matters He, therefore, summoned him He pondered over his wicked end and said, by way of an agreement so that his malignant mind might remain satisfied, to the effect that he would not undertake to perform this duty without leave and permission of 'Ali Muhammed Khan whose old acquaintance that he was and that he served Najm ud dawlah at his recommendation Under this pretext, that beloved one of the sightless eye, in case he did not prove congenial to him, fell in a dark furrow of calamity, or was involved in a jest on suspicion of a young one of a camel he might escape with the help of protection and thus be free Safdar Khan sent word (to the author) under tutelage of that teacher of satans The deceased Khan sent him for the work for which he was brought in his presence

Verse

*Do not patronize a man of base birth
Do not give wine to an excessively intoxicated Hindu,*

He advanced slowly and slowly by management of good and bad affairs with cheerfulness He created an impression on the mind of Safdar Khan and began to scratch his head which was full of disturbance

Verse

*Head becomes worse by pride of position
When a serpent becomes strong, it turns into a dragon*

He began to bite small and great, old and new servants of Safdar Khan

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He became a guide to the path of misguidance and misleading in ruination of citizens. He brought affairs to such a pitch that he at last considered all former obligations as forgotten and like scattered dust. He troubled Sahib Khan in one or two affairs and embittered him. He played the backgammon of deceit with the author and created disaffection in his sincerity and loyalty with Jawanmard Khan and his brother.

Quatrain

*When a man of low birth and a beggar becomes a master, is not good
He becomes arrogant and fails to distinguish a friend from a foe
If you make a jug of jewels
The same thing will trickle from a jug which it contains*

In short, he turned more than before after the death of the author's father, to the conditions of his descendants and engaged in respect for old loyalty.

Poem

*He brought down upon my head the army of tyranny
He fulfilled the claims of bread and salt
A person of low origin has neither loyalty nor discernment
Pure origin is the capital of all things*

He tightly bound the loins of enmity with a girdle of rancour and revenge and was about to bring dismissal of the author from the post of an amir. He prepared an apparently truth like ground, made deceptive promises to Safdar Khan, threw him in a temptation that the Karori of Nizamat from the Kathera Pargana was granted by the government to Shaikh Razi and that his possession of and power in it were not known. What authority was left in the saltanat that it should be vested with the royal officers? Diwani of the Subah and the Darogahship of Kathera Pargana were seized from 'Abdul Husain Khan and none raised any objection. If the Darogahship, Aminship, Karoris, accountantship, Tahsildari and muqimi which were with the people, were seized and given one to him, a large amount of money would be collected and that he should rest contented with the revenue management of Shaikh Razi. Safdar Khan replied, "The Aminship since long was with the deceased Khan, and now it is with so and so, that is, the author. Karori is with Muhsin Khan. He is in the Royal Presence. It is in his charge. Aminship cannot be snatched from him. It is not proper. The main object of that cursed fellow muttering incantation of sorcery was to deprive the author of maintenance, to make him useless and to wreak old vengeance from him. He engaged in sleight of hand to get his



work done by citation of incantation and sweet magical formula and so he became blind and lost his consciousness. He said, "If they are not seized, others would feel hurt. If he so thought, they could be given up in future. By such evil suggestions, that devil, scavenger, monstrous demon, in the form of human being misled him, obtained permission, thought of a pretext by way of deceit, placed the matter of fraud before his own mind, dyed the face of modesty with the indigo of unlawfulness and made his sightless quintessence defective and applied antimony to it with a rod of disloyalty.

Verse

*Neither shame from people nor fear from God
Nor feared the day of Judgment*

He appointed his unworthy elder son as peshkar for karorai. But, in accordance with,

Hemistich

A far seeing beggar blinds his own son

He himself delivered this message. With characteristics and action of an owl, he with shamelessness and immodesty began to crow like an untimely cock. He brayed with apology like a donkey, "the worst sound is the braying of a donkey" and gave trouble to ears. He declared that Safdar Khan had expostulations with Qaim Quli Khan and that he did not wish that his secret idea should become public and solve that tangle. He intended to take out the Darogahship of Kathera Parcha from him while Karori, out of policy, would be placed in his charge. Loss and benefit from other offices were not thought of. He held Aminship since long and that it would be taken away from him after a month. The author maintained silence as there was no alternative but submission. That calumniator, having known acquiescence through slander, went away. Next day, that is, 1st Jamadi I, he took possession of all offices and appointed his second son a peshkar so that he might be a rival to Shaikh Razi. The author maintained silence for one month and a half and spent that time in expectation of fulfilment of promise. One day, he called him and said to him as to why he did not act according to the agreement. Having uttered some useless, disjointed rubbish and nonsense, he went away. His doubt now was confirmed as a certainty because he understood that his silly nonsensical utterances had no meaning. They lacked brilliance of truth.

Quatrain

*A perfect man is one who did not say but did
He who said and does is half the man*

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*He who said and does not do it is a woman
A woman is better than he who said but did not do.*

He wrote about it to the favourite of His Majesty Behroz Khan. It so happened that a man killed him in the Royal Presence before receipt of a report of that event. As he had relations with many servants of the Royal Court, a royal order was issued to the effect that all the correspondence from the Department of the Crown-lands should be placed before His Majesty. The clerk, after writing about the royal departments of Aminship and Karorai of Kathera Parchah of Ahmedabad for which he submitted a petition, including other letters, were placed before His Majesty. His Majesty put down his signature and appointed his sons to different offices. When he saw the author's name, he remarked that he should be appointed to another office. The favourites of His Majesty, Jawid Khan and Ray-i-Rayan who were in the Royal Presence represented that the office of the Amin was in the name of 'Ali Muhammed Khan and that it was granted to his son who bore the title of his father. Behroz Khan had nothing to do with this office. It was for the author. He was one of the hereditary royal servants. Karorai was granted to Muhsin Khan. He had agreed to pay peshkash to the government. It was not, with regard, attached to Behroz Khan. The clerks had recorded this fact under the royal order. A royal order was issued to the effect that he should be given an order to hold Aminship with absolute power. Karorai should be under the Amin. The amount of peshkash should be fixed and remitted this year to His Majesty. Two letters of the royal order bearing the seal of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik were received from the office of the Crown-lands. That old perfidious hyena, that shameless man, mean fellow, a tyrannical, faithless person came so often, by way of fraud and deception to know his idea out of external consideration. He showed the orders which had been received and said that Safdar Khan should be informed about this proof. The author should give up charge of the office. Like a house-rat, he was familiar with all parts of the house. The thorn which pricked his vindictive heart in the shape of help and assistance of Behroz Khan was suddenly removed at his death. He, therefore realized that his wish would be fulfilled. He accompanied him for show and went to Safdar Khan to disclose the orders. Safdar Khan said to give a reply after Seeing Jawanmard Khan. He played a trick. That distressed ill-wisher had orders in his hands when he sat before him. He said in flattering tones by way of ridicule and slight as to whether sovereignty existed and who cared for royal orders. An appeal for showing sympathy to the Khan should be made. On hearing his nonsense, the author lost control of himself and found the world dark and dim before himself. Having snatched orders from his hands-worthy to be cut off-he remarked "If a mean fellow like him may not have respect for sovereignty but to us, he is extremely respectable and the cause of pride."



Fragment

*If a bat does not see during daytime
What fault is there for fountain of the sun
If you want to know the truth, a thousand such eyes
Should better be blind rather than the sun should be dark*

He got up and saw Jawanmard Khan at close of the day and acquainted him with orders and said,

*Warriors of the world break hearts of enemies
It hat happened to thee that you break hearts of friends*

He too had impressed him for certain reasons, created a breach in sincerity and intimacy and turned former claims of predecessors and successors into hindrances. Hence, there was no effect in him and so he did not receive a satisfactory reply to his question. That wretched, tricky fellow, out of spite, used to say, secretly to other workers who were loyal to the author as to with what expectation and hope they were there and that the man in whom they had reliance and confidence was no more. Their retention in service was only in dream. Alas! alas! It was an impossible matter which was not possible. He used to laugh behind his back. Audience of such statements produced fire in his being but he extinguished it by pouring water in the shape of following verses

Poem

*Do not be disappointed in times of hardship
For white water pours down from a black cloud
Do not close the door unto yourself in seeking remedy
For much bitterness is beneficial*

That satan embodiment of imposture, a hypocrite, a shameless wretch, came after some time, in the garb of fraud and deception with an apology, talked as a well wisher with ridicule and said, ' If he undertakes to pay something by way of a bribe to Safdar Khan, he will, perhaps, secure Aminship for him. Karorai which belongs to another person and which is entrusted cannot be possible ' He replied, " I have not usurped the sight of any one. I have not accepted it as a loan. I have taken the place of my father. If continuity in the post is by bribe and obligation, I will not lower my neck to this disgrace. The Giver of gifts is the Giver of maintenance of creatures. He would give me better than that



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Saib

*Ten doors will be opened, if one door is closed
A finger is an interpreter of the tongue to the dumb.*

Having pondered over this idea, he said to himself

Verse

*How long to go round the wall of a house
A key should be sought to open the door.*

The invisible angel Gabriel whispered into his ears,

Verse

*If a rose departed from the garden, oh nightingale, wail not much
For during this week, it will come back with a hundred petals.*

He thought of a preliminary proposal in his mind, wrote it out to Ram Narayan, vakil of the Royal Darbar and Basant Khan Mahalli son of Behroz Khan and sent it with a courtier. As the plan was in accord with fate, on mere receipt of letters which he expected, Mahalli presented facts of the case before His Majesty. It was written by the royal hand. A royal order was issued to the effect that a stern mandate should be issued to the Diwan of the Subah. Royal orders were issued to Tegh Beg Khan, port-officer of Surat and Najm Khan, port-officer of Khanbhayat and a letter to the Darogah of Kathera Parchah to the effect that permit for goods of merchants and tradesmen should not be sanctioned without the seal of 'Ali Muhammed Khan the Amin and that the revenue should be collected twice. The above orders were received by the author. As the season for export of goods of merchants of the capital and ports was about to approach he did not disclose this fact. He said to himself that whenever the order was received by the Darogah of Kathra Parchah, agents of the merchants would have written to that office. It would come to light of its own accord. As the order was written by His Majesty himself that it should also be written to the Diwan of the Subah. Clerks of the office of the crown-lands did not write factual account of the Diwani when Talib 'Ali Khan was the Diwan and who had not taken charge of the office from the beginning and who died in the Royal Presence. No one was appointed to the office of the Diwan. Attention of His Majesty was drawn to this fact. As it was the Divine will that this duty should be assigned to the author, a royal order was issued that the Diwani should be put in charge of the Amin. A royal order with the seal of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik was handed over to the vakil for administration of Diwani matters.



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Secret of the verse with sufficient guidance "Perhaps, you may not like a thing but He has put much good in it"

*

Poem

*Oh ! many works which in the world
Pass and the world upsets them
In view, it appears to be bad and heavy
There is great good therein*

became clear and manifest

Hemistich

An enemy becomes a cause of good if God wishes

Three months elapsed in presentation of the case of Diwani and issue of the Royal order. A caravan laden with merchandise arrived from the capital. Facts about issue of royal orders were disclosed to the Darogah of Kathra Parchah, port officers of ports and particularly to merchants and masters of goods of Ahmedabad from letters of the capital. They showed them to Jawanmard Khan and began to seek remedy for the same. There was no alternative except to give up the charge. He sent Mithalal, the chronicler to inquire about truth or falsehood about the orders. In the meantime, a royal order was received in connection with the Diwani.

Poem

*Night departed bright day approached
True dawn came for the night
He got up quickly due to beginning of good luck
Joy of speech increased on heart*

He disclosed orders to Jawanmard Khan. In view of old relations as mentioned above, he began to complain about this matter-complaint is begun from friends and said

Fragment

*Manliness consists of two things oh manly man !
Turn ears to me so that I may tell you the truth
Firstly, forgive the friends
Even if you see a hundred faults every moment
Secondly, nothing should proceed from you any time
Such a deed that you may have to apologise*

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He reminded of a stern oath of brotherliness and apologized saying, " we had no passion for this work in head and imagination and this office in heart An old and loyal friend of yours played a robber in this unworthy deed and he misled us " He replied, " God the Great willing, he will receive punishment of this deed and retribution of this action as early as possible "

Verse

*The sky makes amends to him
If the sky does not do it, salt (loyalty) does it*

God is the Real Avenger He took vengeance from him within a short time At the end, he had to be joined in the stages of hell His daughter died His unworthy eldest son, grandsons, children of daughter became orphans He saw these events with his sightless eyes He lost his unlawful earnings He joined them in a bewildered state

Wahid

*Salt and powder of diamond are similar
If any one took salt through mistake, he reaped no fruit of life*

Fragment

*The world exactly resembles a cup
When it gets full, it becomes empty every time
Now it became empty by the death of that cursed fellow
I do not think, it will get filled once again*

This lengthy account became a cause of grief for seers and a headache for hearers As the heart was full, it became empty by this means Again, it is an occasion to learn a lesson Who committed atrocious deeds and who suffered the punishment

Fragment

*You should know that whatever is given by God
Cannot be snatched by any one with efforts
What will happen even if the people of the world do not wish it
His wish will take place without doubt*

In short, the clerks of the Diwani were called with records from the house of Qaim Quli Khan and thus all the servants were continued in office. He actively devoted himself to duty to manage affairs of his office on 8th Zil' hajj



which was a winter day Unfortunate enemy and envious man of mean nature became black faced in both the worlds

Fragment

*Die, oh envious man ' so that you will be free from affliction
For you cannot be free from its affliction except by death
A tyrant thought that he practised tyranny on us
It remained with him and passed over us.*

It so happened during this time that a permit of goods which was given with the seal of Ahmed and Mahmud was not accepted as valid at the Surat port When these unsanctioned goods were returned to the owner he entrusted them in toto to the government office Another permit was given with his seal In the year 1160, Jawanmard Khan, revived the evil practice of biwarah on ashrafi by producing a royal order He recovered an amount of ashrafis thereby Renkoji came to Aslali situated at a distance of four kurohs from the city for certain affairs Jawanmard Khan went there in company of Qam Quli Khan and the author and met him He then returned while Renkoji went his way Ilahdad Kasbati, Nub Faujdar of Dholka had bitter relations with another Kasbati He was killed The kasbatis involved the Naib Faujdar in his murder Safdar Khan was the Faujdar of Dholka He hastened there with an equipped regiment, punished and expelled them Muhammed Munawwaruddin Khan Judge of the subah proceeded to the Deccan due to unemployment As a disturbance had taken place in the paragana of Mundali and Mahmudabad due to a revolt of the Kolis, Muhammed Shahbaz Kohila was despatched against them He returned after establishment of order



CHAPTER 262

DEATH OF BELGAR KHAN ALIAS GADA BEG KHAN, QILE'DAR OF SURAT PORT DEATH OF NAJM KHAN, PORT-OFFICER OF KHANBHAYAT OTHER EVENTS

It was in this year that Aibak Khan, who after the death of his brother Belgar Khan was glorified with a title and appointment as a Qile'dar of Surat fort of iron basis by His Majesty, performed duties as such for some time Suddenly, he was hit by a stone of destiny from a catapult of the rotating sky on the peak of basis of his earthly existence and the guard-destroyer of delights brought a fate twin order for dismissal of fort-guardianship of material body, turned him out from the barrier of four elements, and appointed him as a kotwal of the narrow place of grave. Truth of the holy verse "You will perceive death even if you are in solid turrets" became manifest.

Poem

*Fate does not turn away by closing the door
The door, for example, may be of iron
When destiny descends from the throne of God
Loftiness of a wall is of no avail*

When he felt his memory and faculties fail during his life-time and he saw relaxation of physical faculties, ascendancy of weakness and languor in himself, he made use of farsightedness, sagacity and wisdom. He sent a peshkash to His Majesty and requested for Qile'dari, after his death to be granted to his son-in-law Wiqar Muhammed Khan son of Safdar Muhammed. He obtained a sanad of the court. He, therefore, warmly devoted himself to the protection and defence of the fort. Again, it was at this time that a small boat of wishes and desires of Najm Khan, port officer of Khanbhayat joined the anchoring-ground of sea of invisible shore. "He saw drowning" of death on 10 th Rabi 'I and reached the shore of death from the boisterous whirlpool of world-events. He unloaded the cargo of his deeds and actions in the harbour of "Rewards of what you do". Muftakhir Khan son of Najm-ud-dawlah who was honoured and glorified with the title of Mumin Khan intended to shift his residence to the capital. He cancelled his idea on account of this event and engaged in defence and protection of the prosperous port. He reported about this sad event to His Majesty. Fidauddin Khan, who, being aggrieved, resided at the place of the tyrant Jalr Koh at Dahwan. On hearing about this sad event, he came for fault and condolence to his successors but he was prevented from entry in the town and so he had to go back. This event added to his existing miseries.

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Verse

*There does not remain for a moment wound of an enemy's lance on heart
But grieve much when a thorn pricks from a friend*

After some time, he was tired and disgusted with his residence at Dahwan and company of the Kolis. He wrote to Renkoji, came to Umreth with his family and lived there. He treated him with regard and heartiness. It was at this time that a letter of His Majesty was received to send him oil of "Wizor Mardin" and oil of "Daspak" brought from Firangi cities. This letter was handed to his wakil. Only a small quantity of these oils was secured after much inquiry and sent to His Majesty who saw them. A gorgeous robe was sent as a present. Jawanmard Khan despatched Muhammed Shahbaz Rohila with an army for establishment of order in the district of the Meswa river where Nasardar Koli had created disturbance. He engaged in a scuffle with them for sometime. Nasardar fell dead.

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CHAPTER 263

RETURN OF KANAJI TAKBIR WITH FAKHR-UD-AWLAH FROM SAURATH, UNPLEASANT RELATIONS BETWEEN JAWANMARD KHAN AND RENKOJI FOR DIFFERENCE IN SHARE HIS DISTURBANCE AND OCCUPATION OF BORSAD FOR.

Kanaji Takbir had gone to Saurath with Fakhr-ud-dawlah and entered the kasbah of Vanthali after assessment and collection of Khandani from the district. He besieged the place, conquered it with efforts and attempts and plundered it. Fakhr-ud-dawlah, out of narrow-mindedness attributed its conquest to himself and sent, by way of fame and name, a gold key and a petition with twenty-one asharafis to the Court by way of a present. His Majesty viewed them. As the time for the Maratha return had approached, Kanaji reached him to Dholka. Muhammed Janbaz kasbat, the local Naib Faujdar, being discharged came to the city. Fakhr-ud-dawlah's men occupied it with the help of the Marathas. Renkoji joined him in all haste from Umreth. He had negotiations during that time with Jawanmard Khan in respect of the Maratha share in biwarah and fine. Negotiations terminated in bitterness. He regarded arrival of Kanaji and Fakhr-ud-dawlah as a boon and good fortune. He attacked Sanand in Dholka taluka situated at a distance of six kurohs from the city with their help. He plundered animate and inanimate property and encamped there. Jawanmard Khan, on getting intelligence of it, marched with an equipped army and artillery with a design to make a night-attack from the side of Sabarmati. A watch of the night had passed, when he did not deem it advisable and therefore, returned to the city. Kanaji entrusted Fakhr-ud-dawlah to Renkoji and proceeded to his native place. He encamped at Banjar situated at a distance of four kurohs from the city on the shore of Sabarmati with Fakhr-ud-dawlah. Villages of the paraganah of Haveli had been allotted to the Marathas as theirs as mentioned before, they were now under Jawanmard Khan. Now friendship had turned into enmity and stern tax-collectors were appointed in the whole paraganah and made the fountain of collection of four parts flow. He encamped at Isanpur at a distance of two kurohs from the city. Jawanmard Khan also stayed at Barali Nampur with a design to fight and defend. Every day a regiment of each party made its appearance against each other and engaged in a war with cannons and guns. Renkoji had in his mind an idea to instal Fakhr-ud-dawlah for his being in his custody. He began to deliberate on that plan. He went to other villages assessing and collecting revenue. Jawanmard Khan got an inkling about his secret design, he sent Muhammed Shihbaz Rohila to



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Rajah Raisingh at Idar in view of his former service under him so that he might persuade him to come to his help. Shahbag went to him and brought the reliable servant of the rajah for negotiation about fixation of expenses. At the time of separation from Fakhr ud-dawlah, he had promised to give him an elephant but it was not fulfilled. Fulfilment of that promise and payment of expenses per day were undertaken by Jawanmard Khan. He sent away his messengers. Renkoji was in search of a scheme at Vilad to instal Fakhr-ud-dawlah as his nominee. Rajah Raisingh was going to Jawanmard Khan as summoned by him. Renkoji sent his men on his way to invite him to his side by tempting promises. He responded to his invitation and joined him. He got heartened by his alliance and made a firm resolve. He also summoned Sher Khan. He too came and allied himself with him. He got himself ready to besiege the city.

Hemistich

Whatever is planned is nothing except a game of destiny

At this juncture, he received news of death of his Naib at Petlad. Haria, an adopted son of Khanderao was qile'dar at Borsad. He marched to the outskirts of Petlad and started looting. Renkoji's naib who marched to fight with him, died with a gun-shot. As it was the will of God, he had to change his unworthy design. He determined to proceed against the fort of Borsad and to appoint his Naib. He besieged the Borsad fort. Haria garrisoned himself and fought with cannons and guns. Many garrisoned men were in concord with Renkoji. His men plotted in a few days with them who placed ladders for them to climb them. The fort was conquered. Haria fled away. An oral information of appointment of the Maratha Naib was sent to Khanderao. Jawanmard Khan, contrary to the wish of Renkoji, summoned Janardan Pandit who was his Naib at Nadiad and appointed him as the city-naib. He expelled the agent of Renkoji.

Verse

*This mean world is a vessel of a bath room;
Each time, it is in the hand of a different unclean man*

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CHAPTER 265

OCCURRENCE OF A RIOT AT SURAT PORT OUT-GOING OF SAFDAR MUHAMMED KHAN, THE PORT-OFFICER AND ASSUMPTION OF CHARGE BY SYED MU'INUDDIN KHAN ALIAS SYED ACHHAN

It was in this year that the chess-player-the rotating sky and the chess player of the perfidious world spread carpet of hostility and quarrel between Safdar Muhammed Khan, port officer of Surat and Syed Mu'innuddin Khan alias Syed Achhan and laid the foundation of war and arranged the field of battle. Substance of this is when Safdar Muhammed Khan, after the death of Tegh Beg Khan, was exalted to the government of Surat port by the Royal Court, Syed Achhan who during the life time of Tegh Beg Khan was the Bakhshi, continued his duties as before. So long as the pen of destiny inscribed their concord, they worked together.

Verse

*These men full of discord like oil and water
Boil at one place but do not agree (with each other)*

During the life time of Tegh Beg Khan, Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah thought of removing Tegh Beg Khan from office for certain reasons and state policy as well as for oppression of the merchant-chief and other matters. He desired this fact to become manifest within a curtain of secrecy. He always held consultation with himself. He had in mind Syed Mithan, the elder brother of Syed Achhan who originally was a resident of Burhanpur and was included in a circle of masters of turbans (spiritual guide).

Verse

*With beard, end of a turban-sash, wool, staff and dentifice
He had all but not what was necessary*

When he learnt about a causal relation of his brother with Tegh Beg Khan and his Bakhshi, he confided him with this closed secret and pressed him hard to hide it.

Hemistich

It is not advisable that the secret should come out of a curtain

He sent him to Surat port for arrangement of this matter so that he might hasten to that place and induce and persuade his brother to undertake this work.



Syed Mithan said, " we heard, we obeyed", read " with head and eye " and set out with a pretext apparently with an intense desire to see his brother and arrived at Surat port. Tegh Beg Khan showed him honour and respect in view of his being the brother of Syed Achhan and treated him with hospitality. He told him about the secret idea of Asaf Jah in privacy and tarried for some time. Every affair has its own time. Syed Achhan had no daring. However much, he struggled hard in a sea of thought about this matter out of respect for his brother and order of Asaf Jah, he did not find a shore. When Syed Mithan found that his brother made no progress in that undertaking, he returned to Burhanpur and disclosed the fact to Asaf Jah. He read " There is an appointed time for every thing " and said,

Poem

*Every work is accomplished at its proper time
Every tree bears fruit at its season
One can achieve all his objects
Provided one can enjoy tomorrow's likelihood today*

Asaf Jah found this account contrary to his wish and desire, he stopped his regard towards Syed Mithan which he showed to him before until the messenger of death visited Tegh Beg Khan and having delivered a letter of summons of presence before God carried him outside the city of existence. Safdar Muhammed Khan settled down in the office of government. Syed Achhan continued as before to enjoy authority as Bakhshi. Asaf Jah gave trouble to Syed Mithan a second time. He came to Surat for fatiha and condolence. He pressed his brother hard for execution of Asaf Jah's idea. As still, there was some time for execution of heavenly decree and divine will in the invisible hiding place of delay and procrastination, there was no occasion for effort and attempt.

Verse

*So long as time for fulfilment of promise of every work there is does not come,
Frindship of every friend that is yields no benefit*

Syed Mithan had no intention to go back, he had of necessity to tarry. He laid himself on a bed of illness and died. He carried this desire with him to the grave. It is said that out of shame from Asaf Jah, he did neither see in himself an eye to see his face nor found a tongue of apology in himself and therefore, he made use of fatal poison to come out of that disgrace. Syed Achhan spent his time in expectation of an opportunity in view of Asaf Jah's power and attainment of his favour until the panned affair came out.



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from mortgage of time due to misfortune of unpraiseworthy deeds and unworthy actions of the people. Divine will was concerned with ruin of life and wealth of local residents and fate executed it. On the promised day, Syed Achhan set out with a party of his favourites to the fort. He had always access to him without obstruction and molestation on account of his relation as well as in connection with his duties as a Bakhshi. He entered the fort pulling the gate in charge of his own men. He rushed in all haste, arrested Wiqar Muhammed Khan the Qile'dar and imprisoned him.

Hemistich

He revenged old revenge in that fort

He began to fire cannons at the residential quarters of the Hakim popularly known as Darbar. Safdar Muhammed Khan in whose imagination this idea did not cross at all, fell in a sea of amazement, he helplessly ordered to prepare entrenchment, battery and to plunge in war. He sent word to him by way of unanimity.

Verse

*Do not be ungrateful at new acquisition of fortune
Because it is mortgaged to a bleacher*

For nearly three months the four walls of Surat port blazed forth like furnace of a blacksmith due to constant firing. When the matter did not progress from either side, Syed Achhan thought of a plan. He invited Malhar the Maratha who was Naib of Baroda on behalf of Damaji, to his help on an agreement to pay him eleven lacs of rupees as claim of help and to pay one-third of revenue till he recovered the stipulated amount. He accepted the terms and came because the Marathas were war-seeking and desirous of such matters. He was brought to the fort by way of the river Tapi and a window with four hundred brave Dekhani horsemen. Syed Achhan with a regiment of brave warriors and his favourites marched with intention to capture the Darbar by pounding the trenches. Local soldiers who were familiar with lanes and streets accompanied the Marathas and entered the lane whose other end joined the Darbar. It so happened that in the middle of the lane there was a house where Muhammed Beg, Nadir Shah's man had put up to purchase and construct four ships along with nearly four hundred Mughals. He always kept his men ready due to a riot. He was prepared for defence of his house. He had nothing to do with the quarrel of Tom and Dick. At this time the Maratha party whose usual habit was to plunder all the houses that lay on their path approached that house. Muham-



mmmed Beg prevented them from looting his house. A war ensued with arrows and guns. By chance, a bullet from a gun hit Malhar, the Maratha chieftain from an ambush of death. As soon as he was hit, he died. The Dekhanis lifted up his dead body and retreated. When the Marathas became leaderless, they hastened back to their original place. On account of prolongation of this war, what a destruction in wealth, lives of merchants and citizens took place. How many excellent buildings were razed to the ground due to blows of cannon-balls. How many shops and go-downs full of goods and cloth-stores belonging to different cities were pillaged and burnt. Those who were saved recited the following lines.

Poem

*If Kings kindle lamp with peace
There would be tranquillity to civil and military population.
If they turn their faces to the field of revenge
They bring down calamity from sky to earth.*

All citizens—small and great, noble and ignoble—got tired. Safdar Muhammed Khan, on witnessing this state of affairs, when he saw that he would not acquire the fort with strength, feared that he might be involved in a public rising because merchants and nobles of the fort were vexed with him from the time he was Naib of Togh Beg Khan. Again, every one of them desisted from help during period of the war. He, therefore, was forced to send message of wolfish amity, left his dependents in another house, vacated the Darbar and alighted himself with a party of his favourites in Muhimmedi Bagh laid out by Togh Beg Khan within the fort of lofty fortification with an intention of departure. He occupied himself with preparations of travelling and payment of dues to the soldiers. Syed Achhan breathed of absolute power and authority. He nominated his sister's son, 'Ali Nawaz Khan who also was the son-in-law of Safdar Muhammed Khan as Naib port-officer and sent him to the Darbar. He engaged himself in defence of turrets, fortifications and gates of the city and put them in charge of experienced and reliable men. He issued a proclamation in the name of Asaf Jah at the instruction of his maternal uncle. Syed Achhan who lived with comfort in the fort. Safdar Muhammed Khan, whatever necessary amount of money he had brought with him, spent in purchase and payment of soldiers. Syed Achhan bought his elephants. In spite of this, he had yet to pry. He could not let whatever was with his dependents. He, therefore, felt sadness and grief. Mustah Hashshu, a slave of Togh Beg Khan who was his reliable and confidential man, and had come out in his company, disclosed to Safdar Muhammed Khan that Togh Beg Khan, out of great sagacity and foresightedness, had deposited at the time of construction of this garden, a large



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amount of money in shape of pure gold at the bottom of such and such a reservoir. It was hidden under earthly darkness like the fountain of the water of life and that he was aware of it. It has been said that white gold is for a black day (misfortune). What time would be more suitable than this for its use ? Sardar Muhammed Khan dug it under his guidance. He found his statement true. This fact added lustre to his affair. (He was emboldened by it) He cancelled his intention of travelling. He girt up his loins to continue in his original place and occupied himself in recruitment of soldiers and preparation of trenches on fort of city fortifications.

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who, on account of his discord with Tegh Beg Khan and Safdar Muhammed Khan who spent his life as an exile from his house for some time in disappointment in company of Asaf Jah with Jamadar Ajmeri Khan Asaf Jah had granted him a robe and an elephant. He wrote to Syed Achhan, in particular, for establishment of authority and sent good news for a grant of sanads to eminent syeds, holy spiritual guides, nobles, grandees, Hafiz Mas'ud Khan, merchants, and hat-wearers in general, to help, aid and respect Syed Achhan. The merchant-prince arrived in the very heat of warfare which Safdar Muhammed Khan waged a second time and took part in the battle-field. In short, the battle continued for some months with cannon-fire and yet there was no possibility of conquest of Surat. Many experienced and reliable confederates of Safdar Khan such as Husain Beg Khan and Mir 'Abdussamad died, he saw that merchants and residents did not side with him. Thus there was no progress in action. He stopped war, went to Bombay by a ship and thence he proceeded to the subah of Thatta. It was at this time that continuous and incessant reports about the above event were sent by news-reporters and others to His Majesty. His Majesty was acquainted with Sadiq 'Ali Khan through Safdar Jung Mir-i-Atish (Superintendent of artillery) who was at Surat after his arrival from his native place. A royal order was sent to him at Ahmedabad as he resided there about his appointment as port-officer of Surat. Sadiq 'Ali Khan wrote to Hafiz Mas'ud Khan in view of his good behaviour and old intimacy as well as to others about it. He replied that a pact was made on oath with Syed Achhan, he was helpless. In the meantime, a representation, a petition of Asaf Jah and administrative ability of Syed Achhan were received by the courtiers. A sanad of port-officership was granted to Syed Mu'muddin Khan alias Syed Achhan with an addition to mansab, title of Bahadur and gifts by the royal court. A sanad of Qile'dari was given to his son Syed Hafiz-ud din Khan. After some time, the messenger of Asaf Jah, Ajmeri Khan died a natural death. His companions went to the Dekhan. Concord and companionship lasted between Syed Achhan and the merchant-prince for some time but they became hostile to each other due to disaffection in a certain matter. Syed Achhan summoned the merchant-prince to the fort on a pretext and detained him. Mr Lam the English Captain began negotiations with Syed Achhan due to his relation with the merchant-prince in business. He thought of a plan. He requested Syed Achhan to allow him to meet the merchant-prince in the Darbar for a face-to-face settlement of certain matters. Syed Achhan fell a prey to his deceit and sent him out. Mr Lam waited for arrival of the merchant-prince before the fort. As soon as he was brought out, he was immediately sent to his house. He himself entered the Darbar. He went with 'Ali Nawaz Khan, Naib Port-officer and conversed with him according to exigency of time and returned. He sat, having strongly closed his house. After a few days, he sent the merchant-prince in changed dress by a boat to Bombay. He lived there and was thus free from fear of capture.

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CHAPTER 266

FIXATION OF MARATHA SHARE OF REVENUE AT SURAT

The Maratha disturbances took place first of all in the vicinity of Surat under the chieftainship of Pilaji Gaekwar. These disturbances were not forceful and violent. Local port-officers ably defended themselves against them as mentioned in their proper places. In course of time, Pilaji gathered a large number of soldiers. He subjected paraganahs of this district to plunder and pillage. Rustam 'Ali Khan, during regime of his government defended himself against them with an equipped army and pursued them. After martyrdom of Rustam 'Ali Khan who was a thorn on the path of Pilaji, he subdued all the paraganahs on the other bank of River Mahi as well as the sarkar of Surat port without any partner. Behram had no power and strength for defence and war against him. Corn-produce of the paraganahs of Surat was sold only at Surat. The ryots were in fear and fright of the port-officer. For their own welfare and escape from trouble, they entered into an agreement with him to pay a share of their produce. They thus prospered in their respective places with ease and comfort. They came to the port with heartiness for sale transactions of their produce. This state of affairs continued till the quarrel between Syed Achhan and Safdar Muhammed Khan, a second time with subterfuge. There was no Maratha interference in the port due to solidity of the fort and abundant material of artillery. Syed Achhan summoned Malhar Maratha for expulsion of Safdar Muhammed Khan on an agreement to pay him money for help but he was slain. Safdar Muhammed Khan got hold of a treasure of ashrafis. He prepared trenches in the fort and engaged in war as mentioned above. He had summoned Kedar Rao cousin of Damaji Gaekwar, the taluqdar of the paraganahs of Surat sarkar on an agreement to pay him three lacs of rupees for partisanship with him. Safdar Muhammed Khan's affairs terminated in a manner as related above. Syed Achhan established absolute authority in government. Kedar Rao, seizing an opportunity, became a source of disturbance and disaffection. He sent a message to him to the effect that if Safdar Muhammed Khan had succeeded in assumption of charge, he would have paid the stipulated amount of money. Now that he had assumed charge of the government he must pay that amount. Roads and highways of transport and communications of merchants and travellers remained blocked up for some time due to disturbances. As Syed Achhan failed to remedy this state of affairs, he had helplessly to submit to the decrees of fate. He assigned as salary one-third of the port's revenue till he paid off three lacs of rupees. He called Kedar Rao's Naib and made him assume charge of office as an equal. He could not be removed on account of occurrence of certain events even after settlement and inquiry of payment of the amount. The total revenue



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of the port was divided into three shares – a share of the port - officer and bakhshi, assignment of an amount to Hafiz Mas'ud Khan, Naib of Yaqut Khan of Danda Rajpuri and a third share of the Marathas. It was during these days that a permut bearing the seal of the Wazir ul Mumalik I'timad ud dawliah was received by the author in respect of assigning a post to an agent of Badi'uddin Khan the chronicler of Kathera Parchah and miscellaneous duties. It was carried out. It was in this year that an earthquake took place, which did not take place at any time during the period of the author's stay, at mid-day in the second decade of Sha'ban. It passed off like a blow of breeze which was not felt by some persons.

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CHAPTER 267

OCCURRENCE OF A SEVERE FAMINE WHICH POPULARLY CAME TO BE KNOWN AS TARLOTRA IN GUJERAT

One of the admonitory events of this year was the drought of rain which was due to mis deeds and sins of men. A severe famine took place which was popularly known in Gujerat as Tarlotra, that is of the Samvat year of Vikramajit 1803. It came to be known as Tankiyah Kan, that is, grass famine. Such a scarcity of water did not take place either in the past or present years. Not a drop of water fell from the sky. A blade of grass did not raise its head from the ground. What to speak of the fields. Besides, there were other hardships and calamities.

Verses composed by the author

*Such a dry year came to pass
That consciousness flew from heads of people of the world
Door of the sky was entirely closed
Not a root of grass grew from the earth
Wails from small and great reached the sky
They were despaired of life*

Jawanmard Khan came out continuously for three days in prayers for rains with the common folk and the elite. Rivers of tears flowed from fountains of eyes. There was no effect of response to prayers except in shape of perspiration due to shame and penitence. However much the glance of expectancy was fixed at four directions of the sky, not a patch of cloud was observed except black smoke of sighs of remorse. There was not a sound of thunderbolt except lamentations of famine-stricken persons. Every day a scale of high prices of corn and a pan of price of cereals rose high. Three sers and four sers were weighed in a balance of search. A strange condition and wonderful wildness took place. Villagers extinguished fire of starvation by eating grass roots. Batches after batches of men travelled to the valley of non existence. Dumb animals suffered because of sinful deeds of human beings. They pined for want of grass and hastened in herds to the grazing-ground of non existence. Eating of corpses became allowed and lawful. Ponds and reservoirs remained dry and empty like bowls of beggars and indigent men. Scarcity of water increased dearth of corn stuff. The river Sabarmati was no more than a fringe. Ablutions for washing hands of life were performed with earth. Manifestation of the holy verse "Oh earth! swallow up thy water, and oh sky! with-hold (the rain)! and the water abated" took place. Common folk



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of paraganahs and villages, particularly, from the district of Pattan, were restless like fish without water due to want of water and exiled themselves by severing relation with their ancestral residence and began to wander in a desert of disappointment. They went out in shape of caravans towards Malwa and various other parts. There was no reckoning and calculation of travellers from the ephemeral world. Villages which remained desolate and lampless from that time had not been populated till the present. None returned to his native place. This state continued till the time of descent of mercy the next year, until the Most Merciful of the merciful ordered His beneficence to encompass the condition of the remainder in accordance with the truth of "And God sent water from the sky, then it gave life to the earth after its death." He trickled water of life through throats of thirsty ones and dying ones of the valley of despair and liberated them from that calamity.

Quatrain

*However much wicked we are, your goodness is there.
However much we commit sins, there is your forgiveness.
None is aware of our internal sinfulness
They are mud and water It is due to Your concealment.*

In the year 1161, a report of Najm Khan's death was sent to the Royal Court. He was port-officer of Khanbhayat. This post was offered to Mumin Khan under a royal order bearing the seal of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik. He occupied himself with government of that place.

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CHAPTER 269

JAWANMARD KHAN SENDS SHAIKH 'ABDUL WASE' BAKHSHI WITH AN ARMY FOR LIBERATION OF THE FORTRESS OF JETALPUR HIS RETURN WITHOUT ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECT

It was stated above about the occupation of the fortress of Jetalpur in the paraganah of Haveli by the Marathas and the out going of Amber Habashi Jawanmard Khan despatched 'Abdul Wase' Bakhshi with an army with swivel-guns and muskets for its liberation. He marched to that place and occupied himself with preparation of trenches and laying siege to it. Renkoji who had come for an occasion to the precincts of Petlad, learnt about it. He sent a certain man named Bhagwan with a regiment of Dekhanis to help the besieged. He started at night and reached the place at top speed at the time of brilliance of gold embroidered banner of day from the eastern horizon, rushed upon their camp and began to fight. 'Abdul Wase' and his companions who were unaware of this event were at the trench opposite to the fortress while most of them were asleep. Some of them had gone out for human needs. They were, under these circumstances, overtaken by this sudden calamity like a heavenly decree. Syed Mitha son of Syed Nurullah and Syed Faqirullah son of Syed Qasim, who did not allow disgrace of flight upon themselves out of valour and prowess got no opportunity to ride on horseback, fought on feet with bravery and said to each other

Verse

*Either we place our feet on top of the sky with desire
Or we will lose our head man-like with courage*

They rushed in war, held up the enemy's path, gave justice to manliness and bravery in a war with short arms, dyed the battle-field with blood blushed their face with pink colour and fell down. The Marathas plundered their provisions and arms. Abdul Wase's confederates had no grace to gather together and to offer fight. Every one wherever he was read "He who was saved with head, got salvation", set face to the city from that perilous battle-field, and entered it in the evening with a broken neck, broken reins and broken drum.

Verse

*Death is pleasanter than that life
Which brings shame to your face*

This event took place on 18th Safar. Bhagwan beat the drum of return and joined Renkoji.

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CHAPTER 270

APPOINTMENT OF KHANDERAO IN PLACE OF RENKOJI HIS ARRIVAL SIEGE OF BORSAD AND CAPTURE OF RENKOJI

Umabai died a natural death. Ambicabai, wife of Baburao Senapati son of Umabai had come in charge of administrative matters. Khanderao sought her favour. He entrusted four parts of the subah of Gujarat to his brother Damaji as Naib in place of Renkoji and sent him. Khanderao had learnt about the war of Renkoji, liberation of the fort of Borsad from his adopted son Hariya and assumption of charge by Janardan Pandit as his deputy in the city. He marched to this place at top speed. Renkoji got information about his designs and determined to fight with him with an equipped army in company of Fakhr ud dawlāh, Sher Khan and Rajah Rai Singh. He marched to the border of Peilad for war. He did not deem it advisable, for evil consequences, to publicly plunge in war and to face him out of respect for Damaji. He, therefore, returned to the four walls of Borsad Fort. Khanderao came swiftly in all haste. As he had not a large regiment with him, he wrote to Mumin Khan port officer of Khanbhayat who had strained relations with Renkoji and to Jawanmard Khan for aid and assistance. Mumin Khan sent Aqa Muhammed Khan with several cannons and swivel guns with a cavalry and infantry. Jawanmard Khan despatched Muhammed Shahbaz Rohila with his companions as well as another regiment under Janardan Pandit. Khanderao came to Borsad and besieged it. He besieged Renkoji. War continued with cannons and guns incessantly for nearly five months. One day Akoji brother of Renkoji with a Dekhani regiment from one side and Rajah Rai Singh with Marwaris and confederates from the other side came out from a narrow passage of the fortress for battle-field. Khanderao also got ready for warfare, blocked up passage of the enemy and arrayed his army. He appointed young warriors and brave cavaliers to attack Akoji. They suddenly made an assault at top speed at him. Akoji, in accordance with the Dekhani method of warfare rushed forth with guerilla tactics. Horsemen did not pursue him, they turned their horses and poured upon Rajah Rai Singh who came with an elephant driver ahead of him, in pomp and magnificence from one side. The elephant-driver was captured at the first attack. They then turned to him. He became unstable and turned his face for refuge to the fort to escape from that bloody vortex with attempt and effort. Horsemen pursued him, they killed some and wounded others and reached him to the gate accompanying him. In short, the siege lasted long. They felt shortage of provisions and war-materials. The Marwaris accompanying Rajah Rai Singh, Gujaratis and companions of Sher Khan other different footmen and establishment of



artillerymen showed dispritedness and made demands of money more than stipulated with request and entreaty Renkoji helplessly sought refuge, sent a message of amity with surrender of the fort Sher Khan and Rajah Rai Singh came as bul with Muhammed Shahbaz Rohila Sher Khan went to Barasinor while the Rajah hastened to Idar Renkoji and Fakhr-ud dawlah met Khande-rao He gave Fakhruddawlah a small amount of money as expenses for soldiers and sent him to Petlad Renkoji was arrested and guarded Aqa Muhammed Husun and Muhammed Shahbaz the two auxiliaries were presented with robes and asked them to go One of the events of this year was that Fidauddin Khan who was at Umreth, lived there to warm up Renkoji He did not consider his stay as advisable and so he went to Kapadwanj He then went to Antarsubli the residence of Jita, the local jamindar and lived there



CHAPTER 271

HOISTING OF THE VICTORIOUS BANNER BY THE PRINCE JAWAN BAKHT, HEIR TO THE CROWN AND THRONE OF AHMED SHAH BAHADUR AGAINST AHMED SHAH ABDALI. DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY MUHAMMED SHAH BADSHAH.

In this world of being and corruption, Divine will is connected with this and the habit of God is prevalent over this that every living being is to bid adieu to this transitory world, to leave this short-lived abode, to taste the unpalatable syrup of death from the cup of annihilation. King and beggar, rich and poor are equal in this unpleasing matter. There is no remedy and alternative against it.

Quatrain

*These smallness and greatness bearing the name of man
Are like fingers in the hand of time
Today if they enjoy elevation and degradation
Tomorrow when they sleep are all equal.*

It is a high way which is not empty and without noise of small and big travellers to the kingdom of non-existence any moment and time of night and day

Poem

*No one was born of a mother who ultimately did not die
He neither brought anything with him nor carried anything
Even if he gets a life of Prophet No - ah
At last he meets with the same fate.
The sun did not go up to the pinnacle of perfection
From where he never suffered a fall
It is the same abode, this painted inn
Where Faridun spread his carpet
It is the same this outstretched portico
Where Darius sat under its vault*

The object of this sad introduction and liver-burning account is occurrence of an inevitable event of capture of the master of throne and crown and transfer of the exacter of tax and tribute, Muhammed Shah Badshah. When His Majesty led the last expedition against 'Ali Muhammed Rohila for his chastisement and punishment as he had deviated from the path of obedience



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and had measured the path of misguidance, His Majesty raised the victorious banner, took trouble to go as far as his residence, cast a ring of submission in his ears and reached him to the royal road of guidance. He then returned victorious and triumphant like the Eastern Sun to the house of exaltation of the capital Shahjahanabad. It was at this time that he nearly beat the drum of departure from this ephemeral house to the permanent kingdom. The divine carpet-spreader adorned a throne for the transfer of His Majesty in the holy world. A weakness in the kingdom of his noble existence and a disturbance took place in the graceful element of his life. Deviation intervened on the path of moderation of the auspicious temperament.

Fragment

*When the hand of death beat the drum of departure
Oh two eyes ' bid farewell to the head
Oh palm, fore-arm and side
All bid farewell to one another*

Under these circumstances, it was reported to the courtiers by reporters from Lahore that Ahmed Shah Abdali had passed through Kabul with a large army to come to this side. A royal order was issued that the royal forces should march to offer him resistance under the command of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik Qamruddin Khan, Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jung, superintendent of ordnance, Sadat Khan Zulfiqar Jung, great amirs, eminent Bakhshis and Rajah Iswar Singh, zamindar of Ajmer with artillery, and arms. The nobles executed the order and engaged themselves in preparation of accoutrement and equipment. Having obtained permission of His Majesty within a short time, they were on the march. Having reached two, three stages, they held a council of consultation for settling claims of equality and emulation as it was difficult for them to remain under command of any one. It was decided that a request should be made to His Majesty to them all under the command of the Prince Ahmed Shah Bahadur to conduct the war. Sadat Khan went to the Capital and conveyed the petition of the amirs. It was applauded and accepted. The Prince was sent. As the noblest mind was inclined and disposed for a journey to the kingdom however much the sincere physicians treated him with befitting plans but it proved of no avail.

Verse

*When fate (death) comes, physician becomes silly
Then medicine with its cure turns contrary,*

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When the night of 26th of Rabi 'II of the year 1161 reached at the time,



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"When death came to them it was neither an hour before nor an hour after", he said. "I am ready" to the inviter of God, the bird of his soul flew to the nest of the highest heaven. Curtain dwellers of the veil of honour and pavilion of chastity kept death of His Majesty a secret till arrival of the fortunate prince out of regard for protection of the state and wealth. A swift courier was despatched to the hear of the throne and the signet ring. Thus announcer of death reached at such a time when the royal army encountered the army of Shah Abdali near Sirhind and the battle-field was arrayed several times. Under divine decrees, the Wazir-ul-Mamalik sacrificed his life at a shot of the cannon-ball. The Abdalis, being defeated, had retreated the next day. The Prince intended to chase them. When he received this frightful news, he cancelled his intention, engaged in mourning and turned to the capital. He ascended the hereditary throne for the first time at Londara in Panipat on Tuesday, 1st Jamadi I. Burhan ul Mulk raised the canopy of sovereignty over his Majesty's head, and performed dues of decorum. He then marched further. After his arrival at the capital, the corpse of the deceased monarch was consigned to the grave near the shrine of Nizamuddin Awliya. Under His Majesty's order, the deceased monarch's name was recorded as "Firdaus Aramgah" (resting-place in paradise) in the pages of history.

Verse

*None has permanency and eternity
To God belongs permanency and eternity*

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jewelled pen-case and conferred upon him the title of Wazir-ul-Mamalik Sadat Khan Bahadur Zulfiqar Jung was exalted with the grant of a royal robe, a turban strap, a turban sash, a sword with a jewelled hilt and a shield. He was appointed as Mir Bakhshi and Amir ul Umara. Administrative and governmental affairs were entrusted to sound judgment and authoritative hand of the favourite of the Court Jawid Khan. His capable stature was elevated with a royal robe. Ray i Rawan Nagarmal was glorified with a gorgeous robe, management of Diwani affairs of the crown-lands and Diwani i Tan (salaries). All the royal servants were benefited according to their rank and position with royal favours such as robes, jewels, horse, and elephant. When the news of coronation reached Ahmedabad Jawanmard Khan ordered to beat drums of rejoicing. He issued a proclamation for safety and security in the name of His Majesty and thus announced to the public about his enthronement. Eloquent preachers bestowed rank of superiority to steps of the pulpit with auspicious titles. Faces of ashrafi and rupees in the mint received freshness with the inscription of the auspicious coin of Ahmed Shah Bahadur, Badshahi-Ghazi.

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CHAPTER 273

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH BAKHT SINGH. JAWANMARD KHAN'S ADMINISTRATION OF NIZAMAT AFFAIRS. DIWANI OF THE AUTHOR.

Maharajah Bakht Singh, brother of deceased Maharajah Abhey Singh, zamindar of Jodhpur came to the Royal Presence some time ago with his regiment under order of His Majesty Firdaus Aramgah (Muhammed Shah). He remained in attendance upon His Majesty in the court. After the death of His Majesty (Muhammed Shah), he was honoured with attendance upon the present Majesty. As he had visited Ahmedabad during the government of his brother, he was acquainted with condition of the subah. At this time, he made a request, through Amir-ul-Umara Sadat Khan, to His Majesty to appoint him in charge of the subah. The Amir-ul-Umara had information about injustice and harassment of the Marwaris which had taken place. He, therefore, wrote out certain conditions by way of a bond which Rajah Bakht Singh had to submit in writing to His Majesty for acceptance of the office. He submitted in writing.

The bond

I am exalted, out of beneficence and kindness, to the service of Nizamat of of the subah of Gujerat. I agree to perform duties as a royal servant in accordance with regulations under following conditions. I will not act contrary to them. *First* : I will not appropriate the mahals of the royal crown-lands. I will aid and assist by appointment of amils. *Second* : I will appoint royal servants to services they deserve in accordance with regulations and please them with good conduct. *Third* : Mansabdars hold jagir in the subah of Gujerat in assignment of salary. I will not appropriate their jagir. I will send a document of willingness to His Majesty. *Fourth* : I will keep Muslim residents of the subah of Gujerat happy and contented. I will not cause harm and injury to any one without any cause. *Fifth* : I will send, after making proper assessment in the subah whatever amount of money was sent as peshkash and nazaranah to His Majesty by former subedars during the regime of His Majesty Khuld Makan. *Sixth* : I will appoint darogah for administration of justice to Muslims for settlement of religious matters and transactions or he should be appointed by His Majesty. The Amir-ul-Umara passed this bond before the glance of His Majesty. It was on the 14th of the month that Maharajah Bakht Singh was appointed to the subah of Ahmedabad in place of Fakhr-ud-dawlah with a grant of a robe of six pieces as a special favour, a turban-strap and a jewelled sword. He accompanied Amir-ul-Umara for establishment of order of the



subah of Ajmer and Jodhpur. He secretly sent his reliable men to inquire about the real condition of the subah and the Marathas. They became acquainted with every minute detail about the subah and reported it to him.

Hemistich

That noble city which you saw got ruined

Verse

*There did not remain a flower for fructification in a garden you saw
Autumn set in and there did not remain tardancy of spring*

When he saw no ability in himself to discharge his responsibility, he did not intend to come to this side. It was at this time that Jawanmard Khan gave a robe and an elephant in exchange for summons to Muhammed Shahbaz Rohila who had performed exploits and sent him to the paraganah of Kadi for establishment of order. During these days an elephant died on the way. Khushal Chand Nagar Sheth died. Muhammed Shahbaz returned with satisfaction from the district of Kadi. As it was harvest time, Sirdar Khan came out for assessment and collection of peshkash. Raghu Shanker came to the city as Naib of Khanderao. News was received from the Dekhan that Asaf Jah Nizam ul Mulk died. His eldest son Nasir Jung succeeded him to the chieftainship of the Dekhan. Fakhr-ud-din, on hearing about the appointment of Maharajah Balhut Singh as subedar, did not deem delay and procrastination proper for himself, despaired of hope of imagined post and proceeded to the capital by way of Godhra. Balaji Rao son of Baji Rao the chief administrator of affairs of Rajah Sahu got confirmed as Peshwa in place of his father. He sent his own men who liberated Renkoji kept under detention by Khanderao and took him with themselves. Mirza Lehrasp Khan, the chronicler was in a distracted state for want of income as nobody cared for writers. On hearing about the arrival of Amir-ul-Umara at Jodhpur, he nominated Murad Beg as his nominal naib and went to see him in view of his former acquaintance with him. Jawanmard Khan, on account of Maharajah Balhut Singh's appointment as Subedar, thought, out of foresightedness, of remedying the event before its occurrence. He sent a report of circumstances and a representation with the seal and signatures of eminent syeds, holy spiritual guides, nobles and grandees, leading Hindu and Muslim merchants to the royal court.



CHAPTER 274

COPY OF REPRESENTATION

It is a request to His Majesty, shadow of God, may God make his kingdom permanent from all the Muslims such as the eminent syeds, honourable learned men, royal officers of His Majesty is that the following state of affairs prevailed in the city of Ahmedabad and the paraganahs under the jurisdiction of the subah of Gujarat during the subedari of Maharajah Abley Singh plunder and pillage of property and wealth of the poor, digging of houses under a suspicion of buried treasure insult and dishonour to Islam defamation of Muslims, demolition of masjids and houses of saintly persons, prevalence of Hindu usages, falsehood sale and purchase of intoxicants and pigs publicly in every lane and bazar It is not hidden from any one of the commonalty and the elite His Rajput confederates captured Muslim women by temptation and inducement and some by force and fright, converted them to heresy and carried them to Marwar A great calamity upon Islam is that those Muslim women are still alive in that region The Muslims have no remedy for their liberation from the hands of the unbelievers At the time of the city's siege, noble and ignoble Muslims detached hearts from their houses and possessions, left wealth and property to them and exiled themselves from the city for execution of the royal order and zeal for the religion of the best among human beings, may peace be upon him They took to Jihad with the army of Islam They want to avenge themselves on Muslims for this reason They bear excessive animosity with them Under divine guidance and royal fortune, they remained protected and preserved against their false intentions to make this city of Islam added to the Zamindari of Marwar like Nagor and Jalor and to destroy Muslims At this time, Muslims and other residents of the city have fallen in a vortex of consternation due to publicity of the appointment of Bakht Singh, brother of Abley Singh as subedar of Gujarat by His Majesty They have set their hearts on exile from their beloved native place Hence, we hope, that you will show mercy to Muslims and other residents of the city for the pleasure of the Most Merciful and the last of the prophets This request should be embellished with your Majesty's seal and testimony so that it may have its significant importance before the royal courtiers and it may not become a subject of investigation We may live with satisfaction in the city of Islam and engage in prayers for perpetuity of eternal kingdom of His Most Powerful Majesty, religion patronizing and Justice spreading Emperor, The Maharajah had cancelled his intention to come to this side before receipt of this representation In the year 1162, several Arab horses and some presents were being carried from Surat port for the Wazir ul-Mamalik They were captured by Khanderao at Baroda The Wazir wrote several letters to Khanderao as well as to Peshwa Balaji Rao in this respect but to no purpose



CHAPTER 275

MURDER OF MUHAMMED SHAHBAZ ROHILA

One of the events of this year was the murder of Muhammed Shahbaz Rohila. The substance of it is: During the government of Najm-ud-dawlah, certain Afghans came to this region with two, three horses and a few footmen. They remained here as servants so long as it was ordained for them. They were then discharged. He served at Idar and other places. He managed to get some horses and war materials. He came to Mustakhir Khan when Renkoji created disturbances. He joined him and performed feats of bravery. He remained as his confederate for some time, earned reputation and position in respect of worldly trash. It so happened that he had come to Ahmedabad with a batch of three hundred Rohilas consisting of horsemen and footmen. Within a short time, the cup of his capability became brimful with the wine of egoism. It got completely filled with the wine of arrogance. He showed inebriation and head strongness. He took stock of his own strength.

Verse

*It is easy to drink wine to satiety and to maintain consciousness
If you achieve wealth and do not get intoxicated, you are a man*

His means of magnificence and vanity increased from day to day and he enhanced decoration of shop of self praise. He burnt aloof wood of pride in the censer of his innermost heart on the coal of vanity and conveyed the fragrance of incense of arrogance to nostrils of life from the collar of elevation until the blackest crow of frenzy built a nest in the palace of his mind. It distracted his brain and it got polluted with refuse of pride which is the most despised of unpraiseworthy qualities and the basest of the wicked qualities. He always sought the highest place and superior place in assemblies.

Verse

*Larks (Murgum) did not obtain a rank by sitting on an elevated position
Ringlets by loudness sat by side of the moon.*

He looked with contempt at all the confederates-high and low of Jawan-mard Khan. Reins of his nonsense uttering tongue did not remain in palm of control in talk and conversation. He fell afar from the path of good manners and placed his feet beyond the limit of his blanket.

Verse composed by the author

*He who places his feet beyond limit
Very soon brings his days to an end*

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As sums of his customary earnings rose high, Jawanmard Khan put up, in accordance with exigency of time, with his bitter society and endured it. He waited for an opportunity and regarded his untoward word and deed as unseen and unheard. He allowed himself to be gulled with indifference. He imagined this matter to be an outcome of his own power.

Verse

*Wine of vanity so deprived him of commonsense
That he considered sting and honey as one*

His matter reached such a pitch and he began to scratch his head of self-opinionatedness in such a manner that when Safdar Khan intended to go out for establishment of order he requested him to accompany him but he refused and said, "If he appoints me alone for this work, I will accept him otherwise I do not want to accompany another person for this purpose." He despatched his sister's son Nizam with his companions while he stayed on with a few persons to perform duty as Faujdar. When Jawanmard Khan found him alone, he thought to wreak vengeance and to do get rid of him. He consulted his old favourites who were tired of his rascality and said,

Verses

*'I want to abandon politeness
Show open hostility towards him
I am much uneasy on account of him
How can one tolerate a thorn at the feet*

"Now is the time that I should apply ointment to the wounds of lance of his tongue which are on the heart. I will thus be free from his boasting bragging and demands." It was so decided that he should be called on a pretext and finished. It was at the close of Monday, 14th Safar when the evening of the setting sun of his life had reached top of the wall of non existence and had become pale, the messenger of death who went to summon him caught hold of his neck and brought him to the Bhadra. They reached him to the door. He found a party of men, thirsty of blood like wolves, armed and equipped, sitting there. On inquiry he learnt that they sat there for demand of salary. He did not understand this false intelligence and attributed the object of his call to it. He imagined that it might be for conciliation and conversation with that party. When he placed his feet on the grave yard of compound within, Diler Bibi, a companion of Muhammed Mubarez Sarwani came death like to receive him, like a heavenly decree, clad in armour, appointed for this work. He struck him with a sword and wounded him



He was amazed at this move, he pulled a sword which was in the hand of his servant and turned towards him. He removed himself away. Shalibaz, thinking that Jawanmard Khan was out, wanted to go to his presence at any cost. He advanced in that very state. One who wounded and the other who got wounded followed each other. At this juncture, he saw another party ready and prepared. He did not find Jawanmard Khan in their midst. He became suspicious. He thought that it might be this very party who created this uproarious scene without his willingness. He maintained self-control and entered the room with one or two Rohulas who were with him and closed the door. Jawanmard Khan, out of care and caution, sat with some persons on back of the terrace, instigated and induced persons to murder him. Several muskets became empty at the door of the room. As the plank was delicate, the bullets penetrated inside and killed one man. Shahbaz, on witnessing this state, that he would be killed in vain when he heard the voice of Jawanmard Khan who insisted on demolition of the place of his existence, he came out from the curtain of doubt. His suspicion became certain. He realized at to what was the object and that who was the aim. He opened the door, washed his hands of sweet life with a drawn sword, came out and began to speak harsh words. He who washes his hands of life, says what he has in heart. He turned his face at those who had collected together to overthrow him. They surrounded him all at once having given him passage through dread of life. He wounded one or two of them who attacked him from all sides and overthrew him.

Verse

*When a gnat got filled, it strikes an elephant
With all bravery and boldness that it has.*

His dead body was pulled and thrown out of the window of the garden on sands of the river Sabarmati. He was buried at night outside the Khanpur gate. Those who were in Barah Nampur took their own way on hearing about this event. Jawanmard Khan confiscated horse, accoutrement and palki along with house-hold furniture and sent a swift courier, out of care and caution, to the brothers Safdar Khan and Zorawar Khan who had reached Unjha Unawa in Patan taluqa and informed them about the occurrence. He wrote to them that as Nizam, the sister's son of the murdered man was in the camp with his companions, he might hear of this incident and create disturbance. As soon as they received this information, they remained on their guard, encamped in that very village, sent word to Nizam that he should separate himself and go to whatever place he liked. On receiving this message, he got frightened and went away. Safdar Khan and Zorawar Khan returned to the city.



CHAPTER 276

RECEIPT OF ROYAL ORDERS FOR PURCHASE OF CLOTH FOR THE ROYALTY DESPATCH OF ACCOUNTS OTHER EVENTS

It was in this year that a royal order bearing the seal of the Wazir ul Mamalik was received by the author from the court for purchase of cloth worth twenty thousand rupees for the Royalty. A royal order was received by Jawanmard Khan for sending ten thousand rupees from revenue of octroi duties of the city. A royal order was sent to Nek 'Alam Khan for sending ten thousand rupees from the revenue of the paraganah of Broach. Jawanmard Khan was informed about receipt of these orders. As no order had been received from His Majesty from the beginning of enthronement in his name, he came to the house of the author and received it with honour and respect on 1st Jamadi I. He intended to execute the royal order and send that amount. But it was not executed due to instigation of satanic men. The royal order which was addressed to Nek 'Alam Khan was sent to him. He sent a reply to the effect that the paraganah after the death of Asaf Jah belonged to Nasir Jung and that his permission was necessary for the purpose. There was discord among the courtiers who had mutual quarrels among themselves and hence they shoved the responsibility at others. There was ascendancy of the Marathas. The empire had become very weak and disintegrated. No body obeyed the royal orders. There was no inquiry about it. It was at this time that Jawanmard Khan performed the circumcision ceremony of his children. He performed it with festivity. He revived the evil practice of biwara of ashrafi. He appointed tax-collectors and recovered it. Muhammed Jung Ghogha Kasbati rose in revolt in Patan and occupied it. Jawanmard Khan marched to that side for suppressing it. He returned after establishment of order. Fiduuddin Khan, who since long lived in Antersumbali got tired of his stay there as uncongenial society is a painful torture. He requested Jawanmard Khan for entry into the city. As he was not pleased with it and he forgot his old obligation, he helplessly went to Broach and resided there. Sewakram came to the city as Khanderio's man. Jawanmard Pandit reached Bheda with a regiment. He seized two thousand rupees by way of grass and foodgrains and proceeded to Bhel and other places for assessment and collection of the Maratha share. Jawanmard Khan stopped the mital of rent of shops which from the beginning of city's prosperity was assigned for benefit of faqirs and indigent persons as a measure for prevention of charity. He issued a proclamation for stoppage of charities which did not continue in future. 'Abdul Husain Khan was without any work. He came out of Ahmedabad for a certain affair, went to Baroda, thence to Broach. From Broach he proceeded to the capital.

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CHAPTER 277

RISE OF REVOLT AND DISTURBANCE AT SURAT PORT BETWEEN SYED ACHHAN AND 'ALI NAWAZ KHAN SUMMONS TO SAJDAR MUHAMMED KHAN TO RUN THE GOVERNMENT OCCUPATION OF THE FORT BY HAFIZ MAS'UD KHAN HABSHI DEPARTURE OF SYED ACHHAN TO BOMBAY.

Departure of Sajdar Muhammed Khan to Thatta, establishment of governmental power by Syed Achhan at Surat, appointment of 'Ali Nawaz Khan as Naib and fixation of one-third part of revenue in exchange of salary to Hafiz Mas'ud Khan were related in detail above. So long as this impermanent world helped, its residents enjoyed rest and comfort as against massacre and warfare. The rotating sky and the mean heaven of crooked movement was seized with jealousy. It displayed restlessness like rue-seeds out of sense of honour, it placed a catapult of disaffection on the azure-coloured terrace of the fort and cast stone of disturbance at comforts of residents of that land. It made it involved in bewilderment in its own fashion.

Verse

*The sky had no work other than this
That it separates a friend from a friend*

Wherever it saw an assemblage, it dispersed it. A testimony for this statement is that Syed Achhan had placed administration of the port in the palm of control and grip of authority of 'Ali Nawaz Khan. He led a joyous and luxurious life inside the fort. Some of the sycophants of brisk trade and perfidious jugglers plotted for their own advancement, they came in as well-wishers, prepared a ground for winning over Hafiz Mas'ud Khan who aided and assisted by his confederacy, in removing Sajdar Muhammed Khan, gathered together a regiment of soldiers by way of obligation out of narrow mindedness, represented the case in a different manner, deviated his mind from him and gave him in writing that he was his enemy. Syed Achhan regarded this doubtful matter as a fact, began to seek remedy and pretext saving to himself.

Verse

*Do not be secure from a revengeful enemy
Even though he may be small, do not call him small
If an enemy is a thorn on the road
It is possible that it may prick you in the feet*

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It so happened that one day Hafiz Mas'ud Khan went out for sight-seeing of fresh fields and verdure grown on fringes of meadows at the time of ripeness of new crop. He went out for eating toasted corn which is technically called by Gujaratis as ponk with a party of habshis and other companions. Syed Achhan imagined this event as the outcome of felicitous time and good fortune. At the advice and consultation of his well-wishers, but without care and caution, he instructed guards at the gates of city-fortifications to close the gates and prevent his entry with his sawari (troupe). He galloped his horse at all places and came at the gate where Mir Syed was giving an order for stoppage. Hafiz Mas'ud Khan immediately got intelligence of it. He returned in all haste in the manner he had gone. When he approached the gate, he found it closed against himself. He went to another gate and reached the Baryad gate at the time when they were about to close it. He sought priority and brought himself inside. He went to his house and inquired from Syed Achhan the cause of this prevention. He said that it was only to hold back a run-away maidservant. It was an excuse worse than an offence. But the doubt and suspicion which Hafiz Mas'ud Khan had in his heart were not removed. He began to be more careful than before about his defence and protection. He secretly sowed a seed of discord in the field of his heart. As the days of Syed Achhan's good fortune had set their face towards misfortune and the perfidious fate had measured the path of faithlessness, every plan that he conceived, yielded him a contrary result. Every game of backgammon that he played, dices of desire fell against his wish. Every dice of his object was carried to the limbo, (Murdar Khanah is a point in the game of nard from where it is possible to extricate it). The mole of Ziyad (game at nard) of disappointment sat on the face of his desire.

Verse

*Plan like dices, destiny like impression
Is in your hand but not in your hand*

At this juncture, it so occurred to him that Valullah and Kali who during the days of government of Tegli Beg Khan were a source of good and bad affair had acquired wealth, he should inquire about it and impose a fine on them. They learnt about the secret idea of his mind. They went to the residential quarters of Syed 'Idrusi and entered it. Syed 'Idrusi had many disciples. His place was held in respect. Any one who entered his place was not molested. It was so to say a barrier. Syed Achhan attributed their withdrawal to that place under guidance of 'Ali Nawaz Khan with whom they were intimate. He became suspicious of him. He sent a message to him that he should really go back to Burhanpur which was his original place of residence and birth-place and that he should not live in the port of Surat. On hearing this frightful



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news which did not enter into his imagination, he got confounded at this state of affairs. As there was no remedy, he petitioned him with an excuse that he had no means for travelling but it proved of no avail. He received a reply that he should go out and live in the garden of Naql, where he would receive what he needed. He went of necessity and put up there. He girt up tight the belt of hostility to liberate government from his maternal uncle. As it was not possible without money for it has been said,

Verses

*When you want to conquer a territory
Irraz your army with a treasure
An empty-handed brave man at the time of action
Is like a hawk without feathers and wings in hunting
A lion without claws and teeth
Has no strength to grapple with a tiger*

He made diver of thought dive into sea of thinking. Divine will helped him. A precious pearl of plan which could be an associate of stone and a gem fell into his hand, that is, Wiqar Muhammed Khan son of Safdar Muhammed Khan who was brother of his wife and son-in-law of Beglar Khan and who was aware of hoarded treasure of his mother as well as the mother of his wife. He sent a message to him through a confidential man to the effect that if he joined him, they would expel Syed Achhan, summon Safdar Muhammed Khan who roamed about in the desert of disappointment in the subah of Tattha and instal him as best friend in government. Wiqar Muhammed Khan lived his life between hope and fear due to shame for having lost the fort and living a life of subservience under another person. Dependents of Safdar Muhammed Khan who heard good news of bringing him back, joined with him, undertook responsibility of expenses to be incurred in that adventure and emboldened him. When Ali Nawaz Khan was satisfied with this, he apprised Hafiz Mas'ud Khan who was exasperated against Syed Achhan for closure of gates against him of his secret idea and invited him for confederacy. He responded to his invitation. 'Ali Nawaz Khan, in consultation with one mother, visited the residential quarters of Syed 'Idrusi in a changed dress in company of sayyadah-nashin Syed 'Abdullah for sending presents and gifts. He thus got entry into the port and sat in ambush for darting an arrow of desire on the house of bow thought. Hafiz Mas'ud Khan who increased the number of old soldiers by a fresh recruitment for defence and thus he supported him. Syed Achhan came to know about this activity on their part.

Verse

*The wide world became narrow to his heart
The wide sky became a prison for him*

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 He made preparations for defence and extinguishing fire of revolt. He ordered his Bakhshi Muhammed Hashim for recruitment of soldiers, gave him a robe and appointed him for protection of the Darbar with his existing and additional regiment.

Verse

*Oh you ! you wear voluntarily the dress of safety
 First of all, see a rent of heart of the hour from the almanac*

Miftah, Qasim and Zafar, the negro slaves of Tegh Beg Khan, who were not without intelligence, preferred association with Wiqar Muhammed Khan, nephew of their master. They heard tidings of bringing back Safdar Muhammed Khan and chose to be his companions. Others who had close relations with 'Ali Nawaz Khan, deserted Syed Achhan and joined him. 'Ali Nawaz Khan lifted up the curtain from the face of his activity and occupied himself, by way of announcement, with collection of soldiers openly. A negro regiment arrived from Danda Rajpuri as summoned for help by Hafiz Mas'ud Khan. Merchants who had learnt a lesson from ruin of their houses from the preceding event employed servants for preservation of life and wealth, in accordance with the saying that one who is bitten by a snake is afraid of a rope. They sat within their houses with closed doors. Although Hafiz Mas'ud Khan had allied himself with 'Ali Nawaz Khan with corroboration of promise and pledge on oath yet through fear that he and Syed Achhan might secretly hatch a plot against him, he was in a distracted state of mind with an apparent belief that this war might not be a war of a goldsmith wherein he might be ensnared in calamity. (Jang i Zargarī means to outwardly fight with some one to deceive another person but internally to be friendly with him.)

Hemistich

*I am in work and out of work like a madd (peculiar mode of
 writing certain words) in accounts*

He spent time in his own protection until nearly ten thousand of horse men and footmen gathered around the Bakhshi in the Darbar. Syed Achhan sent twenty thousand rupees for distribution which amount he set aside in account for conduct of war. 'Ali Nawaz Khan got intelligence of it. He made haste in aggression in accordance with the saying that it was useless to hold out hands at the time of decline. On 19th Jamadi I

Verses

*At dawn, the powerful sphere
 Turned er bodiment of revenge and gave up affection,*

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*It came on swift paced colt
Brought out shining sword from sheath*

He renounced relation with the kindred, showed precipitance and precedence, mounted a horse with determination to lift up guards at the fort-gates and to occupy the Darbar. He fought, captured certain gates and entrusted them to his confidential men. When a large number of persons from both the parties were slain and wounded, the veil of suspicion and fear of perfidy was lifted up from before the face of Hafiz Mas'ud Khan. He sent his own men for help and preparation of trenches while he himself sat ready for war and prepared for battle. The merchants, under his suggestion and instruction, agreed to send their own servants to take part in the battle. Fire of war began to raise flame from every side.

• Verse

*From one mischief exciter of distracted affairs
Many mischiefs rose up from every side*

The army of Syed Achhan, under the commandship and generalship of the Bakhshi girt up loins for extinguishing flames of disturbance. They blocked up paths, set up lane barriers and thus the flood of calamity of the road was carried by that party as far as the river. They planned to set fire shops of poor men situated on sides of the road on suspicion that the enemy would create a breach in attack so that the trick of fiery barrier might prove an obstruction. As most of the houses on the port had walls with thatched roofs, they caught fire in an instant. It spread from neighbour to neighbour. It burnt everything dry and moist wherever it reached.

Verse

*It is said that a calamity of a neighbour reaches a neighbour
What harm is not caused to the skirt from the neck*

came true. In spite of the fact that the world was burnt and livers of helpless persons got roasted, veins of their valour were not warmed up and the sweat of their sense of honour did not boil. The Changer of hearts once again changed their hearts. They retreated without war and battle before the use of arms. The Bakhshi sought protection of Hafiz Mas'ud Khan with his own followers. In short, a certain amount was spent at night for the soldiers, one horse was given by way of a present, he came out with the remaining amount as provisions for his travel. He carried his head safe to Broach in accordance with the saying that the living wrestler is happy. Leaderless soldiers like a flock of sheep



without a shepherd and a headless body, went every one of them to a corner of safety and reinforced 'Alī Nawaz Khan. He entered the Darbar next day with out any obstruction, confiscated the stable, elephant house and house hold furniture and issued a proclamation in the name of Safdar Muhammed Khan. He put up trenches on the fort and from that iron basis

Verses

*That its gate in war was the wall of Alexander
The sky was like city - fortification around it
The architect without doubt carried
Its ditch to the fish and its rampart to the moon*

that the brazen bodied, dragon-figured cannons were plucked at three stages. Fire was thrown in their bodies. Cannon balls began to pour down like hails of fire on the Darbar house of Hafiz Mas'ud Khan and round about trenches.

Verses

*War was heated by fire
Heads and brains became soft with stones of carts
Brains got scattered from minds
Heads experienced tranquillity from madness of body
There was ruin from fish to the moon,
You should say that the world got enveloped in darkness
Fire of cannons began to pour sparks
The fort turned into a hell through its sparks*

The English Captain Mr. Lam, on hearing proclamation in the name of Safdar Muhammed Khan sent message to Hafiz Mus'ud Khan whose sword was not made use of in this war to the effect that "a document was signed at the time of removal of Sardar Muhammed Khan, by all merchants on oath and sealed that he should not be installed in future in government. I delayed to sign and seal it. Later on, I signed and sealed it even though I did not agree to it. Now that the proclamation is issued in his name and there is an intention to bring him back. To what can it be attributed. Besides breach of promise which in our opinion-the Englishmen-is the most despised of vicious qualities any one, who under such circumstances has been removed and made to roam about and on whose dismissal there had been solicitude and that promises and pledges were made about it, is reinstated, one cannot hope for any good and expect any betterment from him. I do not allow it and I will not be one with you in this matter." He raised



up batteries on his godown. Velat in technical language of those people was a place where goods and clothes were sold and purchased. In short, Mr Lam took the responsibility of partisanship with Syed Achhan on himself and got himself ready to help him.

Verse

*He tightly girt up his waist for revenge
He fixed his stone-like heart on war.*

He began war with cannons and muskets with Hafiz Mas'ud Khan and on trenches of 'Ali Nawaz Khan. 'Ali Nawaz Khan held a council of consultation with Wiqar Muhammed Khan and Hafiz Mas'ud Khan for inviting Safdar Muhammed Khan and said,

Verse

*We shall bring such an image on our affair
That the eye of time will get amazed at it*

They unanimously decided that as the English Captain had chosen hostility, the Dutch who were rivals of the Englishmen should be made to ally themselves with them in this affair. They agreed with them. They despatched a few boats to Tattha to bring Safdar Muhammed Khan secretly so that the Englishmen might not know of it. 'Ali Nawaz Khan hastily sent a courier by land to convey this good news to him. He wrote to him to inform him about the actual condition and the events which took place.

Verse

*When you read this letter, quickly mount
For I am sad without you.*

Mr Lam learnt about this preparation and plan. We despatched several boats full of experienced men for protection of the sea-gate so that they should anchor them at the sea-port, observe arrival of boats from different sides and leave them. In short, a war ensued with cannons and muskets from the fort and the English godown. The world was made topsy-turvy. Many soldiers and subjects died of cannon-balls. Wealth and goods of merchandise of merchants and tradesmen as well as houses and shops situated on road were plundered and burnt.

Verse

*The world became up and down with the slain
The slayer was not satisfied with slaying.*

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Safety-lanes and batteries opposite the fort reached the brink of the ditch. As the house of Hafiz Mas'ud Khan was situated adjacent to the English godown, he feared the enemy nearby. In view of solidity and strength of the godown buildings which were breach-proof against cannon balls or mining, the guards of that place who were a party of Hindi footmen resorted to loot in hope of the present and the future, attacked them and they retreated. A large amount in cash and kind was plundered and set fire to. In spite of this incident, Mr Lam maintained steadfastness in war and sent help and necessary things in season and out of season when he got an opportunity to Syed Achhan. As capture of the fort was not possible with war and attack, the battle prolonged. Wiqar Muhammed Khan supplied large sums of money for daily expenses of the war. Complaints and lamentations of the oppressed and sighs and cries of the distressed sorrow-stricken reached the star Capella and deafened ears of the residents of heaven. As it was not the season for the arrival of ships, the arrival of Safdar Muhammed Khan was delayed for some time until in the month of Zilhajj, nearly eight months after the occurrence of this event, the Dutch brought him at Surat port in such a manner that none got knowledge about it.

Verse

*They are a wonderful people of water
That the sea is to them without any fear.*

And suddenly it came to light

Verses

*The world saw mischief-exciting in the world
Fire of disturbance became intensely keen
Many new and old families
Were uprooted through calamities*

On witnessing this state of affairs and inquiring about the fact that his son and son-in-law had spent a large sum of money in creation of this disturbance, he began to rebuke and reproach them. But as the arrow of fate had left the thumb-stall, it proved of no avail. Syed Achhan maintained steadiness for nearly two months more. As the provision of the fort was restricted to old rice, the garrisoned persons suffered from dysentery. Many of them died of this disease. The remainder had tumour. He, of necessity, negotiated for peace with Hafiz Mas'ud Khan as he had collected a large army. He satisfied him from all quarters and sent his son Ahmed with a regiment in the fort. Syed Achhan came out from the

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narrow place of the four walls and went to his house. Hafiz Mas'ud Khan occupied the fort. He kept Syed Achhan for a few days under his protection and sent him with his dependents to Bombay by boat. He hastened to Peshwa Balaji Rao at Poona. This event came to an end in the month of Muharram of the year 1163. The carpet of disturbance was folded up. The English Supervisor at Bombay wrote to his agent Mr. Lam that it was not proper for the merchants to favour Syed Achhan, and to destroy the godown in quarrel with the local administrators. It was a sad incident. Mr. Lam imagined that as he stuck to the promise, his action would be appreciated and applauded but he saw a contrary result. Out of sense of honour, he fell ill and died. It is said that he committed suicide by taking poison. In short, Safder Muhammed Khan devoted himself to management of governmental affairs. Faris Khan who was in charge of purchase of Arab horses for the government and the darogah of the royal armour ships was appointed as Naib. So long as he held this office, 'Ali Nawaz Khan, the real author of this war expected the post of the Naib. He displayed his displeasure. Out of respect for Safdar Muhammed Khan, he discharged Faris Khan and assigned that post to him. He removed Faris Khan from Surat port. He went to Vasai (Bassein) which was under the Peshwa and resided there waiting for an opportunity. It was at this time that Peshwa Balaji Rao sent his two spies with a letter to Jawanmard Khan intimating to him that it was his duty to collect the Maratha chauth of the subah of Gujarat and that he had appointed Patel Sukhdev for the purpose. He further wrote to him that he should dismiss the agents of Damaji Gaekwar from mahals and paraganahs. He should aid and assist his agent. It was at this time that a war waged between Peshwa and Salabat Jung Bahadur, chief in the Dekhan. They had arrayed their armies against each other. This matter was delayed. During this time, Muslims due to ascendancy of Hindus, displayed indifference and negligence towards protection of the religion of His Holiness the best of men. Servants of idols erected temples at many places and began to worship idols. As for example, such an incident happened in Shahpur within the city by the side of a masjid. At the time of call to prayer and readiness for prayer, they blew bugle and rang the bell like untimely crowing of a cock. It proved a terrible nuisance to the musallis (those who said the prayers). The local people, therefore, reported this fact to Qazi Muhammed Nizam-ud-din Khan. The Qazi was moved with religious feelings. On Friday, after performance of prayers he went to that spot on foot with a party of Muslims and demolished that temple.



CHAPTER 278

A REQUEST OF RAJAH RAGHUNATH DAS, DIWAN OF SALABAT JUNG BAHADUR, CHIEF OF THE DEKHAN FOR APPOINTMENT OF HIS SISTER'S SON HAR PRASAD AS PORT-OFFICER OF SURAT. MURDER OF THE RAJAH AND HIS SISTER'S SON BY 'ABDUL GAFUR RISALAH DAR. OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

Disturbance at Surat continued for a long time as stated above. People in general and merchants in particular got tired for loss of life and property. They made messengers of thought and couriers of imagination run in all directions for seeking remedy and escape from such a state of affairs. They did not return except taking shelter under a powerful man who could eradicate mischief-mongers. They wrote a letter about affliction of their heart and condition of loss of wealth to Rajah Raghunath Das, diwan of Salabat Jung Bahadur, Chief of the Dekhan. It so happened that Rai Gangadas, peshkar of the diwani of Ahmedabad subah was unemployed due to chaotic condition in the subah and so there did not remain any name and trace of the diwani. He had no means to maintain himself. He proceeded to the Dekhan for the last many days. He met the Rajah. Out of well-wishing, he declared to the author something about the rules of economy and won him over by affection. Correspondence continued between them. Rajah Raghunath Das, at the request of residents of Surat port for suppression of revolt, submitted a petition through the favourite of His Majesty Jawid Khan, the principal administrator of imperial affairs to His Majesty about the war, destruction and request of local citizens to the effect that so long as Safdar Muhammed Khan, Syed Achhan and that party were there, it was impossible to desist a mischief-monger.

Verse

*Destruction of this place is due to them
The world is in distraction because of them.
If the king wards them off
This region will be secure against revolt*

He wrote to the favourite of His Majesty that if the port-officership of Surat was granted to his sister's son Har Prasad by the court, at it was the gate to the House of Allah, its gate-keeping should be placed in charge and care of 'Ali Muhammed Khan who held office of the Diwani of Ahmedabad subah and performed his duty with good conduct towards the people by helping and assisting them. This fire would be extinguished. The author learnt this fact from the letter of Rai Gangadas. Three or four



days had not passed when the letter sent by the Rajah was handed over by the favourite of His Majesty to the vakil Rajah Ram Naram to whom he said that his client was a man of confidence and that he was acquainted with the condition and circumstances of that region. He should write to him that if he deemed it advisable to keep the port under jurisdiction of the Dekhan, he should write to him. The vakil sent the letter itself to the author. The author replied that he did not believe that it was not possible to extinguish the flame of world-consuming fire without watering it with help of the Chief of the Dekhan and that the author had no knowledge about inclusion of his name in the letter. It must have been written on account of his former acquaintance in his absence. In short, the sanad of port-officership was issued to Har Prasad. Rajah Raghunath Das appointed the author as Naib and Gangadas as peshkar and sent a cavalry of two thousand horse and an infantry of the same number along with an elephant. He waited for end of the monsoon. He received a letter from Gangadas that he should be ready and that he should join the army on its arrival at Songadh. As the divine will had wished it otherwise, an exchange of words took place between 'Abdul Ghafur Risaladar and the Rajah. The Rajah was killed along with his sister's son. This event did not take place. It was in this year that Jawanmard Khan appointed Shaikhan, in place of Salim, as the city's Kotwal. A robe and a female elephant arrived as allotted to Qazi Nizamuddin Khan by His Majesty. The author received two letters of permit bearing the seal of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik laying stress on sending cloth for the royalty and to employ as mutawalli (custodian) of the shrine of His Holiness Shaikh Ahmed Khattu Ganj-bakhsh may his grave be sanctified. Shah Pir Muhammed, acquainted with real truths and gnostic sciences who lived in the Jame' Masjid and imparted instructions to the people died on 27th Jamadi I. His disciples built a dome over his grave. Fidauddin Khan who held the mansab of 2000 Zat, 2000 Horse lived in Broach for the last so many days died on 14th Jamadi II. He was thus free from the struggles of life.

Verse

*For cutting down the palm-tree of your life night and day
A two-edged saw of spirit is moving to and fro*

Rajah Rai Singh died in Idar on 22nd Ramzan. As Shaikhan failed to establish order as the Kotwal Salim was continued as before as Kotwal from 10th Shawwal. Death of four humours took place in the city of life of Sardar (Muhammed) Khan, brother of Jawanmard Khan. Nature turned to ward it off. As he had no resistance he lay on bed. One of the four rash elements got ascendancy over him on 17th Shawwal and overthrew his earthly figure.



Verses

*Four opposite and insolent elements
Are happy with one another for a few days.
If one out of four got ascendancy
Sweet life comes out of the body.*

Jawanmard Khan mourned his death with sorrow and grief. He heard this statement.

Verse

*There is no wonder if an old man of ninety dies
This mourning is hard when it is said that he died young.*

His brother Zorawar Khan came to the city for condolence from Visal-nagar. After the ceremony of fortieth day was over, Jawanmard Khan came out for establishment of order, assessment of the paraganahs and collection of peshkash from Zamindars of the Sabarmati district. He appointed Qain Quli Khan as his deputy in the city. He returned, after being free from it, on 15th Rabi' I in 1164, and devoted himself to administration of city affairs. Mangalji Jhara who was the manager of his affairs was suspended at the instigation of self-interested persons. He was fined and was reinstated as before by grant of a robe and a palki. On 12th Rajab, he marched against Nabud in Viramgam jurisdiction under escort of Jita Patel, an agent of Bhausangh Desai. As it had a fortification of raw walls, a war ensued with cannons and muskets. Jawanmard Khan stood behind the army inducing and instigating soldiers to attack it. 'Abdul Wase' Bakhshi who stepped forth, rolled on the ground with a gun-shot. Some others got slain and wounded. By chance, a musket-bullet reached the right side near the navel of Jawanmard Khan and passed scratching the skin. He plundered it and returned to the city.



CHAPTER 279

ARRIVAL OF PRESENTS FROM THE ROYAL COURT. ADDITION TO THE MANSAB OF AND AWARD OF THE TITLE OF BAHADUR TO THE AUTHOR.

It was in this year of auspicious end that the favourite of the court and His Majesty, Jawid Khan was elevated to the title of Nawab Bahadur by His Majesty. It was at his request to His Majesty who from old times was favourably disposed towards the author as stated above that the author was glorified with a grant of a royal robe of four pieces, a jewelled turban-strap, a sword with inlaid hilt, an addition to the mansab which original and additional amounted to 2000 Zat, 1000 Sawar, title of Bahadur, order for use of a standard, a drum and mansabs appropriate for a brother and royal servants. These joyous good news were conveyed to him through a letter of Rajah Ram Narain, vakil of the Royal Court. He replied that these ranks required external paraphernalia. Condition of the subah and other matters are not hidden. Favours of the Nawab Bahadur are sufficient for the author. The vakil disclosed contents of the author's letter. He received a reply that he should hope for external paraphernalia also. A standard and a drum were suspended for the present. A robe, a turban-strap and a sword along with a letter with his own seal which was equivalent to a sanad were entrusted to the Vakil. They were received in Ahmedabad at the earliest time.



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shops in markets They carried away goods and made owners with their wives
and children captives Wails and cries of helpless oppressed persons went up
to the star Capella

Verses

*Within and without, there were disturbances of the Kolis
Poor ryots were in sighs and lamentations
There was not a night from twilight to dawn
When sound of an axe from doors did not come*

Roads and highways had become so insecure that the messenger of the East wind experienced a danger and the courier of breeze abstained from travelling. Then what to speak of wayfarers and travellers. Robbers blocked up passage of caravans without the help of guides and the path of security was absent without their protection unless they got captured at times by death

Verses

*They extend their unseemly hands
Like if they extend to an onion
They seized garments one after the other
They make him naked like garlic*

Chaos prevailed to such an extent and disorder set in in such a manner that they were not capable of improvement. Their impudence had reached such a pitch that through fear of highway robbers, washermen could not wash clothes with tranquillity on the bank of Sabarmati. It repeatedly happened that they came in time and took away bundles of clothes. To undertake such an affair at this time was not proper. He refused to accept such a fortune. Jawanmard Khan learnt about the real facts and pressed the author to write to the Muqarrab ul-Hazrat on his behalf to obtain appointment of subedari for him. As he did not cherish such a desire for himself, he wrote to him that if the Muqarrab ul-Hazrat helped him, favoured him with royal gifts and issue of farmans in his name, he would not fail in service with sincerity and loyalty and that whenever he remembered him he would be ready with his regiment to serve him. When this fact was conveyed to the Muqarrab ul-Hazrat through the wakil, he said that the client was acceptable to him and that whenever he wrote to him for that. Out of respect for him as he did not know Jawanmard Khan, if he wrote a letter as a guarantee for efficient management of affairs, it would be accepted. At this time, some of the fans known as chutari in Hindi were prepared out of sandal wood and ebony inlaid with gold under an order of the Muqarrab ul-Hazrat. These fans along with

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other presents, a pair of peacock-fans of sandal inlaid with gold and artistically made were sent to His Majesty. As they were very pleasing and agreeable, the Muqarrab-ul-Hazrat with a view to the author's promotion presented them to His Majesty. They were very much appreciated by His Majesty. A royal order was issued for a present of a robe of four pieces worn by His Majesty and a jewelled-turban-strap. These presents were handed over to the vakil to be sent to the author. During this time due to the annual disturbance of the Marathas who led their armies to Saurath, Jawanmard Khan had no chance to collect peshkash from that side. It was at this time that hot words were exchanged between Damaji Gaekwar and Peshwa Balajirao for certain affairs and division of the subah, an army was sent to this side. He seized an opportunity and appointed Qaim Quli Khan as Naib in the city. He came out to that side on 27th Ziq'ad. A parwanah bearing the seal of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik was received by the author in respect of appointment of 'Abul Muhsin Khan as Karori of the mahal Kathera Parchah. In 1165, Jawanmard Khan came for the first time to Ghogha Barah and Golwad to collect peshkash and then marched to Kathiawad. He reached Islamnagar alias Nawanagar, collected peshkash in accordance with circumstances and exigency of time and returned to Ahmedabad on 23rd Rabi' I. As Mumin Khan, port-officer of Khanbhayat had always a quarrel with the agent of Gaekwar he sent his peshkar Brajlal, on hearing about disaffection in regard to division of the subah between Peshwa Balajirao and Damaji Gaekwad to the Peshwa with a request that the share of the Khanbhayat port should be taken by him and that he should appoint his Naib. His request was acceded to. A Naib of the Peshwa arrived and took charge of his duty.



CHAPTER 281

APPOINTMENT OF NEK 'ALAM KHAN AS FAUJDAR AND 'AMIL OF THE PARAGANAH OF BROACH ON BEHALF OF THE ROYAL CROWN-LANDS

During the government of Maharajah Abhey Singh, 'Abdullah Beg Faujdar of Broach and Jamusar had endeavoured to place them under Nizam ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, grant of mansab and award of title of Nek Alam Khan and management of their affairs. This was stated above. After the death of 'Abdullah Beg, his son Mirza Beg was awarded a title and appointed as Faujdar with the grant of a robe. His brother Mughal Beg was granted an appropriate mansab and the title of Kher Talab Khan as before. After the death of Asaf Jah, Nasir Jung became Chief of the Dekhan. He appointed him as chronicler and cashier. The sky made several revolutions. Nasir Jung was fraudulently killed. Disintegration took place in the chiefship of the Dekhan. Again an amount of money was to be sent to him after deducting necessary expenses out of the revenue of the paraganahs. Nek 'Alam Khan got an opportunity at this time and thought of an original plan that he would not give the remaining amount to any one and that he would appropriate the whole amount of revenue without partnership of any one. He schemed with courtiers of His Majesty. He obtained through the Muqarrab-ul-Hazrat Nawab Bahadur a mansab of 2000 Zat, 500 Sawar, a title of Nek 'Alam Khan Bahadur and a sanad of paraganahs from the office of the royal crown lands. He made a balanced estimate of establishment and the Maratha share and lived in comfort.



CHAPTER 282

FIXATION OF THE SHARE OF PESHWA BALAJIRAO IN THE PORTION OF SHARE OF DAMAJI GAEKWAR IN THE SUBAH ARRIVAL OF RAGHUNATH RAO, BROTHER OF THE PESHWA AS FAR AS SURAT PORT ASSUMPTION OF CHARGE OF HIS NAIB IN THE CITY OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR

It was in this year that Peshwa Balajirao and Damaji Gaekwar decided to share half to-half the Maratha share. Raghunath Rao, brother of the Peshwa and Damaji marched with a large army to this side and arrived at a distance of four kurohs from Surat. He raised trenches on the fort. Safdar Muhammed Khan, the local port-officer engaged in defence of the turrets and fortifications and prepared himself for war with hands of defence in front and shield of resistance on head. Raghunath Rao appointed amils and faujdars in paraganahs under jurisdiction of the Peshwa as the paraganahs of Surat, the other bank of Narbada and the Mahi were entirely under Damaji under agreement of division. He wrote to Jawanmard Khan for sending vakils for negotiation about revenue of the city and other paraganahs which were in partner-ship with the Mughals and allowing Dinker Pandit to perform his duties in the half share of the Gaekwar. Jawanmard Khan, in accordance with his letter of 18th Jamadi I made Sewak Ram Naib of Damaji in the mahals of the city and the paraganah of Haveli co-officer in respect of the Maratha share of revenue. He was about to send vakils when, in the meantime, he heard a report of Raghunath Rao's return for certain affairs to his native place and therefore, he postponed sending of his vakils. Sayaji Dhankar arrived as Naib of Damaji in place of Sewak Ram. Jawanmard Khan sent his servants Jiwan Ram and Mangalji to receive him. They brought him to the city. He appointed agents and naibs on 17th Shaban. He stayed for a few days and went to Baroda appointing his son as Naib. Krishnaji came to collect-tribute as share of the Peshwa. He stayed at Rajpur till the elected hour of entry. He entered the city on 11th Ramzan and saw Jawanmard Khan. He received a robe, a gold chain and palki as presents and devoted himself to his duty. Mahammed Munawwaruddin the sadr (judge) of the subah who had proceeded to the Dekhan came back. As stated above, negotiations with the Muqarrab-ul-Hazrat in respect of subedari for Jawanmard Khan succeeded. Hundis of sums of expenses reached His Majesty. Permission for writing royal orders was made definite in the office of chancery and the department of gifts and presents. As a different order was written in the office of Divinity the Wazir-ul Mamalik Safdar Jung invited the Muqarrab



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ul-Hazrat Nawab Bahadur on a pretext of consultation in matters of government to his office on 18th Ziq'ad and fraudulently killed him. Writing of farmans and award of gift were suspended. As the royal servants had not taken the amount of expenses on account of confidence in Rajah Ram Narain, the Hundi returned in safety which were sent for Jawanmard Khan. Qazi Nizamuddin Khan died on 11th Ziq'ad. Jawanmard Khan appointed his sister's son Fazlullah with a robe to perform duties as a qazi on the 'Iduzzuha day. The post of Bakhshi and Chronicler of the subah - as there did not exist mansabdari to be referred to the Bakhshi nor jagirdari, nor fear of the king so that any one might care for the news-reporters, except in name and that too was obliterated - was given to 'Azizuddin Muhammed Khan son of Meher 'Ali Khan after the death of Ghulam Husain Khan. In 1166, Pandurang Pandit, on behalf of Peshwa Balajirao came with an army for establishment of order and collection of peshkash from zamindars as the Peshwas share. He crossed the river Mahi and went to Khanbhayat. Mumin Khan, the local port-officer engaged in defence of the turrets and fortifications and got ready for defence and resistance. Pandurang sent well-wishing counsellors to him and said,

Verse composed by the author

*I have no idea of hostility with you
Why do you get war-materials ready*

After frequent visits to and fro, hostility changed into amity. They met each other. Seven thousand rupees were fixed as for grass and food - grain on the paraganah of Chorasi. Common presents of cloth were mutually exchanged. They then bade farewell to each other. Mumin Khan, at the request of Pandurang Pandit gave him four swivel-guns and appointed Taqi Beg Khan who lived in Khanbhayat with the companions of Fakhir-ud-dawlah to accompany him with a party of cavalry and infantry. Pandurang marched and alighted on the border of the city adjacent to Kankariya Tank. Jawanmard Khan closed the city gates, actively engaged himself in defence and protection of towers and fortifications and elevation of trenches. He entrusted Barah Nainpur which was opposite to them in charge of experienced veterans. He thus got himself ready for war. The Dekhani, put cannons which they had brought from Khanbhayat ahead and engaged in attack with cannons and guns,

Verse

*Many brave cavaliers
Entered the battle field with revenge*

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The mill of war rotated for some days when many got slain and wounded. Pandurang Pandit marched from Kankariyah Tank to Nekol situated at a distance of four kurohs which was a conditional jagir of the subah's Diwani and was under the author and encamped there. The Marathas resorted to loot and plunder. He stayed at one or two places and then returned to former alighting-ground. He sent a message of amity. Jawanmard Khan sent Jiwanram and Mangalji Jhara to him who stayed with him for two nights and days and made peace with him by giving him a small amount, a feast and a female horse. He then marched to Saurath region.



CHAPTER 283

OUT GOING OF JAWANMARD KHAN FOR ASSSMENT AND
COLLECTION OF PESHKASH ARRIVAL OF RAGHUNATH RAO
BROTHER OF BALAJIRAO AND DAMAJI GAEKWAR SIEGE OF
AHMEDABAD RETURN OF JAWANMARD KHAN BY WAY OF
EXPEDITION AND WAGING WAR WITH THEM SURRENDER OF
THE CITY OCCUPATION OF THE SUBAH BY THE PESHWA

Jawanmard Khan, after the return of Pandurang Pandit, remained in peace of mind in regard to him. As it was time for reaping, harvesting and raising of crops of fields, he intended to go out for assessment of the paraganahs and collection of peshkash from zamindars of Sabarmati district. He left his confederate, Muhammed Mubarez Shirwani for protection of the Bhadra fort and entered a pavilion near Bagh i Shahi with his brother Zorawar Khan with an artillery. It was at this time that a report of Balajirao's brother Raghunath Rao's arrival was heard with a large army. Some far-sighted men, on hearing about this report, which admitted of truth and falsehood, declared to him to stay in the city in accordance with the exigency of time and that he should appoint Zorawar Khan for assessment and collection of peshkash. That would be better and proper. As the will of God was otherwise and that the inscription of his dismissal was ordained for him in the office of destiny, it did not enter into his mind. He replied that he would be at a distance of thirty forty kurohs and that if he happened to be at a greater distance he would send his brother while he himself would return.

Verse

*I said to the eye as to why it was not seeing in separation
It said haven't you heard when destiny came, sight becomes blind "*

He marched to Palanpur collecting peshkash at a distance of fifty kurohs. By chance Muhammed Bahadur, the local faujdar met him and deceived him by stating that he should plunder the villages of Sirahi district. From the treachery of Jawanmard Khan of the reins of care and caution and carried him pulling and pulling to a distance of one hundred kurohs. Raghunath Rao reached this side by an untrodden path with a brave army in company of Damaji Gaekwar. Sudden news of his crossing the Nerbada reached the city. Swift couriers were despatched one after the other to convey this news continuously and incessantly to Jawanmard Khan. Fort gates were closed and bricked.

Verse

*They closed gates of the fort
Opened unto them the door of warfare*



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Ryots and residents of nearby purahs and villages came to the city trembling and shaking with bag and baggage, wives and children. They took refuge within four walls of the fort. Qaim Quli Khan began to recruit soldiers in view of a small standing army. He engaged himself in defence of turrets and fortifications by placing small cannons on elevated places. Some horsemen were appointed as advance-guard to take rounds at night within the fort. Loud shouts of "Be wakeful, be vigilant" were raised from above the ramparts. Raghunath Rao regarded the absence of Jawanmard Khan and the army from the city as an auspicious time and good fortune and considered it as a good omen. He turned to this side like a stormy wind and dazzling lightning. He crossed Mahi river by making two stages as one. He sent a regiment by way of sentinels under the command of Patel Sukhdev. Damaji Gaekwar wrote a letter to Kosaji, taluqdar of Nadiad to lead an expedition against the city. He attacked Mahmudabad Khokhra in the evening of 7th Rabi' II at a distance of two kurohs from the city and alighted there. Next day, he pillaged Rajpur and Behrampur and reached Kochrab situated from the city at a distance of the river Sabarmati and plundered it. Not satisfied with that, he burnt it with fire of wrath and planted his tents. Patel Sukhdev reached Kheda. Muhammed Dawran son of Muhammed Babi, the local watandar met him and accompanied him. Raghunath Rao also joined him. All of them encamped on the Kankariya Tank with thirty, forty thousand horse in the evening of Monday, 8th (Rabi' II). Next day, they encamped near the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhukhan may his grave be Sanctified to the south of the city on the bank of Sabarmati. They distributed the army into regiments for the siege.

Verse

*Ground in quake from hoofs of horses
From dust of sepoy's tepidness to the sky*

Damaji Gaekwar was in charge of the northern part of the city. He posted himself in the purah of Qazi 'Abdullah. The eastern portion from the bank of Kankariya Tank and purahs of that side were under Gopal Hari. He kept the western and southern sides under him along with other sardars.

Verse

*Those soldiers surrounded themselves round the city
Like a halo encircling round the moon*

He ordered to raise trenches, wall-fortification, elevating batteries and digging mines. The Dehkanis dispersed themselves in all directions like ants.



and locusts, they stuck to their appointed posts with all fondness with sharpened teeth for loot of the city, they made food, sleep, rest unlawful for themselves both at night and day and warmly directed their energies to seek remedy for victory As no place was strengthened as yet and no refuge arranged, they saw cannon-balls coming from above the turrets from a distance and dispersing them hither and thither.

Verse¹

*Tranquillity lowered its head in collar
Lamp of rest got extinguished*

Couriers were in pursuit to convey news to Jawanmard Khan No news had come about his definite place for the last so many days due to a long distance, Every one of them had gone to a road and passage on the river side He had returned from the district of Sirohi and had encamped nearly at a distance of eighty kurohs from the city where he had gone by an unknown path towards the paraganah of Tharad and Ranabad Mandan, a city-soldier who was matchless in travelling and walking had gone, after Raghunath Rao's arrival at the Kankariya Tank, found his trace and met him He disclosed facts to him Jawanmard Khan, on hearing the report, came to Radhanpur by a long march He sent artillery, regiments of Arabs, Rohilas and other infantry-men, horsemen whose horses were not capable of an expedition with materials, provisions of the camp and his sons with his brother Zorawar Khan to Pattan He selected nearly two hundred brave horsemen with swift horses and started in all haste

Verse

*Noise of movement rose up to the moon
There was a tremble everywhere on road*

He reached Kadi at close of the day He halted there for one watch of the night for rest of animals and performance of human needs He ordered them to wear armour and started at top speed Having lightened the bridle of his horse, he took the road to Ahmedabad like a flood He reached the city on Friday on 12 th (Rabi 'II) at a time when yet watchmen of the indigo fort were some asleep some in a wakeful state

Verse

*At dawn when this King of golden retinue
Raised drums and standard from the east
Wakeful beings of the night extinguished lamps
Desire of sleep went out of mind
Reached that fast rider, a surging flood
suddenly the river Sabarmati*



realpatidar.com He crossed the ford of Simli opposite to the Bhadra fort inspite of the fact that the trenches of the enemy were near the garden of Ghaziuddin Husain and entered the city His arrival became the cause of warm support to the army and tranquillity to the distracted minds of citizens Raghunath Rao learnt about the arrival of Jawanmard Khan He reproached and rebuked the guards of trenches of that side for their negligence and carelessness Next night which was the night of 13th (Rabi'II), he strengthened his small army by a fresh recruitment Qaim Quli Khan who was occupied with defence and protection of turrets and fortifications, obtained peace of mind at the arrival of Jawanmard Khan As sleeplessness and vigilance at nights passed over, they were overtaken by fatigue and heaviness With intention to say lost prayers of night and to make amends for missed rising and sitting postures at night, they fell in prostrations of error They thus forgot their wakefulness and vigilance at night, fell on faces and slept a slumber of negligence

Verses

*When the night lamp of the sky got extinguished
The bridle of dark night was held in hand
The sun suspended its golden stirrup
Heads of watchmen became heavy with sleep
Night like a black bread with its face washed with tar
Neither Mars, nor Saturn, nor Mercury were visible*

Jawanmard Khan had taken account of fatigue of his companions and so he did not appoint any one of them to duty of protection and defence The Dekhans, who always waited for an opportunity in ambush in search of a breach and moved round cradle of the fort like images of the lamp of imagination came near the Kalapur gate on the eastern side of the city When they found it a street of silent beings without noise and shout of ' Be wakeful, ' however much, out of care and caution, they tried to overhear, no sound except the inaudible sound of sleep reached the orifice of ear from nostrils of the brain They regarded occurrence of divine graceful act as good luck they placed ladders against three towers but they found them to be short like ladder of their life They, therefore, engaged in digging and throwing down peaks

Verse

*One lowered the wall by a breach
Struck hand in the collar of that breach*

A swift courier of good news was sent to Raghunath Rao to convey the com



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tidings The Maratha regiments, on hearing these tidings, turned immediately to that direction one after the other from whatever place they heard. When the storm of calamity in its surging waves reached the foot of fort-walls, those who had raised the ladder of desire, levelled the parapets and prepared a passage for entry.

Verse

*From every side on that perilous fortification
Another highway of ladder was made*

From mid-night when they engaged in that work till dawn when two hours of the night were left nearly seven hundred persons with Raghunath Rao's standards came out from crevices of pinnacles with boldness and gathered together on ramparts.

Verse

*They arrayed themselves in rows above parapets
In Egypt there flowed a torrent of Nile
(In city there flowed a torrent of indigo)*

Some of them came down to the bottom and expected descent of others. By chance, a Rajput watchman at the Kalupur gate who has slept like "their dog stretching forth his two fore-legs on the threshold". Suddenly, he opened his world-seeing eyes. His glance fell on them. He realized the truth. Whose regiment was it. He awakened the sleeping ones of indifference. They emptied several muskets. Horsemen of the advance guard who had reached that neighbourhood while taking rounds, heard gun shots and brought themselves to the spot at top speed. Guards of that place, being emboldened by their support, engaged in war from above and below, when Muhammed Mubarez Shirwani reached that place from otherside with a party of his own. They killed nearly twenty five Marathas. On seeing this state of affairs that the tray of disgrace fell from the upper storey, the Marathas lost steadiness. They began to descend in the manner they had ascended. Through fear of life, some of them mistook hands for feet and fell upon one another. The Maratha forces who arrived at this time expected opening of the fort-gate (victory). They retreated leading their horses with disappointment. In the mean time clamour of the advance guard of the Eastern King rose high from terrace of the eastern horizon. Jawanmard Khan learnt about this incident and brought himself warmly to the spot. Fire of war blazed forth from both sides with cannons and muskets.

Verse

*Din of battle rose wall and terrace
There was a great charge from both sides in war*

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No languor was shown till mid-day from above and below in fight and massacre. As no advance was made, both the armies desisted from fight and engaged themselves in defending the entrenchments. By chance, one of those seized with death who had come down from the parapet with a design to loot and rob the provisions of the house of Mithalal, writer of the Diwani Office which was adjacent to the parapet of that place entered it. When he saw the case turned against him like his upturned fortune, he turned the page, cancelled his intention to loot and opened tongue of apology with humility and supplication. Having rubbed his head in humility on dust, he sought safety and security.

Verse

*One ought not to enter a place
From where it is not possible to come out.*

Mithalal, having satisfied him, gave him shelter under him and informed the author who was present in the battle-field about it. Jawanmard Khan was informed about him. The author took him to his house. Next day, he was permitted to go out with a turban in company of his own mace-bearer from the Raikhad gate. He took the mace-bearer with himself to Raghunath Rao and told him about the incident. Raghunath Rao summoned the mace-bearer in his presence, inquired about the author and his charge and thus he became acquainted with him. He remarked that others too were there about whom there was no information and that they had retired to corners and seclusion. If they were sent from being taken out of the nook of oblivion, it would be better. He declared that there was no news and intelligence about those who had hidden themselves. It might be that they might have been dead. He said to him to carry some persons with him to take out hiding persons and send them out. He replied that it was not possible to take a party of men with him at this time as both the armies were ready for war. Their corpses might be thrown in the ditch from above the fort-walls and those who might have come out to lift them up, might carry them away. Cannons and muskets would not be fired by the time they had been taken away and that, there was no possibility of protest. Raghunath Rao approved this scheme. He gave a turban to the mace-bearer with a letter to Jawanmard Khan as well as to the author based on conclusion of peace. He sent his own spy with those two letters. The author, after acquainting himself with contents of the letter, went to Jawanmard Khan. He sent his men to throw down corpses and to stop discharge of cannons and guns. Those who had come out under an agreement, took refuge and waited for throw-down of corpses. They lifted them and carried them away. Next day, the spy was sent away with a reply from Jawanmard Khan



and the author when two spies a second time arrived with a reply. The peace was about to be concluded. But he feared on account of certain matters and illrepute and therefore, he stopped negotiations. Jawanmard Khan expelled Dinkar Pandit, agent of Krishnaji mukasdar (tithe collector) of the Peshwa and the son of Sijaji Dhanker, Nub of Damaji, from the city. A letter of Raghunath Rao came for the third time to Jawanmard Khan to the effect that the subah was granted to him by the Royal Court and therefore, his stay in it was not of any account and that he should show a document if he had one with him. During this time, batteries were raised outside and cannons which had arrived from Baroda and Surat were placed upon them. The Marathas like rats with long nails and bears with sharp teeth dug and made holes in mines. They are a wonderful people and a strange nation who in shape of human beings had no humanity in them, they were devilish in qualities who never understood rest and fatigue, they had accustomed themselves to food of jawar bread which they ate with chutney for taste, they wore a loin cloth to cover secrets, they made no distinction between lawful and unlawful things, they washed eyes of manliness with water of shamelessness, they were unique in collection of worldly treasures, they were matchless in the world in laying a siege.

Poem

*A people not in form of man
Different from men away from humanity,
No nerve in heart, no shame in eyes
Tongue does not become soft in speech
They have no fear of heat and cold
They are of stone and iron not of water and earth
Small and great take part in battle
With claws and teeth like terrifying wolf*

Within a short time and a less period, they dug several mines and carried them to the foundation of the fort between the Jamalpur gate and the gate-barricade, filled them with gun powder and set them to fire. A tower fell along with a part of the wall which got separated from the pinnacles. It broke and got disintegrated. Still it did not become fit for assault or such as could be climbed over with ease. The Dekhanis stepped forward with courage for warfare. A war ensued with cannonfire and gun fire from both the armies. When they found their hand of occupation short of reaching the pinnacle of desire, they stopped and planned to dig other mines. A mine was prepared at the interval of one day or two days or at times two in a day. They blew it up. As the walls of the fort were high and wide, a passage was not made. The Jamalpur gate was destroyed by blows of cannon balls and blowing of a mine. It did not prove advantageous



as it was widened from within by bricks. In short, twenty-two mines were dug till the day of settlement which did not prolong for many days. Some of them became useless by digging them on this side and blocking up of water. Once or twice, Shambhuram, the Naib fujdar of patrol came out by way of a window through foundation of fort-walls made by the Marwaris with a party of his men and attacked trenches of outsiders when men of both the parties were slain and wounded. Servants, Arab and Rohila infantrymen and cavaliers whom Jawanmard Khan had sent to Pattan came to the city slowly in darkness of night without being seen when they got an opportunity. The mill of war rotated for some time when the grains of existence of those who were destined to die from both sides were powdered. The path of income from mahals of the city and paraganah was blocked up due to this event. Residents of the city were tired of payment of biwarah and fines as their capacity for paying them was exhausted. Jawanmard Khan saw the image of mutiny and evasion from mirror of their foreheads. Desire for the Maratha government was understood from mode of their talks. He thought that to press for biwarah and to trouble them for a loan was to disturb at that time the honeycomb and it was not proper to strike hand at his purse of hoardings.

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Verse

*The surgeon strikes a hundred lancers at every vein
But his hand slips at his own vein*

For payment to the soldiers at the time of action, he had helplessly to cast a lot at last for fifty thousand rupees in the name of his servants. They apparently evaded payment. He saw remedy for its removal in rolling up the carpet of government. He approached his well-wishing favourites in garb of friendship and future betterment that it was not possible to come out of responsibility in lieu of large amounts of money needed for such a large army when ascendancy and domination of Peshwa Balajirao would be imminent within a short time. He who fell with him, lost the battle. They began to sing such fascinating songs and thus they created a quake in pillars of building of determination. They believed that the book of chapters of welfare and salvation of this work was submission to peace, surrender of the city, wearing the collar of obedience to the Peshwa and to follow him. They guided him to his path and laid emphasis on it with pleasant tunes. They read the book chapter by chapter demonstrating and proving by reasonable and traditional arguments. Jawanmard Khan, of necessity, began to knock at the door of amity and move the chain of peace. He made Patil Sukhdev a means for it. He informed Raghunath Rao of it who waited to see the graceful deed of divinity and to hear the



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voice of definite God. He did not think of manifestation of figure of this reality which had no existence in his imagination. He saw the image of these tidings which he did not see in the mirror of his mind. Really speaking if he had continued with one month more with firmness, the matter would have been settled with fixation of chaauth and the payment of khirandani. But the divine will had ordained what manifested itself. Then what use. But the desire of Raghunath Rao began to blossom by blowing of breeze of this message. He appeared like a blooming flower and grew upon himself. He gave permission for arrival of confidential men and agents of Jawanmard Khan for strengthening of this basis, declaring of this object and idea of the mind. Qaim Quli Khan, Jiwanram peshkar, Mangalji Manager of affairs and Laldas came out on 15th Jamadi I, halted for one complete day and returned after negotiation for payment of one lac of rupees in cash as salary for soldiers and a present of an elephant along with other gifts to Jawanmard Khan at the time of meeting. It was decided to write an agreement. Some time elapsed for arrival of the promised day and hence conclusion of peace was delayed and procrastinated for a few days. When its time arrived, Raghunath Rao handed over the purse of ashrafi of the stipulated amount to Muhammed Dawran son of Muhammed Babi maternal cousin of Jawanmard Khan who had accompanied Patil Sukhdev. He was sent to the city to satisfy him. It was decided that Patil Sukhdev and Sakharan, diwan of Raghunath Rao should meet Jawanmard Khan and corroborate pledge and pact face to face on oath. It so happened that on the same day when a petition of the author about designs and arrival of Raghunath Rao at the river Narbada and a report for assignment of the subah to him by His Majesty reached the court which was read by His Majesty. A royal order in reply with the seal of the Vazir ul Mamalik Safdar Jung Bahadur which was issued, was received.

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CHAPTER 284

COPY OF THK ROYAL ORDER

May Ali Muhammed Khan Bahadur, asylum of exaltation and elevation, seat of efficiency and glory be favoured with royal kindnesses. We received your petition in respect of spreading of the Marathas. It was reported to His Majesty. In accordance with the royal order, Jawanmard Khan, as the asylum of bravery and glory is invested with authority as subedar in the subah of Ahmedabad. You should co-operate with him in the establishment of order and administrative work with satisfaction and determination. You should submit an accurate report of the condition of that place. Great pressure is laid on this. This order was written on 1st Jamadi I, of the sixth year of royal ascension. On receipt of this order, the author went to Jawanmard Khan and saw him.

Verse

*There is one lamp in that house and from its reflection
Wherever I see there is an assembly.*

Agents and courtiers put their heads together in every corner and side and read and talked about the agreement together with great alacrity. One says to the other by way of sauciness and jest.

Verse

*Sell whatever you have and purchase ears
For there is news from my lip to the sky.*

The author informed Qaim Quli Khan about receipt and subject-matter of the royal order which was a powerful document. He found him in concord with others in respect of peace, arrangement of his own affairs and achievement of object.

Verse

*Do not open lips even though there is sweetness in them
For there are many ears behind the walls.*

He realized that an arrow had left the thumbstall of fate and destiny did its work. Announcement of royal order at this juncture in public had no result except grief for the present and benefit for the absentees. Of what use it is to beat cold iron and to tie a knot in wind. In spite of this position, there was again no talk necessary for the sake of argument. He whispered



something of that statement in the ears of Jawanmard Khan. As his wisdom and ears were closed, it proved ineffective. He replied that a meeting was arranged with Patil Sukhdev and Sakharam tomorrow at close of the day. He should come so that there would be a chance of seeing them. Next day on 25th Rabi II, Jawanmard Khan, Qaim Quli Khan and the author along with a few favourites and other servants went at the appointed time by way of a window of the garden in the plain of the Sabarmati opposite the fort where a pavilion for the meeting and assembly of both the parties was erected. Qaim Quli Khan pressed the author to accompany them to bring Patil Sukhdev and Sakharam who had come under shade of trees near the garden of Ghaziuddin Husain Khan and sat waiting at the foot of trees. He hastened and brought them. They entered in a pledge and pact anew face to face leaving Pattan and other mahals without partnership and obstruction of any other person. Some other matters which were repeatedly mentioned in letters were settled on guarantee and security on oath as would be clear from the copy of agreement. They then bade adieu to each other.



CHAPTER 28J

COPY OF THE AGREEMENT WITH THE SEAL OF BALAJIRAO

A memorandum of agreement made with Jawanmard Khan of the rank of bravery and exaltation There would not be any slightest deviation from its observance till the government continued by any one of his brothers and sons Paraganah of Pattan etc entirely without partnership, nine mahals of the old jagir of the paraganah of Pattan, mahal of the paraganah of Vadnagar, mahal of the paraganah of Sami, mahal of the paraganah of Munjpur, mahal of the paraganah of Visalnagar, mahal of the paraganah of Tharad, mahal of the paraganah of Kheralu mahal of the paraganah of Radhanpur with Tharwarah, mahal of the paraganah of Vijapur entire mahal have been settled as jagir without partnership in exchange for different jagirs of Katrar etc. Government army and Naib faujdar should not go any more to the paraganahs of jagir No molestation should be caused No one should cause any obstruction on ground of grass and food-grain The brothers of Khan Bahadur should be employed in service along with a cavalry of three hundred horse and an infantry of five hundred foot men Salary of establishment should be paid from the day of entry of the cavalry and the infantry None of the government servants should alight in old and new havelis which were under jurisdiction of Khan Bahadur, his brothers, relations and servants Kheda with its purah of Kharai, one third of the kasbah of Matar, Vasma Mundah entirely and villages of the jagir of Muhammad Khan, Khan Dawran and 'Abid Khan were agreed upon settlement of half the revenue There would be no molestation to Qaim Quli Khan, Zorawar Khan, accountants, servants and other connected persons They should live wherever they liked in the city, purahs and kasbahs. They would have communications without any obstruction The agreement was executed with the above details For execution of this agreement the following persons stood as guarantee till continuation of the government The same guarantees stood good on behalf of Damajirao Gekwar who was half a sharer Malharji Holkerji, Apa Sindhua, Ramchandra Vitthal, Sukhdev, Sakharam, Bhagwant and Madharao and Gopalrao On the morning when the banker of the world with a tray of gold mohars opened the shop of transactions on the four sides of the market of the world, when impression sat on gold, he began to separate alloyed and unalloyed coins by movements of fingers of the palm of rays Particles of the universe stitched together on every side the eyes of benefit on the silvery palm full of gold so that bags of pure gold of one lac of white rupees sent by Rajhunnath Rao came to Jawanmard Khan with a message to surrender keys of the gates Old and new soldiers, horsemen and footmen and other servants gathered around him like flies around sweetness



The Arabs whose demands for money were severe received their due salary with contention and importunity. The Bakhshi paid to others as he deemed necessary according to their circumstances. Jamadars and horsemen along with Muhammed 'Azmat Karani whose salary was in arrears came forward demanding it with severity and harshness. As it was not possible to pay them, payment was postponed till an opportunity in accordance with exigency of time for there was no scope at the time for an agitation. After an exchange of hot words, threats and menaces, flattering and mild words, he gave them a bond in writing for payment at the stipulated time and by instalment. He vacated the Bhadra fort on 27th Jamadi I, he went to ancestral house and lived there. Raghunath Rao shifted from his old house and alighted at the back of the garden of Ghaziuddin Hussain Khan. He appointed Raghu Shanker as kotwal of the city in co-operation with Khandu peshkar of Vitthal Sukhdev along with a regiment. He entered the city at midnight by the Raikhad gate and lived in the Bhadra fort. He ordered the fort-gate made up of bricks to be opened. The subah passed under possession of the Marathas.

Verse

*If the throne of Dara had remained permanent in the world
No one would have uttered the name of kingship of Alexander*

On the last day of the month (of Jamadi I), Vitthal Sukhdev entered Bhadra with his confederates. As a meeting between Jawanmard Khan and Raghunath Rao was fixed on that day, he went to his house at close of the day and took him with himself. Raghunath Rao was on horse back. They met together on sands on the other bank of Sabarmati. Raghunath Rao invited him to his own tent and received presents of three horses with arms, some pieces of cloth, a jewelled saddle cloth and parted with him by giving him a wearing apparel in accordance with a Dekhani custom as well as an elephant. At the request of Jawanmard Khan, Vitthal Sukhdev sent a strict and stern party of Maratha tax-collectors to seize a bond given to Muhammed 'Azmat Karani for salary. They took it back by force and violence and gave it back to him. He then engaged himself in making arrangement for portage to send his dependents and house-hold goods. When the subah, due to heavenly revolution, passed under possession of Peshwa Balajirao, royal rules and regulations which had remained in a confused state since long lost hope of betterment and ease on account of distraction of the present and the future due to this transfer of power. A record of hope got dispersed. The author meditated and pondered over this matter. However much he ran the courier of thought and messenger of imagination to various parts of Hindustan for future work, he found no place of refuge and shelter without disturbance. He realized that he was still destined to live in this region as he had to deal with new kind of people.



CHAPTER 286

MARCH OF RAGHUNATH RAO AGAINST LIMDI IN JHALAWAR. APPOINTMENT OF SHRIPATRAO AS NAIB IN THE CITY FOR MANAGEMENT OF THE AFFAIRS OF NIZAMAT HIS RETURN AFTER COLLECTION OF PESHKASH FROM ZAMINDAR OF THAT PLACE TO HIS NATIVE PLACE CALL OF THE AUTHOR

Raghunath Rao marched from the ford of Dudeshwar to collect peshkash from the zamindar of Limdi in Jhalawar alias Viramgam. He encamped near Kochrab at a distance of one kuroh from the city. He nominated Shripatrao Pandit one of his confederates as Naib of the city and to administer affairs of the Nizammat. He appointed Sambhuji Maratha as lieutenant of his regiment and made others work under him. He appointed 'Amils for mahals of the city and paraganah of Havels. He, then set out for Limdi. He raised trenches and prepared for war. As he had a large army and because he had recently conquered the city, the zamindars, Kolis and other rebels got frightened and overawed by him they offered no resistance to him. Harbam, Zamindar of Limdi saw him and paid him forty thousand of rupees. As the monsoon was about to approach, he did not march to any other side, but beat the drum of return and came to Dholka. Shripatrao went to Dholka as summoned by him. The author led an inactive life. Receipts for payment of revenue of the merchants of Kathera Parchah could not be issued without seal of the Diwan and accountants. Raghunath Rao sent a letter to the author to come and see him. By chance, Vitthal Sukhdev who had accompanied Jawanmard Khan to Palanpur, had assessed one lac and fifteen thousand rupees as peshkash in all respects on Muhammed Bahadur Faujdar of that place. Its collection was left to the responsibility of Jawanmard Khan. He now returned from that place. He was given an elephant and a pair of wearing apparel at Vadnagar. He was permitted to go back to Pattan. He reached Bagh i Shahi with intention to meet Raghunath Rao by ceaseless march. Qaim Quli Khan, the author, 'Azizuddin Muhammed Khan and Haji Nurullah went together to meet him. By chance, Raghunath Rao had permitted Shripatrao to go from Dholka. He went to Tarapor under jurisdiction of Choras paraganah of Khanbhavat port which was at a distance of seven kurohs from the port and held conversation on certain matters with Mumin Khan, port-officer of Khanbhayat. He fixed ten thousand rupees by way of grass and food grain on Choras. As Mozaffer 'Ali, Zahid 'Ali and other Hindu and Muslim merchants had come to Raghunath Rao for complaint against Mumin Khan and they had accompanied him as far as Limdi, he congratulated them in accordance with exigency of time due to haste and restlessness. He sent a



letter of recommendation to Mumin Khan not to harass them. He marched to Pethad. It so happened that the author reached that place with Vitthal Sukhdev. A superficial meeting took place in the evening. It was autumn. It was very hot. Heat was so intense that the fowl got roasted in its own fat and the water-lily did not raise its head from water through fear of heat of the sun.

Fragment

*Breath became so hot through heat
That the lip got burnt through its heat like a candle
From hot wind you should think
Another hell blazed forth in the world*

He had chosen travelling under shade of the dark canopy of night for comfort of men and animals. Nearly at mid-night, he tied the litter on the camel of departure and opened it on the bank of the Mahi. Of necessity, the author and others who had not obtained permission for departure accompanied him to that spot. At the close of day, they went as summoned. He opened the tongue of apology and heartiness to conciliate the author. He made Qaim Quli Khan means of attainment of pleasure and said that he should accept it as ordained in fate. Next year he would fulfil the part of his object and desire in season. As the government had become of a different character and disintegration had found its own way in departments of administration, whose support could be denied and refused? He saw no strength to move with his wife and children in himself. He found nothing except escape and refuge. He maintained silence. In short, Diwani and service at the mahal of Kathera Parchah without interruption were assigned to him. Syedpur, Kuja, paraganah of Haveli, Panmol of the paraganah of Vijapur were left. He gave a letter so that no one would molest him. Nekol under jurisdiction of Thamnah was held back. He granted him leave to depart while he himself marched further. The author returned with others. They reached Ahmedabad on 15th Rajab. A letter for leaving Panmol was sent to Jawanmard Khan. By declaring that the paraganah of Vijapur was entirely connected him, he closed eyes at former obligations and changed them to hostility.

Hemistich

Such is the condition of the friend what to talk about a stranger

Verse

*We expected friendship from friends
What we thought was itself wrong*

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rang the bell from dusk o dawn and took rounds on ramparts round city-fortifications Inspite of this precaution Kolis presented themselves at the time of the bell ringer above the wall of the fort for several nights, killed one, wounded the other and made the bell deaf (dumb) and went away Evil practices detailed above were gradually renovated The Jamalpur gate with its turrets side by side decayed on account of blows of cannon balls and setting fire to the mine, it had become unworkable It was re-built Within a short time, the two turrets were made of hard rocky stone, gates of huge plants were fixed firm and were fastened strongly by iron Outside the gate of Raipur was a purah in early days This desolate place was populated and named as Raghunathpur He sent Sambhuji Sarfauj to collect peshkash from Saurath in company of Shankeraji, faujdar of Viramgam It was at this time that Sadiq 'Ali Khan was tired of living in Ahmedabad due to unemployment and so he set out for Surat port Dharamchand, peshkar of Mumin Khan, port officer of Khanbhayat port was involved in a case of corruption, An amount of money by way of fine was recovered from him At last, he killed himself by a blow of jamdhar Muhammed Hadi Khan, father in law of Fidauddin Khan died a natural death Muhammed Rukn ul Haq nephew of Qazi Nizamuddin Khan arrived as city-qazi being appointed by His Majesty The author wanted to get his son Rafi ' Muhammed Khan married The other party at Khanbhayat sought permission of Shripatrao He left on 3rd Zilhajj He married his son on 18th He stayed there for performance of certain common usages



CHAPTER 287

SHRIPATRAO'S MARCH FOR OCCUPATION OF KHANBHAYAT AND RETURN

Due to severity of monsoon, it rained heavily this year. There had been cracks in many buildings of cities. There were cracks and disintegration at many places in the fort of Khanbhayat. They were not repaired and rebuilt as the monsoon was about to end. Shripatrao learnt about this desolation from reports of travellers. Under these circumstances he thought of rendering good services to the people and therefore, he thought of a plan within himself to liberate it. He apprized of his secret idea to Suroharao the valiant and leader of a regiment of Mavla footmen of the Dekhan, laid bare his secret idea before him and took him into his confidence. He insisted on hiding it and said, "First of all, you should go to Khanbhayat in such a manner that no one should recognize you. You should not get acquainted with any one so that he may know your intention. You should collect information about disintegration, and strength and weakness of the army, observe the path of entry and exit with thought and depth and then come back. If you can undertake this work, you should be prepared to manage this work with determination." He adorned his rebellious face with form and features of world travelling and desert-measuring jogis, rolled ass like on ashes of falsehood and set out on the road. He spent a few days in that ridiculous form by roaming about in every nook and corner within and without the city. He wandered from lane to lane and street to street like a man possessed with devil, acquainted himself with actual state of affairs and returned. He displayed to Shripatrao's view the easiest manner and the most facile way of occupying it. He induced and instigated him for it. He undertook management of that adventure upon his own responsibility and care and that of the Mavla regiment. Shripatrao started to plan for that venture. He was in search of a pretext to deceive him so that the other party might not know of his designs and thus practise negligence. Under such circumstances, it was possible for him to embrace the beloved of his object and his hands of desire might encircle round her neck. By chance, a two-storied rath of one stage prepared and elaborated with painting and covered with gold embroidered cloth for Raghunath Rao was sent. He despatched Arab and Sindhi regiments of horse and foot ahead. He personally marched with a battalion of Mavlas numbering five to six hundred musketeers and horsemen with a few new recruits for show to convey the rath as far as Pettad. He reached Pettad at top speed. By chance, Muzum Khan had sent his pehar Brijlal for successful management of certain matters to Peshwa Balarao. He had come to Pettad. He learnt about Shripatrao's arrival and the fact. On

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of sagacity and shrewdness, he gathered from conversation with him that the escort of rath was a pretext and that he had some other design. That very hour, out of care and caution, he informed Mumin Khan about it. He wrote to him that he should be vigilant about his own house. His messenger reached Khanbhayat nearly at when two watches of the night had passed. He had a small army according to his capacity on account of heavy expenses and less income. He had sent certain soldiers a few days ago to escort the Peshwa's servant Bhagwan to Dhandhuka. He began to prepare himself for protection and defence. He summoned Aqa Muhammed Hutsani who lived there for help on account of former sincere and close relations with his confederates. He also invited Muhammed Rashed Beg, the Mughal Jamadar of Nadir Shahi who was discharged. He acquainted them with the real state of affairs. He got himself ready and sat, with his ears strained to hear the sound in his governmental residence so that whenever a noise was heard, he would engage in defence. Shripatrao, at the time when the dark-brown night made its appearance like malignant men of black hearts,

Verse

*A night, you would, say, is a deep sea
From one side, wide centre of the earth*

set out on the road with a guide in front with design against Khanbhayat. In the darkness of night when the faculty of sight became incapable to ascertain and distinguish the path and otherwise the misleading guide lost way in the neighbourhood of the port. He fell in a valley of misguidance. He reached the port nearly when two hours of the night were left on 26th Zilhajj at the time when the black-clothed knavish night traveller rent his sleeves to collect cash of stars and conveyed them to the under ground hidden house of the earth. The demolished wall where there was a passage of entry was by chance repaired the same day and thus it became a preventive to entry. When they found the turret and fortification near the Kewarah gate on the eastern side without guards and empty like houses of poormen, the Maylas came up with the help of lasso and the horsemen.

Verse

*Raised standard at that time
Rushed at gates unawares*

Three, four persons were on upper part of the gate. They learnt about their climb and fired guns several times. Some had reached almost the battlements. Some were on the road, some were mid way in the act of climbing. Through



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fear that the guards might be many, as they had experience of fear and fright at the time of climbing up the fort at Ahmedabad, they delayed, even though Shripatrao came behind them, softened their shoulders by beating with stick, yet the more he said, the less they heard. Mumin Khan who was ready and prepared, came on the scene, on hearing the noise of gun-fire, immediately without delay with his regiment.

Verse

*They ran on the turret fighting
Together to wreak vengeance.*

He threw down beating those who had reached top of the walls. He kindled fire of war with cannons and muskets. The author personally saw the state of affairs. Nearly one watch and a half of the day had passed when the oven of war remained hot. Many from both the sides got slain and wounded. Those who were outside were tired and fatigued due to sleeplessness at night. They desisted from fight and occupied themselves with rest under shelter of Akberpur building and the residential quarters of the Maratha agent as well as performance of human needs. At close of the day, the author wrote a letter to Shripatrao under instructions of Mumin Khan to the effect that he had agreed to come that day but he postponed on account of the war. For a reply, he invited the author to himself. He went and saw him. He thought of an excuse and pretext and declared with falsehood that he had received a letter from Raghunath Rao to the effect that Mumin Khan should surrender Khanbhayat to him and that another place would be given to him in exchange. His confidential man should be brought the next day before whom this proposal would be broached face to face. That very night a plank-barrier was erected opposite to the gate and an entrenchment raised. Next day

Verse

*The sun swept the world with a broomstick
The dust of night from workshop of the sphere.*

Both the sides began to send envoys of cannon-balls and musket-bullets of harm. At close of the day, when flames of their fire subsided and war was stopped on account of exchange of message. The author took with himself 'Azmatullah at the suggestion of Gangadhar naib of Bhagwantrao, the co-sharer of that place as he himself had gone to Poona on behalf of Mumin Khan. Shripatrao span a story and told him what he had said before. When it was disclosed to Mumin Khan, he refused and turned his head from it. Brajlal returned from Petlad. Horsemen who had gone as escort for Bhagwan arrived



one after the other. The war continued for one week as a pretext for those who were destined to die during these days. Shripatrao saw no progress in war. In consultation and guidance of Gangadhar, he assessed and collected revenue from villages of Choras paraganah as it was the time for raising of crops and harvesting of cereals. He appointed tax collectors and occupied the paraganah. On 1st Moharram, 1167, the author, at the suggestion of Shripatrao took 'Azmatullah and Braylal with him and negotiated for cessation of war. After a wrangle, he made a demand of seven thousand rupees by way of grass and food grain over and above what was agreed upon with Raghunath Rao, the previous year. The author kept quiet when 'Azmatullah declared that amount was fixed on the paraganah every year. He therefore remained silent. For satisfaction of Gangadhar, he was brought to Mumin Khan. He gave in writing as an assignment on the paraganah. Shripatrao went to Ahmedabad on 3rd of the month. The author halted on account of the days of 'Ashurah when suddenly wrath in the garb of mercy descended on 8th and a public calamity came down from the sky, that is, untimely rain began to pour down in all severity.

Poem composed by the author

*The sky opened its gate
It made a torrent flow towards the sky
Its one branch was the river Nile
From it drop there was a wave and a flood
Earth and time were filled with uproar
There occurred a quake in six directions
The sky had a secret pain from old
It emptied it all at once thus
It wept ceaselessly for two days and nights
No one had hope of living
The eye did not open for a moment through weeping
It removed from heart so to say what it had*

On the 9th day and the tenth night severe winds which reminded of cold, boisterous winds of 'Ad and Samud began to blow. They helped and supported the rains. Verification of the holy verse "Then we opened the gates of the sky with lustrous rain water" came to light. It manifested the storm of Noah. On that dark tarred night which competed with the darkest night in length and which was more dark-coloured than the night of the conjunction of sun and moon and which had fraternal relation with the night of resurrection day, nay, it was longer than its brother, no human being and dumb animal hoped for the candle of life to burn with safety in this calamity. Many

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foundations of buildings "Demolition upon props" became necessary. Their foundations were shaken. There was no alternative for residents except to creep to the hidden house of non-existence and hollow place of annihilation. Old, stout, high trees who rubbed heads of self-conceit with the green dome got uprooted like rubbish of rose-bushes and placed heads of disgrace and humiliation, bodies of humility and shame-facedness on dust of the road. It was nearly at decline of the day of 'Ashura that Holy and Great God showed His beneficence and forgiveness to the remaining ones. Winds and rains subsided in co-operation with one another and closed doors against one another. The Eastern King attacked the army of clouds with a drawn gold-painted sword and with-held it from immoderation. He broke the rows of clouds and brought human beings who escaped the sword under side of his protection. He dried up moist eye-lashes due to weeping of dis-appointed men with sleeves of rays. As roads and paths of communications were blocked up due to disturbance of robbers of flood who sat in ambush of passage and rivulets and created clamour, the author had necessarily to wait. He arrived at Ahmedabad on 23rd with an escort of divine help.



CHAPTER 288

DISTURBANCES OF WRETCHED KOLIS AFTER SHRIPATRAO'S RETURN FROM THE PORT OF KHANBHAYAT OTHER EVENTS

When a report of Shripatrao's return from the port of Khanbhayat without accomplishing his task on account of a small army reached far and wide a great disorder set in of its own accord in orderly organization established through awe and domination of the Dekhans. Every rebellious mischief monger raised his head in disturbance in every nook and corner. Some of the intrepid Kolis attacked at the time of his return, his companions who lagged behind. This attack was connived at. This connivance became the cause of daring and boldness on the part of others. They took to their natural mode and inborn method rent asunder the four sides of the collar of oblivion and showed insolence. They rubbed hands of deception on the palm of regret for desisting from theft which they practised in old days. They resorted to brigandage to make amends for that. To make losses of the past good they engaged, as in former governments in mining houses and breaking up shops in the city and the purahs. Shripatrao made the target of his courage to punish and chastise this wretched community. He despatched Raghu Sitanker Kotwal with a newly recruited cavalry and infantry and a fresh band of Mavlas against Loharpur within jurisdiction of Bhel, a contemptible village and a resort of the Kolis to attack it and to capture and massacre the Kolis. The wretched Kolis vacated the place on getting information of arrival of the army took themselves to forests and hedges of thorny bushes as well as to nearby ravines and hid themselves. The pillaging horde of Mavlas thought it to be an excellent confection and beeless honey seized whatever they could and returned. When the Kolis assaulted them from all sides having issued from their hiding places and followed them fighting with arrows and guns. They overthrew many of them on dust of destruction and they did not allow them to maintain steadfastness. They had helplessly to flee away. Dog like Kolis chased them and pursued them in all directions inflicting wounds on them as far as Velad. This incident of cowardice of the misguided Mavlas was the cause of the following poem appropriately composed on their damaged future.

Poem

*Like dogs they are corpse eaters with filthy mouths
All babblers like crows and kites
Whatever sprang from water and earth
They eat without any fear from them*

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*Internally they are covered with hair like a snare and a beast
Their drees of the body has grown up also from the body
When they take to the path of flight ahead
They laugh at a fast running horse
Like a donkey of rapacious noise and short steps
Like snake and cobra entire stomachs*

Of necessity, Raghu Shanker returned in the evening with survivors in a garb of disgrace and baseness. This incident became a cause of depravity and boldness on the part of Kolis. They became more daring than before in committal of theft and robbery. Under such circumstances roads became dangerous and paths perilous in this region and it became difficult to keep one's head safe. Some of them accompanied goods of merchants and carts laden with food stuff of villages and escort them to purahs. They kept awake for escort of caravans. Shripatrao, on conjecture that these people by this means lived in purahs, came to the city when they got an opportunity and resorted to theft and mining. Hence, twenty seven men of them who had arrived in the purah of Nawayas were massacred by a regiment. As it was not possible to carry on business without an escort, they escorted goods as far as Vatva at a distance of four kurohs from the city and returned from that place. Sambhuji Sar-fauj of a city detachment who sometime ago had marched to Surath in company of Shankerji, faujdar of Viramgam had gone as far as Jगत alias Dwarka, visited the temple for worship, collected peshkash from all places in accordance with each one's capacity and returned. He came to the outskirts of the city with Shankeraji. As revolts and disturbances of wretched Kolis had gone beyond the limit of moderation. Shripatrao despatched them to the district of Meswa river and paraganah of Bhel so that they should establish order and take securities from them for not raising disturbances. These persons marched to that side. However much they endeavoured in this task, the Dekhanis failed to suppress Kolis. Whatever was to be done could not really be done. It yielded a contrary result, It became the cause of increased depredations on the part of that misguided community. They came back. Shankeraji went to Viramgam while Sambhuji to his native place. Dhondu Dattatrey was appointed in his place as Sarfauj of Ahmedabad detachment. It was in this year that the Wazir ul Mamalik Safdar Jung came out due to a certain affair, without permission and unwillingness of His Majesty. He summoned Surajmal Jit for his help. He became a source of disturbance on the outskirts of the capital. Many eminent amirs joined him. Amir ul Umara Imad ud Mulk came against him. The war continued for some months. Amir ul Umara invited Raghunath Rao with a large army for help and alliance in return for an amount of money as claim of aid. Safdar Jung desisted from war in 1



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went to his province of Oudh while Surajmal proceeded to his place. The glorious post of the chief ministership was given to Imam-ul-Mulk Khan-i-Khanan son of Qamruddin Khan, the great minister of His Majesty Firdaus Aramgah (Mahammed Shah). A royal order bearing the seal of Khan-i-Khanan was issued in respect of investment of authority in the affairs of Diwani and other services.

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CHAPTER 289

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER

May 'Ali Muhammed Khan Bahadur, asylum of exaltation and high position, seat of efficiency be recipient of royal favours ' Your services are retained and confirmed in the Diwani of the Subah of Ahmedabad as before. It is necessary that you should do your duty with tranquillity and determination in a spirit of honesty and uprightness. You should not leave unobserved the subtle point of caution and shrewdness. You should prepare a roll of diwani and other registers related to it arranged in serial order of season to season in accordance with rules and regulations and send them to the office of His Majesty's records. Emphasis is laid on this point. From the beginning of the Marathi rule a report of dismissal of royal officers from the mahal of Kathera Parchah and the office of octroi duties has been received by the royal court. Two royal orders were received in respect of re-instatement of accountants by the author as well as in regard of threat and menace of royal wrath to Hindu and Muslim merchants to observe rules and regulations and pay necessary dues. As sovereign power did not exist and royal orders became defunct, the Marathas were in ascendancy and so they did not care to give currency to royal orders. Disclosure of these orders had no advantage except insult and disgrace to royal mandates. Hence they were not announced. Their copies were deposited with the author's seal in the office of the Diwani. It was during this time that Shripatrao excavated the temple of Brhima Charleshwar related to Mahadev which was mixed with dust for the last many years in a tower of the Bhadra fort adjacent to the Khidki passage of the Sabarmati with the guidance of Brahmins and votaries of the idols. It was rebuilt by bringing stones from a masjid. The Ling was brought and installed. The idol-worshippers started its worship. On the same day, Chaud Chauda Kasbati of Prantij severed head from body of Keshavrao, amil and faujdar of the paraganah of Prantij by one blow for having abused him. Verification of

Hemistich

Red tongue destroys a verdant head

came true. It was in this year that Qaim Quli, Khan, who had deserted the company of Jawanmard Khan at the time of negotiations for peace with Raghunath Rao and become a city officer in charge of twenty horsemen on an annual salary of fifteen thousand rupees, died on 12th night of Rajab.



He was a pleasant fellow and led a luxurious life His expenses were more than his income He spent an amount of money for preservation of reputation after Najm ud dawlāh's death, in dismissal and reinstatement in the subah He remained inactive at the end of Jawanmard Khan's government People believed that he had abundant wealth in his possession but not even one tenth part of what people believed was found with him

Verse

*One ought to weep at the condition of that man
Whose income is nineteen and expense twenty*

Nek 'Alam Khan, Fuydār of Broach suffered for the last so many days from a physical ailment However much clever physicians endeavoured to treat him, their efforts proved futile As the cup of his life was brimful, he fell in a vortex of severities of death, he went down to the bottom

Verses

*Physicians have failed to solve this point
That there is no medicine for death in nine bottles
Even if you read the science of Galen
When death comes, you remain with Galen*

His brother Khair Talab Khan succeeded him He expelled his nephew Hamid Beg who contended with him for government He went to Surat with his relations and lived there He waited for an opportunity The author's son Rafi'Muhammed Khan was appointed a darogah of the mahal of Kathera Parchah A royal sanad was received From the beginning of the Maratha rule, accountants were discharged from service Permits for entry of goods on payment of revenue were issued by the author under his seal for which he was paid a small amount per month a hief He now continued the seal of his son



CHAPTER 290

RETIREMENT OF AHMED SHAH BAHADUR BADSHAH FROM MATERIAL SOVEREIGNTY WITH THE HELP OF AMIR-UL- UMARA 'IMAD-UL-MULK

When the glorious office of chief ministership was entrusted to Imam ul Mulk Khan : Khanan son of Qamar ud din, maternal uncle of Amir-ul Umara 'Imad ul Mulk, Amir ul-Umara who expected this post got disappointed His Majesty found out his intention Both of them confirmed their friendship on oath Surajmal Jat had become a companion of Safdar Jung Both of them rebelled and created disturbances by pillaging some of the villages on the outskirts of the capital and fought battles When Raghunath Rao, brother of Peshwa Balaji Rao arrived as invited by the Amir ul Umara with hordes of Dekhanis, he made it his object to destroy the Jats and demolish their forts He took Raghunath Rao with him with an artillery, arms, war materials and a large army He led an expedition against him He laid siege to the fort of Kamir which was the strongest in point of impregnability and durability A war ensued with cannons and guns The Maratha armies subjected villages and other prosperous places to plunder and pillage and left no trace of them Khan : Khanan regarded this incident contrary to his judgment in view of welfare of the state To invite a stranger to the country, to acquaint him with paths and passages, to get ascendancy with his aid and assistance was to disclose one's incapacity and weakness He reported this matter to His Majesty Mandates with the royal signature were repeatedly issued for desistance from war but they were not obeyed Of necessity, the royal banners were hoisted to suppress this revolt in consultation with Khan : Khanan so that disaffection might change into affection by this means Divine will wished it otherwise Fate pulled on the front part of the army and destiny pursued the rear of the army and conveyed them to Sikandarab and Kaul Amir ul Umara who was nearby, learnt about it As he kept an arrow of roughness hidden in a quiver of heart against his maternal uncle and considered the cause of march of royal forces to him, he conceived a plan and sent 'Aqeb ul Mahmud Khan who, in all matters of good and evil, was a counsellor to His Majesty He saw His Majesty and conveyed the false intention of the Marathas to him in such a conciliatory and amiable tone as well as in such magical fashion that His Majesty's mind was filled with wild rage

Verse

*Polluted mind is away from truth
Most foul is the secret light*

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Poem

*Do not give way to yourself to a self interested man
For he mixes honey with sting (poison)
He gives honey outwardly and befriends you
In reality, he stings you and causes you misery*

At mid night, he went alone with Khan i-Khanan with determination of rosy expedition and marched to the capital Amir ul-Umara found his plan in accordance with decrees of fate He came on the morning of that night to the royal camp with depredatory Maratha forces Unmannerly Marathas did not care for honour and respect of His Majesty and plundered the camp They dispersed men in charge of provisions and camp like alphabets In all haste and hurry, he spurred his fast running horse in pursuit and went to the capital at top speed He made the Maratha forces alight in round about places, established order in the fort and came to wait upon His Majesty His Majesty realized in clear terms that the cause of this revolt was the post of ministership The sea of mercy began to surge forth to extinguish the fire of revolt and disturbance and he glorified him with grant of a favour of khul'at (robe) of that highest rank As the pen of destiny had inscribed something else, it did not subside He sent his party of intrepid Badakhshanis who brought His Majesty and made him secluded (a prisoner) This event took place on Saturday, 10th Sha'ban Next day, 'Aqebat Mahmud Khan washed his eyes of manliness with the water of shamelessness blinded His Majesty and made him unfit for the throne Learn a lesson oh men of sight "

Quatrain

*The morning flower blossomed of itself and withered
It told a tale to the eastern wind and withered
Look at breach of faith of the world that a rose in ten days
Raised its head, budded forth blossomed and withered*



CHAPTER 291

SALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY ABUL 'ADL 'AZIZ-UD-DIN MUHAMMED 'ALAMGIR BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, SON OF ABUL FATH JAHANDAR SHAH BADSHAH, SON OF HIS MAJESTY KHULD MANZIL

On the auspicious day of Saturday, 10th Sha'ban, 1167, the throne of sovereignty was decorated by 'Aziz-ud-dawlah son of Abul fath Jahandar Shah Badshah, son of Khuld Manzil Bahadur Shah

Verses

*With pomp of Faridun, glory of Jamshid
Magnificence of Sikander, refuge of Dara
From his justice, like faces of moon like beauties
Water and fire assembled together at one place*

A royal order was issued that henceforth His Majesty's auspicious name should be inscribed on mandates as Abul 'Adl 'Alamgir Badshah-i-Ghazi. The year of auspicious accession to the throne should be counted and inscribed from 1st of the above month. Amir-ul-Umara 'Imad-ul-Mulk who was the cause of enthronement of His Majesty was addressed with the address of his grandfather Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fath Jung Sipahsalar. He was exalted to the elevated rank and glorious status of the chief ministership with a grant of a special Khil'at, charqub (princely garment), a turban-strap, a turban-ornament, jewelled pen-stand of the highest diwan. As the seal of ministership was not yet ready, he immediately ordered vakils of the court to despatch parwanahs of enthronement of His Majesty and charge of his own ministership with a hand-seal to the diwanis of the empire. A parawanah was also received by the author.



CHAPTER 292

COPY OF THE PARWANAH

Asylum of elevation and exaltation, your loyalty, well-wishing and efficiency are engraved on our mind since long. We had repeated by heard about your reliability on welfare and sacrifice. At any rate, the king of good intentions had illuminated splendour on the throne of sovereignty through beneficence of God. Ministership has been bestowed on us. It is the time for display of objects of sincere well-wishers and congenial welfare thinkers. With peace of mind, you should be ready for well-wishing and loyalty in performance of duties for the king. God willing, progress and advancement according to heart's desire will take place. You should consider us attentive to work and send petitions and reports about condition of people. The author received this parwanah on 5th Ramzan. He informed Shripatrao about it. He gave permission to beat drums of rejoicings for proclaiming and announcing it to the people. It was decided to recite the holy khutba with the auspicious titles the next day 6th (Ramzan) on Friday when Shripatrao himself was present in the compound of Jame Masjid. The Khatib (preacher) ascended the pulpit for recitation of the Khutba (sermon). On the promised day, Shripatrao attended the masjid. After the khutbah was over he awarded khatib with a khilat (robe). The letter of permission and the inscription of the coin which had been received were given in writing with his own seal to the workers of the mahal of the mint. They were ordered to embellish the auspicious coins ashrafi and rupia of 'Alamgir Badshah i Ghazi with that inscription. After some time, when the seal of the minister was prepared a parwanah in accordance with regulations, was received by the author in respect of his appointment to the Diwan and other servants. It was in this year that Sher Khan Babi, who had occupied Junagadh and who had employed Abdullah Zubair, and some other Arab jamadars as servants and whose allowances and salaries had slowly risen to a big amount, had no ability to pay the whole amount at one and the same time. Those persons stretched their feet beyond the limit of blanket and did not serve and obey him in the manner they ought to. They continuously demanded their dues with severity and harshness. As they had gathered together in a large number, they kept the fort under their control and occupation. He could not evict and expel them. He, therefore, thought of a plan to himself as it has been said,

Verse

*From one to hundred can be slayed by a sword
You can break back of an army by prudence*

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As the time for assessment, collection of revenue and march of an army had approached, he took with himself the Arab jamadars with their confederates on a promise that whatever he would assess, he would assign to them without any sharer as their salary. A small party of Arab jamadars remained on top of the fort. They accompanied him in hope of getting their dues. He went to a distance of thirty kurohs from Junagadh, as most of the Arabs were footmen, he left 'Abdullah and others for protection of the camp, he chose and selected the best horsemen. He led an expedition one night and did not draw in the reins of his horse till he arrived within city-fortification of Junagadh. He did not look behind. He closed the gates and put them in charge of veteran men. Next day, the Arabs learnt about this scheme. One night, horsemen came at the foot of the elevated fort close at heels running fast by the road not guessed and thought of. Having informed their party, they climbed up with the help of a rope. Infantry-men also joined them gradually. They kindled the fire of war, threw fire in bodies of muskets and made them inflamed. They had no knowledge of this sudden event to hoard up stores of food stuff for such a good or evil day. After a few days, the provision that they had was in a small quantity and so it got exhausted. They were reduced to great straits. On an excuse, they sent a message for peace. War was stopped. They procrastinated negotiations by fraud. Some of them came down, plundered shops and houses situated near the gate, collected whatever eatables and other necessities of life they could to last for a few days till the other party learnt about it and took account of it, they carried on depredations. They then drew over their heads shields of resistance. Others who were in this work, brought in to mediate well-wishing peace-makers and came out by accepting reduced amount of salary. Sher Khan liberated himself from their evil and attended to his work. In 1160, the author's son Tahir Muhammed Khan was appointed as a Karorai of the mahal of Kathera Panchah. He was granted a seal to be put on permits after the fashion of a darogah.



CHAPTER 293

CAPTURE OF BHAGWANTRAO, NAIB OF PESHWA BALAJIRAO BY MUMIN KHAN PORT OFFICER OF KHANBHAYAT PORT APPOINTMENT OF SHANKERAJI AND OTHERS FOR HIS LIBERATION SHRIPATRAO SENDS THE AUTHOR TO SETTLE DISPUTE RELEASE OF BHAGWANTRAO

Shripatrao as mentioned above and related returned from the port of Khanbhayat Mumin Khan, the local port officer, before occurrence of this event, had sent his own peshkar Brajlal to Peshwa Balajirao for certain matters. At this time, complaints of Shripatrao's immoderation increased. He sent Brajlal to the Peshwa. He went and saw him. Bhagwantrao was in charge of the Maratha share at the port. He was in Poona. He had in view the less income and more expenses of Mumin Khan. He was acquainted with everything more or less which he had seen with his own eyes. Due to inexperience he publicly and privately tried to convince the Peshwa to liberate and occupy Khanbhayat by easiest means. He undertook accomplishment of this venture upon his own responsibility. He obtained his permission and set out for Khanbhayat. Brajlal who was there, learnt about it and his design and reported about it to Mumin Khan.

Verse

*Look afar that from unmanliness
Man is full of fear from a man*

When Bhagwantrao arrived at Khanbhayat, Mumin Khan trod the path of good conduct, went out to receive him and brought him inside Khanbhayat. He gave him a one storey palaki, a horse with silver accoutrement and a wearing apparel and sent him to his residence in Akberpur.

Poem

*In order that war be accomplished with deliberation
Courtesy to the enemy is better than warfare
When an enemy cannot be defeated by strength
Door of mischief should be closed with a bounty*

In spite of this good treatment, he behaved with pride of youth which is a branch of madness and fell in a valley of error and folly. He endeavoured to accomplish task he had meditated on and to put into force the determined idea he prepared himself. He engaged in recruitment and collection of soldiers.



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He waited for an opportunity for nights and days together. The Arab Jama dar Salim who had deserted Jawanmard Khan lived in the city. He sent earnest money to him, employed nearly two hundred Arabs in service without his knowledge and called him. He made his preparations, went to a distance of some kurohs from Khanbhayat, informed him about his arrival and waited for a reply. He replied to him that on such and such a day which he had fixed for raising a disturbance, he should reach himself on a promised day and appointed time. As divine will was contrary to his unrighteous judgment, that letter came in possession of Mumin Khan. He became acquainted with his secret designs. Although he knew about futile intention long before, the seizure of document lifted up the veil of doubt from the face of pretext. He held a council of consultation with his counsellars and officers and said to them that inspite of kindness and courtesy, Bhagwantrao

Poem

*Has no business except revenge against me
He has no idea except a design
Hence, I will cuff his hands in fetters
For injury comes to my collar from him*

work which does not appeal to reason has slight goodness in it. Of necessity, he thought of a remedy before occurrence of the event. Nearly at the time when the night coloured veil was being lifted up from the face of false checks of wicked world and nearly when the dawn of true world gave evidence about scheming stratagem of deceitful time of vicious nature, Mumin Khan went in haste with his existing force and reached Bhagwantrao at an opportune time. He surrounded his residential place like a signet in the circle of a ring and found him asleep on the terrace of a house in a sound sleep of negligence like sleeping fortune.

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on and who read explanation of suggestions by hints and who rejoiced at the loss of others by menace and threat and who caused trouble to tongues of devils who were present by taunts of speat.

\ Verse

*Wound which the heart receives by sword of tongue
Will not be healed by any ointment of comfort.*

He pillaged his household goods. He brought them to the government residential quarters and imprisoned them. Decrees of fate threw him in a well which he had dug for another person

\ Verse

*Old sky is full of love and hatred
Some times it exalts a head, sometimes destroys it.*

Mumin Khan seized the revenue of ships as well as that of the paraganah without any partner. He recruited a cavalry and an infantry and strengthened the turret and fortifications. Salim the Arab Jamadar, on hearing this episode, returned to Dholka. He got into service of Dhumaji who was despatched to Saurath on behalf of Darnaji Gachkar. When Batajitao learnt about this event, he wrote with emphasis to Shankeraji, faujdar of Viramgam, Ganesh Apa, faujdar of Jamusar and Magbulabad, faujdars of Dabhoi and Dhanduka that they should march with an army together against Khanbhayat and endeavour to liberate the prisoners. Whereupon, Shankeraji and Sambhuram employed Muhammed Lal Rohila and other jamadars in service and set out for Khanbhayat with old and new soldiers. Faujdars of various places prepared themselves for war and joined them. He reached Khanbhayat with an army of nearly twelve thousand horse and foot. They raised batteries, dug mines and prepared entrenchments. Fire of warfare blazed forth with cannons and guns from both sides. Every day, harvest of many persons' lives was consumed. Nearly three months were spent continuously in this manner. In the meantime, some well-wishers began to knock at the door of peace. As the time had not yet come these efforts for peace proved futile.

Verse

*So long as time for fulfilment of promise made has not come
Friendship of every friend there is, is of no avail.*

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Shankeraji wrote to Shripatrao, Naib of the subah time after time



for help. He twice sent lead and gun-powder but delayed despatch of horse and foot. He evaded help. When coming and going of envoys deviated the limit of moderation, through fear, that the stigma of ill-repute might not stick to him, he sent a cavalry and in fantry consisting of Arabs, Hindis, and Mavlas along with two cannons with his peshkar Dhondu Hari. He pressed the author, in view of his relations with Mumin Khan to bring about peace. He sent him in company of a regiment on 9th Jamadi II. When he joined Shankeraji, it so happened that on that very day peace was agreed upon at the efforts of Nana Ratan, a merchant-banker of Jamusar who had come in company of Ganesh Apa, the local faujdar and Pani Muqaddam, amin of the paraganah of Petlad. It was settled that Bhagwantrao in future should not be a source of improper movement and revolt. This peace was sealed with efficient management of Shankeraji. Next day, Mumin Khan liberated the prisoners and gave him a wearing apparel and the palki that he had brought with him and sent him out. It was decided that there should be mutual meetings. On the third day, Shankeraji hastened with sardars to the plain on the precincts of the port. Mumin Khan too came there and they met each other. They exchanged mutual presents between them. The author who was present there was taken with himself by Mumin Khan when he bade adieu to Shankeraji. He stayed therefor two complete days. He joined Shankeraji at Kathata (Kathana ?) in Petlad jurisdiction and returned to Ahmedabad. It was during this time, that Munawwaruddin, sadr of the subah who was unemployed went to Surat port. Muhammed Panah son of Rahim Yawar Khan, Sazawal (land-steward) was arrested on a charge of theft. He was put to death by Shripatrao. Some of the kolis who were captured were blown up by being tied to the mouth of a cannon. Muhammed Babi, watandar of Kheda who was ill for some time, died. Khair Talab Khan, after death of his brother Nek 'Alam Khan was Faujdar at Broach. He died.

Verse

*Our ultimate destination is the valley of the silent.
Now raise your clamour to the dome of skies.*



CHAPTER 294

OCCUPATION OF BROACH BY HAMID KHAN WHO IN FUTURE WAS TITLED WITH THE TITLE OF NEK NAM KHAN BAHADUR

Khair Talab Khan who had succeeded his brother after his death, continued to conduct the government of Broach for a few days left to him for promised death. When the time for departure arrived, he got bed-ridden. He noticed in himself signs and symbols of bidding adieu to this transitory world due to seriousness of physical ailment. He tried to seek remedy to get some respite and time from this inevitable journey at any rate but to no purpose.

Sa'adi

*Sikander who ruled over the world
The moment he departed, he left the world
It was not possible to seize the world from him
And give him respite for a moment*

Muhammed Hashim arrived from Surat with his brother Muhammed Reza and his dependents as mentioned above. He established close relations with Khair Talab Khan and won his confidence. He himself was a man of luxurious habits and tasted palate of desire with the syrup of joy by constantly measuring cups of wine from hands of rose-coloured, silver bodied cup bearers. He had collected together melodious songstresses, religion and faith plundering minstrels of perfect beauty and comeliness and moon-faced beauties with coquetry and amorous glances.

Verse

*Night of power was hidden under their tresses
Rise of dawn was manifest from their light*

and always gave delight to the soul and comfort to the heart. He derived benefit from plucking roses of cheeks of rose faced beauties and gathered pleasure from enjoyment of moon-like beauties.

Verse

*Embrace of the lover and the beloved was prosperous
It reminded of almond of two kernels*

He was engaged in such pleasures and enamoured of them. He had appointed him his naib and left administration of financial and state matters in



his power and authority. He cast his young child Hasan Ali in his shirt with a recommendation and died. Bolan, wife of 'Abdullah Beg, the step-mother of Khair Talab Khan was a surety for management of affairs and custodian for the place. She wrote to the vakils of the Royal Court for grant of a mansab and title of Nek 'Alam Khan for Hasan Ali along with a sanad of faujdari of Broach from the office of Khalsa Sharifah (Royal Crown lands) with the seal of the Diwan. Muhammed Hashim acted as Naib and conducted administrative matters with advice and consultation of Bolan. Hamid Beg had left Broach for Surat on account of disaffection with Khair Talab Khan. He considered death of his uncle as happy time and strong good luck. He collected together Pleiades-like around him those persons who were connected with him and who roamed about in the valley of bewilderment as associates of despair and perplexity scattered and dispersed like stars of the Greater Bear. He employed others in service. He brought some of them by way of help from Safdar Muhammed Khan from the port of Surat. When he found the land-paths full of danger on account of Maratha beasts and animals, he brought the standard of determination by way of sea through swimming. He loaded several boats with cannons and war-materials, raised the sail of design towards Broach. Bolan got scent of his design. She held a council for defence. It was decided that several boats full of experienced men and war materials should be sailed against him so as to know whose boats were brought to the shore of safety by favourable wind blowing from the divine ambush and whose boats of existence who were destined to do were to sink in the vortex of calamity of non-existence. The lot of admiralship fell in the name of Muhammed Hashim who was the Naib and sole administrator. He put forth an excuse under tutorship of far-seeing wisdom, out of care and caution and certain other matters, through fear of guess and conjecture as it has been said,

Verse

*There are many pearls of benefit in the sea
If you wish safety, it is on the shore.*

and cast the anchor of inactivity. As it was time for action, Ghulam 'Ali Beg, of necessity, who was also a relative of Nek 'Alam Khan and whose star of fortune was on the ascendant was proposed for it. He embarked with trust in God, in the name of God reciting " Move them and anchor them ". Standards were unfurled. Wind of desire of victory began to blow. In the meantime, boats of the enemy made their appearance. From both sides, wooden animals were made to gallop. Wind-measuring timber animals attacked the refuge of one another. Flame of fire of war with cannons and muskets blazed forth on surface of water. A cloud formed out of smoke of gun-powder rose up from



the sea. Fiery hails began to pour down. Boats of lives of many got drowned in the whirlpool of death. Stormy waves of destruction deprived the remaining watery horsemen of consciousness. Every matter is accomplished at its proper time. Hamid Beg saw no progress, turned his boats, came out from the sea of calamities and went back by the route he had come.

Verse

*God carries the boat to any one He likes
Even if the shipman rends garments on his body*

Ghulam 'Ali raised his head in glory and returned to the Judi shore. He was appointed as Naib. The truth of "God made strivers in religion superior to those who sit at home" manifested itself. Muhammed Hashim being discharged, left Broach. As there was no possibility of his return to Surat, he went to Khanbhayat and became a servant along with his brother of Mumun Khan, the port officer. After some time, Bolan summoned him for a certain matter. Hamid Beg returned to Surat without realization of his desire. In view of impregnability and solidarity of Broach fort which was not possible of conquest with war and battle, he plotted with Bhagwan, mediator of the Maratha party who had given shelter and protection to his dependents in his mind. He allied himself with some of the kasbais and came out in changed identity and garb so that no one could recognize him and hid himself. He engaged in a plan to get aiders and helpers and expulsion of Hasan 'Ali and Bolan. It was a closed secret which in course of time became public. The curtain was lifted up from the face of affair. Bolan went to his house and appointed some persons to beat and bind him. Hamid Beg who had not acquired power and position, avoided resistance and he went to Bhagwan's house. He became a mediator and removed him. Once again, he returned to Surat in that form. He always spent his days in thought and meditation, so that slowly and slowly the time of blow of ambergris scented breeze blossomed flowers of his desires and the blossom of rise of his fortune flowered.

Verse

*If luck is smiling, it breaks arisal with teeth
If luck is weeping, sweet beverage breaks teeth*

The old man, wisdom gave a staff of plan in his hand and acted as a guide like Elijah to escort him to destined goal. He took himself to the residence of Syed Muhammed 'Idrusi. Syed 'Abdullah, his successor and whose naib at the shrine of Syed Ahmed Idrusi resting at Broach was his close relative. Arabs were the disciples of this family. He told him about his secret intentions.



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and requested him for help. He took a vow to give a present on condition of fulfilment of object. Syed Muhammed 'Idrusi wrote to his naib in this respect. He summoned the Arab party who were servants there and told them about the secret. As an amount of their salary had swollen, they agreed to the proposal on condition of payment of their salary as instructed by their spiritual guide. They obeyed him with head and eye (sincerely)

Verse

*When the blessing of the saint accompanies
The master becomes acquainted with secrets of the heart*

Hamid Beg, on hearing this tidings, came inside the fort of Broach secretly alone lidden from eyes of strangers in a dark night and sat as an inmate inside the Khanqah (residential quarters) of 'Idrusi. The other party learnt about his arrival and hiding and despatched a regiment for his arrest. The Arabs apparently rose up for prevention out of respect for the Khanqah. He displayed manliness and bravery with support of the Arabs. Another party which was in concord with him from before also joined him. Fire of war blazed forth with arrows and muskets. It remained kindled for three full days. Many persons from both the parties got slain and wounded. Hamid Beg, having overpowered them, reached himself to the residential quarters of the administrator. At this juncture, well-wishing peace-makers mediated to quell revolt and disturbance and to make efforts to patch up peace and amity between them. They extinguished fire by watering it with bright speech. With convincing arguments and unrefutable evidence, they said that Hamid Beg was the grandson of 'Abdullah Beg. On one side, the Marathas were dominant at this time but by the grace of God they could not occupy this fort. It remained protected and defended. God forbid, there was Government of a child from whose mouth still there came the smell of milk. In view of lack of foresight and domestic discord, ruin could be imagined. If one thought of this in a different way, what would come to light from behind the invisible curtain. Hamid Beg, who was master of intention and daring and worthy of conduct of government through heredity and merit, was invested with authority. There was no objection to it. Those whose wisdom was mature, would verify this statement and applaud it. But Bofan would not lower her head at the instigation of defective wisdom till the bullet of musket began to hit the mark of the palace. By chance, people of that side got frightened and submitted to the proposal of peace with unwillingness. It was settled that Ghulam 'Ali Beg should continue to administer affairs as Naib of Hasan 'Ali and start negotiation. Hamid Beg whose object was at any rate to steady his feet, accepted the proposal and made peace.

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He called Qadir Bakhsh, 'Inayat Bakhsh and his other relations from Surat. With courtesy and politeness, he practised subterfuge for a certain days and established himself. He endeavoured to expel those who were his enemies. He removed them slowly and slowly. He collected congenial aiders and helpers. He discharged Muhammed Hashim whom he considered to be a ring-leader of his enemies. He resided with his brother and dependents at Miyagam which belonged to Ranmal the Kolh zamindar with whom he had close relation and which was situated at a distance of twelve kurohs from Broach. Bolan, on seeing this state of affairs, became anxious about her future and began to remedy the event before its occurrence. She thought to herself a stratagem to destroy the palace of Hamid Beg's life.

Verse

*So long as head of an heir to the throne is on body
The revolt is around the body of kingdom*

Makhu Beg, a relative of Abdullah Beg, who for some time resided at the holy Ka'abah and sacred Medina may God increase their honour and respect had come back at this time. She made him her confederate by giving him hope and temptation of the post of the Naib. It so happened that one day the son of Hamid Beg played Holh. He rushed forward to pour colour over Makhu. He wounded him by blow of scimitar. Hamid Beg who too had learnt about Bolan's designs from her ways and words saw aiders and helpers around him. He intended to cut the hand of Bolan who scratched her head of self conceit. This affair terminated into a dispute, raising of trenches and warfare. Bolan apprised Muhammed Hashim who was at Miyagam about the incident. She wrote to him that he should bring a party of Kolis with him by way of help and arrive as early as possible. He regarded this graceful act of God as exaltation of the star of his fortune and luck and fall of the star of misfortune and decline and rushed in all haste with a party of Kolis. He came to a distance of two kurohs from Broach. He returned immediately on hearing about victory of Hamid Beg and fall of Bolan. Hamid Beg confiscated the hoardings of 'Abdullah Beg which were with Bolan and her subordinates and guarded her under surveillance. He established himself with independence and absolute power without obstruction and partnership of any one else in the conduct of government. He reported about the incident to vakils of the Royal Court and made a request for grant of a mansab and title of Nek Nam Khan Bahadur, a sanad for laudum of Broach in his name and obtained them. Makhu Beg who showed daring was entrusted to a party of men who took him out on a pretext and murdered him. His body was immersed in the Narbada river. Responsibility of narrating event rests on a narrator. It was during this time that carts loaded with silk were being transported to Ahmedabad from Surat. They passed ahead of leaving the ford of Broach. They were seized, guarded, found guilty and imposed a fine which was collected from them.



CHAPTER 295

REVOLT OF BHAGWANTRAO MUKASDAR (TRIBUTE COLLECTOR) OF KHANBHAYAT AGAINST MUMIN KHAN. DEPARTURE OF SHRIPATRAO UNDER SUMMONS OF RAGHUNATH RAO.

Liberation of Bhagwantrao mukasdar of Khanbhayat was stated above. He lived for some time in a fortress at Napad in Chorasi taluka of Khanbhavat. He despatched his naibs to mahals who collected revenue half to half as settled. Shankeraji and others had become surety and guarantee for his improper behaviour and rebellion. They went to Poona. In 1169, Bhagwantrao was moved with a sense of honour. Hand of zeal caught hold of his collar. He endeavoured to make amends for the past and to regain his lost reputation. He began to recruit Arab and Rohila jamadars. At this time, Sadashiv Damodar arrived in the city with an army of three thousand horse and three elephants from Poona being appointed as Sarfauj of Ahmedabad. He alighted in the houses of Jawanmard Khan, his ancestors and relatives. Bhawantrao wrote to Shripatrao to send him help. He ordered Takoji, principal manager of affairs of Sadashiv Damodar to go with a cavalry of four hundred horse and a party of Gujarati horsemen on the establishment of the fort. As summoned by Bhagwantrao, Sambhuran and Muhammed Lal joined him, as servants under an agreement with a regiment of brave soldiers. Bhagwantrao to all outward appearance saw an army ready, he came to the boundry of Khanbhayat and raised disturbance. He resorted to plunder and occupied the entire paraganah of Chorasi. He entrusted it to assessment and collection of tax-gatherers. Mumin Khan also despatched an army consisting of new and old soldiers which he kept ready and prepared and on finding his design. A war ensued between them several times with cannons and muskets. Sometimes, this party was victor and at other times the other party. At this juncture, Shripatrao received a letter of call from Raghunath Rao. He started on 20 th Safar appointing one of his confederates Raghu as his naib in the city.



Quatrains

*Complaint against the hands of baseless sky
It never opened the tangle of any one
Wherever a heart was seen, it had a brand
It placed one hundred brands on that one brand*

In short, Bhagwantrao continued war for two months after departure of Shripatrao. Salary of soldiers rose high. He saw no progress in his adventure. The parties agreed to make peace. Sambhuram and Muhammed La'l mediated. Several times they visited both the parties for negotiations. It was settled that whatever revenue collected from the harbour and other places as a Maratha share and appropriated by Mumin Khan should be restored. Ten thousand rupees were stipulated for the purpose. The war ended. As he had no cash in reality, Takoji the manager of Sadashiv Damodar, in view of stopping the war became a surety for payment of the fixed amount. He left one man from his behalf for recovery of that amount from income of mahals at the appointed time and left for Ahmedabad. Bhagwantrao appointed his nairs in the port and marched to Navad. The soldiers made demands of their salary and allowances. As he failed to fulfil his obligation, he drew some of his men under shelter of the fortress with a contrivance and closed the door against others and then started negotiations for settlement of the salary. He pleased some by giving less and more and some by giving bills. He took receipt of payment. Sambhuram, Muhammed La'l and 'Abdullah Zubairi, the Arab Jamadar were, besides small amounts paid to them, assigned to Takoji for payment of the fixed amount in writing. Having thus freed himself from obligation, he went to Poona. Those persons made demands of their salary after the appointed period was over. No aid was received from Khanbhayat. The amount was recovered with severity and harshness. The more Takoji wrote to Mumin Khan for payment of money, the less replies he received. He evaded payment by promises of today and tomorrow. Again, he sent his clerk Bhikaridas, apparently, for conciliation and apology for non payment of money and for promise to pay within a short time but in reality to study the condition and circumstance of the city because he had some other ideas in his mind. That cheat gave false promises with flattery and fraud and went away selling them wet fuel.



CHAPTER 296

MARCH OF MUMIN KHAN ON GHOGHA. ITS OCCUPATION. DESPATCH OF AN ARMY UNDER COMMAND OF MUHAMMED ZAMAN KHAN TOWARDS SAURATH. HIS ASSAULT ON VILLAGES OF PETLAD. DEPARTURE TO JAMUSAR AND ITS PILLAGE.

Mumin Khan had recruited a large number of soldiers for this war in view of preservation of his reputation and place. The amount of their salary had risen high. He saw no ability in himself to discharge his obligation. He found the field empty of disturbance from strangers and the faujdar. He had tried and seen daring and boldness on the part of Naib of the subah and Sadashiv Damodar who had come in company of Bhagwantrao

Hemistich

Heard is not equivalent to seen.

He got an opportunity at this time and sought a remedy to play for payment of soldiers. He sent, by way of a test, an army to attack Pachham in Rimdi taluqa. He brought animate and inanimate property of that place and paid salary. He did not hear any noise and sound from any place. His boldness increased. He intended to occupy Ghoha which from old times was under jurisdiction of Khanbhayat and where was posted a Naib port-officer. For some time, it was occupied, more or less, by Sher Khan Babi but it was now occupied by Peshwa's men. He determined to march there. He conquered that place and returned after appointing Ibrahim Quli Khan as naib with a party of one hundred Arabs. On the way wherever he reached, he seized some thing by way of peshkash and came to Khanbhayat. He despatched Muhammed Zaman Khan son of Fidauddin Khan and Brajlal Peshkar toward Gholwad and Kathiawar with the whole cavalry and infantry. They marched to that side and resorted to plunder and pillage. Of necessity, the Zamindars came to them, accepted to pay peshkash according to their ability and condition and protected and defended their respective villages. The army stayed there for nearly two months which helped him in payment of past and present salary. He returned to Khanbhayat as summoned by Mumin Khan. He saw that the army was well-equipped and salary of soldiers was totally paid. He found the faujdar of Petlad an emigreé with a small regiment. He took no account of him and personally marched against him. Muqaddams and ryots of other places, on witnessing this state of affairs, learnt a lesson. When the faujdar of Petlad could not make any amends, they came for assessment of revenue, gave a hostage and protected and defended their lives and property. Mumin Khan marched to distant villages. They came forward at all places through fear and fright of war and brute and sub-



mitted hostages. He went as far as Mogari of Anand and returned. He recovered the assessed amount in instalment and at stipulated time. For some time past, most of the merchants of Surat and Khanbhayat ports brought merchandise goods and silk cloth by boat to Jamusar and engaged in deal and transaction there. The expenses of the place were greatly reduced because of these transactions. These were not customary from ancient times at that place. At the same time, it had custom houses to collect tolls. This innovation greatly reduced income of Khanbhayat port. He also took into consideration the wealth of Nana Ratan merchant-banker who lived there and was the author of this practice. At this time, Ganesh Apa Faujdar of Jamusar, one of the sureties of the last war of Bhagwantrao had gone to Poona. The place was without a regiment who could offer resistance. He made Zaim Jaira, the Koli chief of Dhawan in concord with himself with a temptation of plunder and pillage. Those miserable wretches who always wished for and sought such matters placed fingers of acceptance, on hearing tidings of plunder, on eyes of obligations.

Verse

*When young and old heard of plunder
They made their hearts targets of a roue*

Mumun Khan marched with an equipped army consisting of cat-ahls and infantry sending ahead the Kolis who were acquainted with paths and fords. When a heavenly decree came Nana Ratan, the target of plunder, fled, on hearing about approach of an army, along with a party of Dekhanis that were there. Having entered inside the town, he besieged it halo-like. He seized house hold goods. During five days halt, he collected whatever cash and goods he could, sent for porters from Khanbhayat and despatched goods. Soldiers and Kolis plundered houses and residences. No one questioned about goods that were grain and hearth that were merciless. They sent carts laden with plundered goods to their respective houses under escort. Most of the soldiers obtained gold and silver ornaments of women. They became rich. In the meantime, Muhammed Hashim and his brother Muhammed Reza who lived at Kanam which was situated nearby, came to report about a false news, out of well wishing which they had heard that a Maratha army had collected at Ankleswar with an intention to come to this side. Hence, Mumun Khan read 'Return is commendable' and beat the drum of departure. Both the brothers accompanied him. He came to Khanbhayat in safety and security. On account of occurrence of this event, awe and domination of Mumun Khan increased ten fold. Ryots and common-folk of paraganas got frightened and fearful of him. Muqaddams of Petlad paraganah who were nearest, satisfied the Maratha naibs, came with willingness to agree to pay one-fourth part of revenue and thus secured peace of mind.



CHAPTER 297

FIRE IN THE STREET OF DHANJI PANCHAN (Panchal?) IN THE CITY OTHER EVENTS

Due to revolt and rebellion of people of this region and their wicked deeds and actions, Divine will and intention of Eternal God ordained desolation. As this time, an order was issued for damage to the possible world by fire. Element of fire alienated itself from association of the four elements. A flame of fire visited the street of Dhanji Panchal situated on the road of Kalupur bazar. It contained lofty, heart-fascinating buildings and high delightful houses "like cemented fabrics" painted with pictures and images of heart-alluring Arzang and adorned with decoration and embellishment of "Like of these were not created in cities." They were built at expense of large sums of money by merchant - bankers who were rich and wealthy, with dignity and power and famous with name and fame in the imperial provinces. They transacted business in lacs of rupees. They had constructed these houses before occurrence of troubles, and breach of revolts in this prosperous city with passage of time. They had spent lot of time in building them. Their owners and founders gradually lost what they had in payment of biwarah and fines imposed by unjust Nazims and mortgaged cash of life with death and left the world empty-handed and bare footed.

Verse

*He who came built a new building
Left and gave it to another person*

Their heirs were needy of a night-bread and led distracted lives. Those empty buildings and unoccupied houses appeared fearful like a wallet of afflicted beggars and cottages of the poor. No crack and disintegration had found their way to them on account of solidity and durability. Owls and bats of desolate places lived in that nest. Out of folly, one of the residents lighted a fire-work, extinguished fire, left live coal, locked the door of house and came out. That burning coal got kindled, suddenly blazed forth and got inflamed due to blowing of wind. Calamity of a neighbour reached a neighbour. Every flame of it in explanation of "Fire of God blazing forth" agreed with the guards (of hell), its blaze in narration of "Upon them piled up fire" of the same description with keeper of hell. Its every burning coal said to moist and dry things "Do not live and do not be alone" and its every spark became manifest "Like a palace, yellow in beauty."



Verse

*Fire which consumed the people
There is no remedy except to extinguish it*

The fowl of sight got its feathers and wings singed while the bird of thought got roasted by mere imagination of it

Verse composed by the author

*The world became blazed fire
Wherein fowl of sight was consumed*

However much they endeavoured to extinguish that fire by water of deliberation they proved of no avail as it was not the will of God. The whole street wherein there were so many houses, habited and uninhabited got burnt like a furnace of brick bakers and reduced to ashes. There appeared a scene of "lofty buildings becoming low."

Verse

*Every fire kindled by the hand of destiny
It burnt all our thoughts and plans*

Cemented buildings fell down and they began to roll upon one another. For several days together, no one could breathe a cold breath in round about places due to intensity of heat. After disappearance of heat, pegs and an iron cage, besides what people took away and remained buried under debris of earth and stones were taken out at an expense of one thousand rupees. It was at this time that porters of Sadashiv Damoder who on private horses had gone to a distance of two kurohs on the other bank of Sabarmati for bringing grass, the Kolis of Chanwala seized an opportunity and poured upon them. They carried away some good and useful horses with force. Some of them removed accoutrement of horses and returned horses to them. They returned in safety to their respective houses without horse and accoutrement.

Verse

*Horse could not be galloped every place
At places we have to yield*

As disturbances of Kolis increased, Raghu, the naib of the subah appointed Sambhuram, Muhammed Lal and Ganga Jat on establishment of the fortification as well as patrolling faujdar. All the three served together. He also recruited one hundred and fifty horsemen for them. They took rounds of outside places and attacked those villages from which the Kolis took away cattle. As their expenses were more than income and there was no gam from their services, they were discharged.



CHAPTER 298

MARCH OF MUMIN KHAN, PORT-OFFICER OF KHANBHAYAT TO CONQUER THE FORT OF BORSAD HIS RETURN WITHOUT ACHIEVEMENT OF HIS OBJECT.

Mumin Khan, port-officer of Khanbhayat port obtained, in short, internal and external power and position. He determined to conquer the fortress of Borsad in Petlad taluqa which Renkoji had built and which was at a distance of ten kurohs from Khanbhayat. He hoisted the standard of march. He came out with tents, tent-ropes and cannons and went there. Having fixed his tent on one side, he engaged in preparation of trenches and batteries. He waged a war with cannons and guns. One night, he placed some ladders to climb up. He sat at the foot of fort-walls all around and the fringe waiting for an opportunity hiding himself and kept awake for the night. As the watchmen above the turret and city-fortifications were all eyes like decorating stars of the turquoise-coloured terrace and they looked down, the expectant beings had no chance to go up.

Verse

*When morning drew the robe of light on body of the sky
The world removed the veil of dark night from its face.*

Night-sitters postponed accomplishment of this task to the coming night, went to their respective tents for rest and slept on bed of slumber. Sayaji son of Damaji Gaekwar who lived in Baroda, got intelligence of design and arrival of Mumin Khan. He went in all haste with his existing army, he suddenly came nearby at when one watch and a half of day had passed unawares that no one had any conjecture of his arrival.

Verse

*He came to that valley of disturbance
With intention of war and design of battle*

Some of the soldiers who out of care and caution, stationed themselves outside the camp, on seeing the arrival of the enemy, without ascertaining strength and weakness of the army got dispersed with a shake. Some of the forwards lost steadiness and control, turned horses towards Khanbhayat and did not stop till they reached there. The other party, on finding slipping feet of the enemy, stepped forward with boldness. Some of the brave horsemen boldly spurred their horses, entered the camp-bazar and engaged in a skirmish.



1965-06-03 -Mirat I Ahmadi -A History of Gujarat (838)

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Mumin Khan who was asleep, got up hearing clamour and uproar of hustle and bustle and of blows Becoming acquainted with the occurrence, smartly rushed against the enemy with soldiers who were present with him

Verse

*In time of necessity when there did not remain any escape
A soldier catches hold of a sharp sword*

In the meantime, other soldiers joined him and engaged in defence Some of those who were ordained to die came to the grave-yard of their own accord and fell on dust of destruction catching hold of horses and accoutrement Sivaji Gekwar who galloped for help, could not precede due to arrival of a cannon-ball which was wicker-bound As he had come with a small army, he turned reins of his horse and went back Mumin Khan cancelled his intention, loaded his provisions and went back to Khanbhayat

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CHAPTER 299

FALL OF HEAVY RAIN DECAY AND DISINTEGRATION OF WALLS OF THE FORT OF AHMEDABAD MUMIN KHAN'S DESIGN TO OCCUPY THE CITY AND EXPULSION OF THE DEKHANIS

It was in this year that in accordance with decrees of the Great God, that rains poured down for satiation of fields, gardens in monsoon to extinguish heat and lukewarmness of keenness of burning fire of the street of Dharmji Panchal which was kindled a few days before. The season had deviated the limit of moderation to adorn fascinating garden of the world and its people when compared to former years. It had rained beyond limit and proportion. Its deficiency reached the degree of excess. It shook foundations of many buildings and pulled them down. It made feet of stability of walls slippery and overthrew them. Decay and disintegration set in at many places of city-fortifications. The night on which its severity was intense, the sky also shook.



Khan, port officer of Khanbhayat designed to liberate government from the Dekhanis. On hearing about breaches in the city-fort, he thought to strengthen wall of his determination and resolution. He arranged meetings of consultation and plan night and day with his confidential men and counsellors.

Hemistich

How can that remain a secret for which assemblies are arranged

Gradually, this statement began to be talked about. It came to be publicly known. It passed from knowledge of one person and ended in limit of continuity. This song from behind the curtain reached Raghu, Naib of the subah in a colourful manner from every place. He began to think about remedy to ward off the enemy's design. He put his head in a circle of meditation. He decided to take rounds of the fort morning and evening. At this juncture, the Arab jamadar Salim came to the city by being discharged by Dhumaji. He stayed in the city for some days. He had gone to Dholka for a certain affair and returned from that place. He reached outside the Jamalpur gate and sought permission for entry in the city to go to his house which he had constructed with two stone turrets during the government of Jawanmard Khan. His dependents lived in that house. As fearful news were received from Khanbhayat, Raghu, out of care and caution, did not deem it proper for his stay in the city at this time. He was given a reply that he should stay for some time outside the city. Sambharam, Muhammed La'l, Ganga Jat went to Raghu with Shah 'Abdur Razzaq in whom the Dekhanis had confidence for intercession on behalf of Salim. He, out of respect for them, said that he should not live in a house which was adjacent to Jamalpur gate and that he should live in other place in the city. If he desired to live in his house, he should demolish the turret, otherwise he should remove his wife and children and go wherever he liked. He chose the third alternative. He went to Dholka with his dependents. Mumin Khan who always spent his time in thought and meditation of capturing the object of his desire and ended his night into day in love for the beloved of his wish. Some prudent, wary, for seeing and foresighted men, out of well wishing and welfare, bored the door of admonition with a needle of tongue and stretched it to the ears of his intelligence and said,

Verse

*There ought to be the consultation in all matters
Work without consultation is not good*

Although the Naib of subah had apparently no army and strength, yet in

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view of the power of Peshwa Balajirao which had reached the degree of perfection at that time and whose star of exaltation had reached the highest pitch, how could he tolerate its surrender when on supposition and destiny Ahmedabad was conquered with slight boldness in a short time God forbid,

Verse

*When you plant a tree of haste
It will yield fruit of distraction*

As the pen of destiny had written it otherwise and heavenly decree had ordained it differently, it proved ineffective

Verse

*When fate pitches its tent of destiny
No one can boast of deliberation*

He was fascinated and enamoured of the bride of kingdom, advice of kind advisers and congenial friends proved of no advantage

Verse

*Advice of the whole world is like wind in a cage
To a lover it is like water in a sieve*

He thought of this matter on supposition and considered destined idea as a reality, he replied that whatever came to be described by way of unanimity and affection and as sincerity and loyalty was true When Raghunath Rao snatched the kingdom from Jawanmard Khan with a large army at expense of lacs of rupees within a period of two months and now that the Peshwa was acquainted with expense and income of the subah and that he found out advantage and disadvantage, for what benefit a wise man would spend lacs of rupees once again The matter would be terminated in peace

Fragment

*Do not withhold your advice from any one and say
Although there is refusal from side of the hearer
A cloud did not withhold its drop of rain from a mountain
Although it creates no effect on heart of a rocky stone*

Will of God got ascendancy Mumin Khan made Mir Shamsuddin who was his old associate and held the post of Bakhshi formerly, secretly importuned him for salary He carried the matter to harshness apparently for waging



for want of money. He expressed sorrow. On a false excuse, he came out and went to Ahmedabad. He began to inquire about condition and circumstances of Ahmedabad. He learnt about the fresh promise and pledge entered into with Sambharam, Muhammed Lal and Ganga Jit who had taken upon themselves the responsibility for accomplishment of this affair. They had also received several thousands of rupees as expenses for their confederates as earnest money. He had invited others for information when Raghu learnt about his arrival that he was one of the old friends of Mumin Khan. He became suspicious. He summoned him and asked him as to what was the object of his visit and who was his object and desire in the city. He made his disaffection as an excuse. He did not believe it and expelled him from the city. Syed Hathu, a kasbat of Petlad visited the city on behalf of Mumin Khan. Secretly, he wanted to employ unemployed soldiers in concord with Bhaichand, a banker for expenses. He was arrested at the backbiting of some persons and imprisoned. Zainul 'Abadin Qazi of Kadi, on account of discord with Hari Ram Saundhar of the place, roamed about in a valley of bewilderment and the desert of disappointment. He inquired about the design of Mumin Khan. As it has been said that an enemy of the enemy is a friend of such a person he came and joined him. With his consultation and knowledge, he sent hundis of expenses by way of accounts to Mohammed Hashim alias Anba and his brother Jambaz alias Janmu, Kasbats of Kadi so that they should collect men to create disturbance in that district. They should strain their ears to hear the noise and join at the time of action. They were busy with that matter. Sambharam sent correspondence of temptation to kols of Dabhoda situated at a distance of ten kurohs from the city and made them in accord with him. Raghu, Nub of the subah, on hearing about Mumin Khan's design that,

Verse

*Every moment information comes from that side
It is fresher than the fresher one*

wholeness of the bud of his mind got disturbed and confused like a rose. It was not possible to repair the fort as the monsoon had not yet ended. This added to his disquietude. Of necessity, Raghu ordered Shanker Kotwal that he should close the breaches with planks of king-beam. He seized beams by force and violence from every place and house habited or otherwise and wainscotted (fixed the breaches with planks)

Verse

*When is an eye lash a barrier of passage for spontaneous tears?
How can a thorny wall prevent a flood?*

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Locks of gates which had become old due to closing and opening for the last so many years and whose parts were worn, were replaced by strong ones.

Verse

*When fate intends to break a door-barrier
What use to lock it with a Rumi lock*

It was at this time that Ghulam Husain Khan son of 'Abdul Hamid Khan, the former diwan who resided in Surat for the last so many days came to Ahmedabad. By chance, it so happened that Malek Gulab of soldierly profession who spent his life in service with ten, twenty horsemen, waited for an opportunity to side with Mumin Khan. He came to the city. He was subjected to inquiry on a charge of guarding the wife of grass-seller whose heirs had complained to Raghu against him. He was rebuked and reproached. When he denied the charge, he was entrusted to tax-gatherers to present the woman. However much other persons pleaded on his behalf, consented to give securities for his release but to no purpose



CHAPTER 300

DEATH OF RAGHU, NAIB OF THE SUBAH AT THE HANDS OF MUHAMMED LA'L ROHILA. OTHER EVENTS

From the beginning of Peshwa Balajirao's government, the elite and the common-folk were free from arrest, payment of biwarah and fine. They carried on their trade and profession with cheerfulness. None molested any one on suspicion of wealth on account of winning hearts and solacing fearful minds. None had anything to do with the other's desires and intentions. None caused any harm and injury to others.

Verse

*Paradise is where there is no harm
None had anything to do with the other*

Every one minded to increase his trade and profession according to his condition, capacity, credit and loan in hope of making amends for past losses and reparations for old deficiency which they had suffered at the hands of unkind tyrants. Those who had migrated from their native places on account of injustice of rulers, returned to their original homes and birth-places. It is a well-known maxim that kingdom can be made peaceful with unbelief and justice and not with Islam and tyranny. In short, there was splendour and magnificence in the city. Rotation of the crookedly moving sky and disturbances in the parts of life took place in every city and region of the world. There was general hardship in the world. Every one was helpless with his own fate. Purchasers came from ancient times to purchase various kinds of cloth and a variety of goods of Gujarat noted in the world with name and fame from distant cities of Hindustan, Rum, Syria, Arabia and Firang, thus transactions in sale and purchase of goods were made in large sums of money. There was a clear reduction in it. Their merchandise remained with them like bad goods are before the master's beard that is, worthless merchandise was returned to them. Merchants complained about dullness of market. Every shop-keeper grumbled about lack of customers. Through thanks of the Real Benefactor, they were free from payment of fines and biwarah. They became negligent and indolent by sitting at home in an age of safety and security.

Verse

*Thanks should be rendered in any state
That God forbid it may become worse*

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As they were yet involved in a misfortune and retribution of their misdeeds they were visited by "Verily My punishment is severe" due to ingratitude towards kindness. Divine will ordained that they should be involved for some time in various kinds of punishments, fines, charges, accusations as well as hardships and calamities. Those who suffer difficulties understand the worth of safety. He lets a man rule over them to destroy them. Mumin Khan was appointed for this task. There was inclination in his heart to capture the city. He prepared means for the same. He collected riders and helpers. He communicated plan of his conquest to them as something of it was narrated above. In short, when Muhammed Hashim Kasbuti of Kadi was instructed to raise disturbance. The monsoon was over. He rose in revolt and rebellion in co-operation with the syeds who were resident of Nandasan in Kadi praganah. They created disturbance. Haria, the local Naib faujdar marched to chastise and punish them. He sent two thousand rupees as earnest money by calculation as an agreement to enlist two hundred sivar to Sambhuram and summoned them. He was in thought and meditation of some other matter for which he had entered into agreement with Mumin Khan. He regarded receipt of cash as handseal of his intention and said,

Hemistich

Whatever comes from the invisible world is without a blemish!

He accepted the amount as a good omen. He made preparation to send them. He decided to come out of the city on that pretext. He collected together the Kolis of Dabhoda with whom he was in concord. He sent for an army from Khanbhayat to disclose his secret intention to them. He seated the image of object in the palace of desire. He sent outside necessary materials with permission of Raghu, naib of the subah. He himself went to Raghu with Lal Muhammed Rohila and Ganga Jat as all the three were in concord for farewell with a few soldiers at noon on 11th Zilhaji. At the time of departure, Muhammed Lal who wore an armour and had a small spear in hand got up and requested Raghu for release and liberation of Malek Gulab. He heard a reply that he would be released. They had some other intention in mind. As it was untimely and there was privacy when every one had gone to his place and occupation, there was none except a few pindits. Fate instructed that opportunity should not be given up. Destiny said that it was the beginning of victory when suddenly Muhammed Lal stabbed Raghu with a small spear who fell on his face. With the same alertness as the point of spear did not come out, he finished him to death with his blood pouring word. 'Abdullah Bargir gave a sword's blow to Dhondu Hari but it did not prove fatal. They took themselves to their horses in all haste and spurred them



towards Khanpur gate. When the gate-keeper saw lightning, of drawn sword and dust raised by galloping horses, he closed the gate against them and came forward to obstruct them. He got wounded at the hand of Anupram son of Sambhuram. They opened the gate and fled away. They took the road to Dabhoda. Raghu's murder was noised in the city. Some of the confederates of Sambhuram who had no knowledge of the incident were on the point of coming out. On getting intelligence of the occurrence, they pulled out their horses and got dispersed. Every one hid himself in a corner of safety. Raghu Shanker Kotwal who was in his house, came to the author without any delay after occurrence of this event. He declared the event to him. He sent word about the event to Sadashiv Damodar, the Sarfauj, who lived in the house of Salim after the latter's exit and Sewakram, naib of Damuji Gekwar. The Dekhans feared and suspected that those who were responsible for this event, must have made persons as their allies and that they might rise in rebellion and a war might ensue. They got frightened of their own shadow. They closed the gate of the fort - citadel against friends and foes. Sadashiv Damodar and Sewakram arrived with their companions and arrayed rows of army in front of the Bhadra gate. Raghu Shanker who was with the author, after receiving news of preparation of the army and obtaining satisfaction at heart, said that he should accompany him as far as the plain before chabutra of Kotwali. Of necessity, the author went with him and reached him there. No noise and voice was raised from any corner and also there was none who could be source of adventure. Due to fear of immoderate behaviour of the rabble and vagabonds who might seize the opportunity to plunder, a proclamation was issued. Men of the murdered Raghu considered Malek Gulab as the cause and inspiration of this murder and so they murdered him. Sadashiv Damodar shifted from the house of Salim to the Bhadra. The Dekhans went to the houses of Sambhuram, Muhammed La'l and Ganga Jat. They seized their horses, camels and household goods which they had not as yet removed out. They strove to make inquiries about their families for arrest. They found out wife of Muhammed La'l and her brother and imprisoned them. The more they inquired for others, the less they found them. They demolished Malek Gulab's house like thorns from roots. Wealth and property that he had for his maintenance and which he had received through medium of negotiation with Sambhuram were seized. His son Kalidas who served in his fraternity was suspected as an accomplice. His goods were brought. They were about to demolish his house. He regarded himself as free from accusation. He brought Sadashiv Damodar as his guarantee and surety. He took an oath for being free from the guilt. They did not accept it and demanded a sum by way of fine. He had no means to come out of obligation, he took fatal poison and committed suicide. They became suspicious of most of the recruits of Gujarat who consisted of Arabs and Rohils in their employ.



Verse

*When one man of community practised folly
There did not remain any prestige for the small and the great.*

As they were helpless, they had no alternative except to keep them. Those whom they suspected of plot and hypocrisy, alienated them from themselves. They appointed Bahadur Rohila at the fortress of Kali and Bavadan Arab at Barah Nainpur. Hari Ram, Naib Faujdar of Kadi and Naib faujdar of Viramgam, on hearing about the disturbance, came to the city one after the other with their existing forces. Hari pitched his tent in a plain before the Karez building. Dullab, a clerk, who at one time was the wakil of Sanbhuram, was arrested. Two thousand rupees were seized from him under force and violence by beating and torturing. On the fourth day of this event, Sadas Shiv Damodar, the Sarfauj who was an experienced old man collected together nobles, pandits and managers of administrative and revenue matters and held consultation with them about appointment of Naib of the subah Dhondu Hari who had received a slight wound at the hand of 'Abdullah Bargir and who formerly was the naib phadnis, that is, sirashtedar of huzur in their language, of Shripatrao's presence (personal secretary) and his confidential man was proposed for the post. He was given a turban and a sash. The author was summoned and addressed in that gathering. He was informed about the appointment of Dhondu Hari. He said that whatever was to happen was ordained by heavenly decrees. It was now time to make efforts for conciliation of ryots and common-folk. The author also gave a turban and a sash to Dhondu Hari after the Dekhani custom. He engaged himself in administrative work.

Poem

*Example of man who is very stupid
Is like an ant in a plain.
That one is crushed to death under feet of animals
The other carries fast a grain of food.*

He was incapable. Lasso of his capacity was short of reaching high elevation. Within two days' government, he changed himself by his misbehaviour and rascality. The Dekhanis too felt aversion for him. Then what to speak of others. Murdered Raghu performed his duties as a naib for ten months with pleasant manners and good conduct on account of which people remembered him with goodness. He deserved praise.

Verse

*Death with a good name
Is better than life with a bad name.*



In short, Sanbhuram came out of the city. 'Abdullah Bargir came out at night and proceeded to Khanbhayat to convey good news. He acquainted Mumin Khan with the event. He arrayed an army under command of Muhammed Zaman Khan son of Fidauddin Khan and Barajlal. They had to accomplish this task in co-operation with Sanbhuram. They came as far as Dholka but returned as the river Sabarmati was in spate. On receiving this fearful news, the Dekhanis lost heart. They wrote a letter of invitation to Jawanmard Khan for help after holding consultation with well-wishers. They minded protection and defence of the fort and put gates in charge of experienced men. Sewakram, Naib of Damaji Gaekwar alighted near the Sarangpur gate with his own companions and new recruits enlisted from among unemployed soldiers of Gujarat. He was responsible for its defence.

Verse

*Crowing of bells with bronze tongue
Took out sleep from heads of watchmen.*

He appointed sentinels for night-rounds within the fort. Noise of "Be wakeful" reverberated from turrets and fortifications in the ethereal dome. They did not know that

Verse

*War cannot be waged with fate
When divine decrees come before us.*



CHAPTER 301

HASTENING OF MUHAMMED LA'L ROHILA TO KHANBHAYAT AND BRINGING AN ARMY UNDER COMMAND OF MUHAMMED RASHID BEG HIS ENTRY INTO THE CITY EXIT OF THE MARATHAS

Sanbhuram reached the village of Dabhoda. He engaged in recruitment of the Kolis and waited for arrival of an army from Khanbhayat. On hearing about the return of Muhammed Zaman Beg for increased forces, he sent Muhammed La'l Rohila to bring the army. He saw Mumin Khan and said to him that "there is danger in delay." It was better to do soon what was to be done. God forbid, the opportunity might be lost and their troubles might be wasted. The road of Kheda was selected in accordance with exigency of time, the river Vatrak was not fordable. They had to wait for a few days. When news of fording the river was received, Mumin Khan assembled an army of nearly five hundred horse and foot and marched in company of Muhammed Rashid Beg, his wife's sister's husband, Mir Shamsuddin, Shu'ur Habashi, Mubarak son of Jigar, Arab jamadars, Rohilas and Sindhis. He sent five thousand rupees in cash for salary of soldiers. The kolis were employed by Sanbhuram at the rate of eight annas per horse and two annas per footman per day. He despatched war materials such as lead, gun-powder, missiles, and swivel guns on 12th Muharram, 1170. They reached Kheda at mid night, halted for several hours to give rest to the animals and then marched at top speed. This march was reported by Muhammed Dawran Watandar of that place to Dhondu Hari. He too arrayed an army and marched to block up passage of the enemy. The two armies encountered each other near Banjol at a distance of three kurohs from the city. They did action of a slaughtered animal in war with cannons and swivel guns. Some got wounded and some slain. Muhammed Rashid Beg alighted at Naharwalah at a distance of four kurohs from the city situated on the road of Dabhoda and encamped. Sanbhuram who had fixed his eyes of expectation on the four roads, came with the chief of Kolis Hari Kotwal and joined him. They halted for three, four days for assemblage of the Kolis and others, for deliberation and consultation to fix the road for entry into Ahmedabad and for sending spies. In the meantime, Dhondu Hari, Nub of the subah sent his army one day and they waged a cossack war like children's play and returned after having played the game of hide and seek. It was on the night of 21st

Verses

*When the day hid the secret within a curtain
Hiding night gave out the secret*

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*The sufi sun sat in seclusion
The sky held a rosary of Pleiades in hand*

Sanbhuram, having prepared some ladders, set out towards the city. He slyly passed by the side of decay and disintegration of the fort-wall which was tightly closed up with timber, men inside the fort thought that the outsiders would enter from that side, they guarded and defended it with care and diligence. He went to the southern side between the gate- barrier and Astoria where there was no crack or breach in its walls. The other party did not suspect their entry from that valley. He viewed the turret and placed ladders. Some of the Kolis and Sindhis placed their feet on the ladder of desire and climbed up. Guards of that place never thought of danger from that side. The night was about to close. Destiny stuffed their ears with cotton of negligence and applied some colyrium of sleep with a rod of unawareness in their eyes. Soldiers of the sultan of sleep made an assault and defeated them. They submitted to helplessness and lowliness and placed sides on earth. Knavish breeze of morning cast the sheet of unconsciousness over heads. It presented a scene of graveyard. Like companion angel Nakir, they asked one or two without inquiry and question with a blow of fire-pouring sword.

Verse

*When terrifying leopard sleeps negligently
His head can be easily pounded with a stone*

At this juncture, a party of Arabs ascended beating the dish and drum and fired guns. They rejoiced their ascent by beating the dish and drum.

Verse

*Mischief woke up with the sound of drum
Resting ones found work difficult*

They made their way to Astoria gate from over the rampart. Guards of towers and fortifications cried out "He who escaped with head, got salvation" crept into corners and sides and fled away. He came near the gate beating drums and dishes without obstruction of the enemy. Halim Rohila in charge of the gate did not choose disgrace of flight and stepped forward for defence. He found his head in his lap.

Verse

*They then rushed to the gate
They threw off head of the gate-keeper.*



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They broke the lock with a blow and opened the gate. Muhammed Rashid Beg, Sanbhuram, Muhammed La'l and Ganga Jat who waited in expectation with their eyes fixed on the gate like a ring with their horsemen, entered within at top speed.

Verses

*They broke chains and opened door
Another regiment entered the gate.
Storm of fury passed from over the fortification
It poured a sea of pillage in the city.*

Those who came up and those who came inside became two boisterous torrents, the meeting of two seas, surging forth they carried the storm on roads and bazars. Predatory Kolis began to plunder shops and houses situated on the roads.

Verse

*The Kolis hastened to plunder
Like beastly wolves towards flock of sheep.*

Clamour and uproar of plunderers rose high. On hearing this fearful noise and sound and occurrence of heart-breaking, intelligence-robbing event, those persons who were appointed by way of auxiliaries to guards of towers and fortifications and sentinels for night patrol were overpowered with fear and fright. They fled from whatever place they were without becoming acquainted with strength or weakness of the enemy, without getting knowledge of their largeness or smallness, without inquiring truth or falsehood and without coming to know about the real state of affairs. The Dekhanis turned to the fort-citadel. The Gujeratis sought their lanes and streets. No one had the grace to block path of the enemy. Having opened their road of advance, and having found the plain empty of dust of the enemy, they came as far as the road of bazar of Jame' Masjid and residence of the Dutch. A party of hat-wearers (Europeans) fired guns for their protection from back of terraces. Sanbhuram came forward, prevented them from firing and said, that no one had anything to do with them and that they should desist from that action. As there was no other obstruction, they came and posted themselves at the Karez building opposite to the Bhadra gate. They engaged in war with guns, swivel-guns and darting missiles. From the other side, 'Abdullah Zubairy and Saleh, the Arab jamadar stood for defence above the terrace of the gate of the drum-place. As yet it was not bright morning, Sanbhuram and Muhammed La'l galloped horses in round about lanes and streets,

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moved from house to house of soldiers who were employed and paid salary for this day and informed them with good news of their entry. He invited them to join them. Many of them accepted invitation in hope of service. When

Verse

*Commander-in-chief of the East hoisted banner
King of the West got immersed in a sea of blood*

they assembled together. Dekhans who did not rely upon their servants and regarded a citizen and a soldier as their own enemy and friend of the other party, inspite of the fact that the strength of their army was nearly of two thousand horse and foot, they got frightened of their own shadow and failed to distinguish hands from feet.

Verses

*At last, from the rotating sky
The star of the Dekhans fell in declination
From terrace and door, mischief entered within
Wails came out from within and without*

There was no alternative but to run away. In consternation whatever they could pick up in bewilderment at that time, they picked up, and fled by way of the garden-window towards the river Sabarmati. They crowded themselves in haste seeking precedence over one another. At this juncture, Rashid Beg's men arrived like a heavenly calamity from above the parapet under escort of some citizens from the side of the shrine of His Holiness Shah Wajihuddin, may his grave be sanctified, as the wall of the fort of city-fortification had joined wall of the fort-citadel. They wounded some by gun-fire. The Dekhans fled through fear of life like satan from utterance of "There is no power but of God" leaving three elephants of Sadashiv Damoder as it was difficult for them to come out of the window, horses, camels, oxen, donkeys laden with baggage. Those who were at the top came down to the bottom and began to plunder. They plundered everything they could lay their hands on including the tent goods of Raghunath Rao cash and other articles.

Verse

*At dawn, when silver-gilded morning
Opened the gold lock of the door of treasure*

It illumined the world with rays of golden cash of the day. Abdullah Zubairi learnt about flight of the Dekhans and so he desisted from war. The



Bhadra gate got opened for the new comers. Rashid Beg came in with his confederates. He sent Shu'ur Habshi as Kotwal of the chabutra. He issued a proclamation in the name of Mumin Khan.

Verse

*When the proclamation found way into ears
It informed men about victory.*

Nearly one watch of the day had passed when unjust Kolis broke up shops of bankers, cloth-merchants and houses of people by blows of axes and carried away cash and goods in bundles. Oppressed ryots and unfortunate men suffered heavy losses. The city had spread to far-off environs. When most of the citizens of distant streets got up in the morning from bed, they found a changed state of affairs. They learnt about the last night's event from reports of others. They said,

Verse

*In a second, in a moment, in a breath
Condition of the world undergoes a change.*

The Koli plunderers returned after conveying pillaged goods and clothes to their respective houses. Some of the bankers and merchants got frightened by their return, hid themselves, fled when they got an opportunity and went out. Muhammed La'l Rohila brought out his dependents from the pit of prison, made them ride an elephant in a litter and sent them to his side. Syed Hathi and Bhaichand got librated. Arabs, Rohilas, Sindhis, vagabonds and rascals and Muslim citizens cried "Religion, religion;" they let loose stallion bulls whom the Hindus regarded as an act of reward marked with a mark of dedication, followed them, killed some tongue-less creatures and distributed their parts. Butchers who had not polluted their hands since long in blood of cows on account of prohibition of the Dekhanis, regarded this day as a day of festival, painted a cow with spilled blood and carried it to the slaughter house. As against the past and amends for the bygone days, a sacrificial cow was sacrificed and the shop was decorated with it. Some of the Sindhis desolated a newly-built temple by Kahan Sheth Karorai of the Kathera Pacha situated on the road of Khidki. The above event which was one of the best events of the city was reported by the author to His Majesty and despatched with swift couriers. It was read by the courtiers on the twelfth day. In short, the Dekhanis crossed the river Sabarmati like wind over water falling and rising. Sadashiv Damoder and Dhondu Hari fled with others towards Viramgam which had a fort. Sewakram, naib of Damaji



Gackwar went to Dholka and Haria Ram fled to Kadi. Pandits, accountants of the mahal of Kathera Parchah, octroi duties, mint, cattle-market who had occupied houses of Ahmed and Mahmud outside the fort-citadel in the city, on account of descent of this sudden calamity and heavenly decree, could not compose themselves; their external belongings were plundered; they escaped with two ears and nose, some sought protection of Shah 'Abdur Razzaq; others who had former acquaintance with Sanbhuram went under his shelter. Muhammed Zaman Khan son of Fidauddin Khan who had come with an army from Khanbhayat had gone to Dabhoda. On getting knowledge of the event, he came to the city. Rashud Beg issued public invitation in consultation with Sanbhuram for recruitment of horsemen and footmen. There was no distinction between a soldier and a non-soldier. Every silly fool with a shield and a sword or with borrowed shield and sword became a servant. He consoled the Arab and Rohila Jamadars who were with the Marathas and gave good news of service. He appointed them as before for protection of gates and defence of turrets and fortifications. It so happened that Jawanmard Khan was on the way to Ahmedabad from Pattan as summoned by the Dekhanis. He heard about the Maratha defeat when he was between Mansa and Pethapur. He came to Pethapur and met Haria Ram the next day at Kalol. He talked with him on planning for attack. He sent a swift courier to Sadashiv Damodar and proceeded to that direction with Haria Ram. He sent his brother Zorawar-Khan to bring Sadashiv Damodar. He waited for him on the road to Viramgam.



CHAPTER 302

ACQUAINTANCE OF THE EVENT BY MUMIN KHAN. HIS ARRIVAL AT AHMEDABAD BY WAY OF AN EXPEDITION. OTHER EVENTS TILL ARRIVAL OF SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA.

As soon as Muhammed Rashid Beg entered the city by Astoria gate, as he had no time to write out an account of the event, he immediately selected the most fast-running horseman from among his confederates and sent through him tidings of victory to Mumin Khan. He immediately turned reins of determination towards Khanbhayat. Like morning breeze unfettered by any rose and thorn, without taking rest for a moment like rotation of the sky, he galloped his horse at all places with laughing lips and gladdened heart ending day into evening in trotting the horse without any rest. He reached Khanbhayat in dark mid-night. Mumin Khan was in the world of dreams to see such a day in dream. He awakened him and delivered him the good news of capturing the desired beloved saying.

Verse

*Dawn of victory rose from the East of good fortune
Night of desire of selfish persons came to an end.*

On hearing this delightful news, he jumped without delay and procrastination, and intended to start for the place uttering these words

Verse

*Today good fortune conveys good news to us
It is a pledge that the soul is pleased with a thousand desires.*

He ordered to girt up loins and get ready for riding. Some men of intelligence and masters of foresight who had seen cold and heat of time, tasted sweetness and bitterness of days, who were wise and experienced declared to him out of well-wishing and farsightedness that it was contrary to wisdom and shrewdness to work in haste relying on information of one person which was capable of truth and falsehood. The bringer of good news had come at the opportune time when his army only stepped inside the city and that he had no knowledge and information as to where the matter ended and how it ended.

Verse

*Ponder over your work fir by haste
You will do harm to yourself and harm does not do good to anyone.*



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Having verified the statement, he had thought to himself, by way of intelligence and shrewdness, inspite of his prime of youth for it has been said that greatness lies in wisdom not in years and so he remarked that the boundary of Khanbhayat extended to Khorah in Chorasi taluka situated at a distance of six kurohs from Dholka and that it belonged to him and therefore, there was no objection in going as far as that. He would receive accurate information by the time he reached the place and therefore, he would act according to it. Mirza Muhammed Zaman, prince of Iran who for some time was with him was appointed as Naib. He rode along with those horse-men who could reach with him expeditiously. He raised aloft his banner and reached Khorah nearly at false dawn. He applauded his own sound judgment and hotly spurred his horse of determination and reached Dholka. Fateh Muhammed Parmar, local Kasbati and the Arab Jamadar Salim who lived there welcomed him. He tarried a few hours for rest. He gave hopes of service to some of the kasbatis and pressed Salim to accompany him inspite of his pretext of physical ailment and set out on the road. One watch and a half of the day had passed when he alighted at Barah Nainpur outside the city on Sunday, 22nd. He stayed in the house of Meher 'Ali Khan for a few days till the elected time as chosen by astrologers for entry into fort - citadel arrived. He then entered the city. The Arab Jamadar Haji Mubarak who had received a slight wound on the day of entry of Rashid Beg arrived near the plain of Three Gates with elephants with litters. Mumin Khan was conveyed on elephant. Next day, was an auspicious day for Sanbhuram. He came to meet Mumin Khan with Muhammed Rashid Beg, Muhammed La'i, Ganga Jat, Hari Kotwal and the chief of Kolis with his son. They congratulated him and said,

Verse

*Thanks be to God, even if we suffered hardship
We saw you and achieved our desire through you*

Mumin Khan applauded and approbated every one of them according to his rank and status. He pleased them and gladdened their hearts by solace and presents of Khil'ats. As close of the day, he came out by the Khanpur gate on elephant with pomp and magnificence accompanied by a cavalry and an infantry of old and new soldiers for seeing decay and disintegration of walls of the fort. He took rounds of the city and observed them with meditation and depth of thought. He ordered to cut down most of the trees, pull down walls of dilapidated houses of former population situated nearby and round about as well as to dig ditches. He employed skilful masons and hastily building architects to repair and fill breaches in the walls and level up height and depth with their rule of proficiency. Night and day, they minded repairs like a plummet



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and completed them. Barajlal came for administrative management of Nizamat and conversation about some current affairs. Sanbhuram who expected this duty could not brook partnership of a co-wife and displayed displeasure. He remarked

Hemistich

We bear difficulties and others carry away treasures

Mumin Khan practised heartiness in accordance with exigency of time and entrusted management of all financial and administrative matters to his care and responsibility and appointed him naib mukhtar and manager of affairs. Barajlal was sent, out of respect for him, to Khanbhayat. May it not remain hidden that Sanbhuram was a Nagar Brahmin of Visalnagar. At the outset, he was employed as a soldier and then he worked as a wakil of Mir Abul Qasim who was with Najm-ud-dawlah. As the planet of his fortune had its face towards the part of fortune, he advanced slowly and slowly during the government of Jawanmard Khan in company of Shahbaz Rohila. After his murder, he was appointed as patrolling Faujdar on account of his personal merits and inborn bravery. He became popular with the small and the great. At the time of Raghunath Rao's siege, he performed wonderful exploits and came to the fore. He earned name and fame. He then sought independent employment by maintaining a cavalry of one hundred or two hundred horsemen. Something of it had been narrated at proper places above. His remaining account would be mentioned later on. In short, when Sanbhuram was at ease from rivalry of a rival, he directed energy to appointment of servants and attendants. He appointed Muhammed La'l Rohila as patrolling faujdar and entrusted the mahal of cattle-market to him. He assigned other mahals to his close friends and relations except the mahal of Kathera Parchah which Mumin Khan had reserved for Najmuddin son of Syed 'Aqil Khan. As the season of raising, reaping and harvesting of crops approached, he revived assessment and collection of revenue from the paraganah of Haveli which was really occupied. Mumin Khan reported to His Majesty an account of expulsion of the Dekhanis and his own entry in the city in full details. He further wrote.

Verses

*We raised fire from the enemy
Through king's fortune, we shed his blood
We finished his work with one blow
Entrusted his life to saddle-straps of the king*

Jawanmard Khan had halted on the road to Viramgam in expectation of

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Sadashiv Damodar and the Dekhani army They came emboldened with his encouragement and support and joined him When he found their eyes full of fright at the first blow and that he had not a large army, he did not dare undertake that adventure After consultation and counsel, it was decided that they should stay in neighbourhood of the city till arrival of succour from the Peshwa in order that the other party might not stretch out hands of pillage on distant paraganahs Further, they should collect as much revenue as possible from villages of the Haveli paraganah and other places and expend it on the army On this plea, he fixed fifteen hundred rupees per day as expenses for his companions and Zoravarkhan He had thought of details of approach and plan of attack He wrote to Balajirao in details about it affirming his sincerity to render loyal services He made the Dekhanis write about it and despatched the letter with swift couriers He marched to Sanand situated at a distance of six kurohs from the city Haria Ram separated him from here and went to Kadi Jawanmard Khan went to Jetalpur for refuge in company of the Dekhanis as it had a fortress situated at a distance of seven kurohs from the city He halted there for a few days He collected revenue from whatever place he could The Pandits who had taken refuge with Shah 'Abdur Razzaq and Sanbhuram were released and sent out on their recommendation When a report of Mumin Khan's entry into the city and exit of the Marathas spread to near and distant parts of the subah, it became a source of employment for soldiers Every day band after band, party after party and batch after batch of Gujarati, Arab and Rohila horsemen and footmen in expectation of getting more than before as salary came from near and distant kasbas such as Palanpur, Junagadh, Surat port and also Marwar They gave up services of whatever alary they received and flocked to the city in hope of getting fat salary

Verse

Around him from every land and region

Within a short time a large army assembled

Jawanmard Khan and the Dekhanis, becoming fearful of a large army, marched to villages of the Chorasi paraganah for plunder and pillage Mumin Khan got scent of this plan He dispatched Muhammed Rashid Beg, Sanbhuram and Muhammed Lal with a thousand brave horsemen to Khanbhayat He said to them to bring at the time of return if they got an opportunity as much lead and gun powder as they could bring on camels and porters Muhammed Hashim was appointed as Bakhshi in place of Rashid Beg He posted thanas at the fortress of Kadi and Velad Some of the pandits lived in Ahmedabad as merchants and engaged in transaction of goods and merchandise They were



expelled. It was found out at the report of certain persons that some dealers in embroidered and silk cloth had with them their cash and goods. Tax collectors were appointed for the purpose and they recovered four thousand rupees from them. He ordered royal accountants of the mahal of Kathera Parchah to resume duties as before. Taqi Beg Khan was appointed as Darogah of artillery. He pressed him hard for collection of materials for cannons such as lead and gun-powder. Whatever stores of lead, gun-powder and missiles the Dekhanis had, Mumin Khan personally went to see them in the house of A'zam Khan. He opened rooms containing treasures and wealth of the Mughal government hoarded there but he found nothing except useless sticks and planks. There was one locked box in the treasure-room with the seal of Diwans. The author had also affixed his seal on it when he first assumed duty as a diwan. There was nothing written on that sealed, locked box. He carried it with him. When the hour for entry into the fort citadel approached, he shifted from the house of Meher 'Ali Khan to Barah Nainpur on 15th Safar and entered the fort with all pomp and magnificence with an array of army on an elephant back with beating of drums out of rejoicings on Monday, 19th. Eminent syeds and holy spiritual guides came willy-nilly for congratulations and said,

Verse

*You came with a good omen to this auspicious place
You are welcome, peace and kindness on you*

Hindu and Muslim merchant princes and bankers, congratulated and made an offering of, out of fear and fright for the future, rupees and ashrafis according to their capacity and befitting their rank. Mumin Khan conciliated and heartened every one of them and granted them leave to depart. He applauded his judgment and plan and rejoiced by seeing the place from which he had come there. Finding the beloved object in his embrace, he said,

Verse

*I will not easily renounce the skirt of a beauty like thee
For you have come into my hand after much blood-shed*

He devoted to manage financial and administrative matters. He made great efforts in protection and defence of towers and fortifications and in strengthening them. Muhammed Rashid Beg and Sanbhuram who had reached Khanbhayat, hastened against Jawanmard Khan and the Dekhanis who plundered and pillaged villages of Khanbhayat taluka with additional two thousand horse and foot with them. A skirmish took place between them



twice and thrice. The Dekhanis who were defeated kept themselves aloof from fight while Jawanmard Khan's men alone fought. Many soldiers of both the parties got slain and wounded. There was no advantage in a fight. Again, there was a report of arrival of an army from Poona. They quickly turned towards Petlad. As the army at Khanbhayat was sufficient for defence at Khanbhayat, Sanbhuram, being satisfied with it, left Muhammed Rashid Beg there reached the city by way of Dholka on 20th Rabi '1 along with women, lead and gun powder as much as they could carry. Mumin Khan, who under command of Muhammed Hashim alias Anba and Jinbaz Kasbatus of Kadi sent an army with two small cannons for liberating Kadi from Haria Ram. They fought there but got defeated. Their small cannons and provisions were plundered. They returned with broken drums and humbled necks. Mumin Khan had reported in detail, to His Majesty about liberation of Ghogha from the Dekhanis, the vakil through the Wazir ul-Mamalik placed this report before His Majesty about his loyal services. A gorgeous khulfat with a sword-hilt bearing nine marks were favourably granted to him as presents. These presents were sent three months before the occurrence of Ahmedabad incident. It so happened that they reached Khanbhayat. Sanbhuram now brought them. Mumin Khan regarded arrival of these royal favours at this time as a good omen and sent them to Baghi Shahi for exhibition before the public and also as a display of his absolute authority. He rode with great authority and wore the robe in accordance with regulations with due decorum turning his face towards the royal court. He then entered the city beating the drums in joy. Some time after the capture of Ahmedabad, the author's report was read by His Majesty. His Majesty remarked in his own hand as 'well done'. This news spread in the capital. The vakils of the royal court observed His Majesty's demeanour and wrote to Mumin Khan that he should not expect help from the treasury and the army from His Majesty. Domination and ascendancy of the Dekhanis had reached such a pitch and had crossed such a limit that the courtiers had no power to show hostility towards them. He should do whatever he liked. The vakil would obtain as soon as any order was issued or presents given to him. Shripatrao on hearing about Mumin Khan's hostility and murder of Raghu, had marched to that side. He had reached Songadh but returned after getting accurate information about real events of Ahmedabad.



CHAPTER 303

RECEIPT OF AHMEDABAD'S EVENT AT POONA. EXASPERATION OF PESHWA BALAJIRAO. APPOINTMENT OF SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA AS NAZIM. SNATCHING OF CITY FROM MUMIN KHAN. ENTRY OF SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA IN COMPANY OF DAMAJI GAEKWAR WITH A LARGE ARMY. DIGGING TRENCHES. PREPARATION OF WAR.

When repeated reports of victories of Mumin Khan such as capture of Ghogha, plunder of Jamusar and villages of Petlad paraganah, murder of Raghu Naib of the subah, his entry into Ahmedabad, his hoisting flag of hostility and preparation of war reached Peshwa Balajirao, in view of his power and authority, no one, as he thought, dared undertake such an affair and was bold enough to do this sort of action, he got enraged and exasperated to such an extent that the colour of his face frequently changed. He vowed to take revenge.

Verses

*The Peshwa became vigilant at that time
When breaches appeared in safety and security.
He writhed within himself like a coiled serpent
His lustrous poisonous sword stretched its tongue.
With clamour and uproar, he struck hand on drum
He invited (soldiers) from every side for vengeance on the Mughal.*

He nominated Sadashiv Ramchandra who from among all favourites and favoured ones he was most distinguished in rank and distinct from others in point of position and wealth and enjoyed superiority over other compeers in respect of reliability and confidence, as his Naib to administer financial and administrative matters of the subah of Ahmedabad. Damaji Gaekwar partner for half of the subah was sent for help with his brother Khanderao. They tied the girdle of resolution light on preparation and marched to this side with a largely equipped army worthy of the venture. They reached border of the subah at top speed. Mumin Khan received intelligence of their march. In spite of despair of help and succour from the royal court, he did not allow a shake to take place in props of edifice of stability and a quake in pillars of steadiness and firmness with the help of courage and boldness. He strengthened gates of city - fortification and posted experienced men to guard them. He stationed guards on towers and fortifications. Cannons were fixed at all places. He planted a stone with wooden handle on battlements of the fort. He demolished the fortress of Barah Nainpur which served as residential quarters for the



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patrolling saujdar and which was ruined and made desolate by the Dekhans at the time of siege by Raghunath Rao and which was strongly rebuilt by Shripatrao on suspicion that the enemy might not make it his place of refuge. He restricted the war to walls of the fort. He covered his head with helmet of prevention and raised aloft the standard of defence and waited for warfare. Sadashiv Ramchandra and Damaji Gaekwar reached Mahi river, made a move for peace and aversion of hostility. He wrote a letter containing promise and pledge, threat and menace of the Peshwa's hostility whose hand of domination had extended in that age and period over almost the whole of Hindustan and that no one had any power of resistance against him. It was better for him as well as for his welfare that he should desist from molestation and dispute and forget the past as past and done as undone, fold up the carpet of animosity and proceed to Khanbhayat which he occupied since long

Poem

*Do not raise up revolt, do not excite revenge
Do not bring desolation to this region.
You have a kingdom without pain and affliction
Do not praise ingratitude in respect of wealth and treasure
Do not disturb me with self-willedness
Cancel your immature idea
It is better that you should decide on peace
Observe the path of manliness
We do not wish from this peace - seeing pen
To wield a spear with intention to wreak vengeance*

The letter was delivered by the spies. As divine will was otherwise the last order was written with the pen of destiny death was about to visit people, it was time for destruction of wealth and property of men, heavenly decree cannot be rejected as it is beyond human power. Mumin Khan was not content to make peace in view of having collected, to outward appearance, nearly ten thousand horse and foot together, stored up a quantity of lead and gunpowder, gathered together Kolis and strengthened the walls of the fort. He did not send a reply suitable to the question. Bankers and merchants lived in fear and hope. They hid themselves out of foresight, at the approach of an army and the peace being not concluded, any one who got an opportunity, came out in confederacy with the guards. In short, Sadashiv Ramchandra crossed the river Mahi in company of Damaji Gaekwar, and reached Kheda. Jawanmard Khan and the Dekhans joined him. He marched to Nahali situated at a distance of six kurohs from the city. They got acquainted with subject matter of the reply which was not in accord with the object. He alighted in the plain at the back of



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garden of Meher 'Alī Khan and the Kankariyah Tank situated on the environs of the city. Next day,

Verse

*When soldiers of morning hoisted the banner
The world cancelled the word night.*

He rose from that place on 15th Rabi' II with intention to dig trenches and make preparation for warfare and went from Rajpur to Saraspur, the eastern part of the city opposite the gates of Sarangpur and Kalupur. Several cannon-balls were discharged from above the towers of the fort. As walls of dilapidated houses in purahs intervened, cannons proved ineffective. Mumin Khan raised aloft two towers adjacent to Kalupur gate by fixing beams and planks and fired cannons at a certain range so that the cannon-ball proved effective at the opposite camp. Sadashiv Ramchandra and Damaji Gaekwar ordered the Marathas and the Mavlas to raise battery and carry trenches forward. They occupied themselves with that work and came under shelter of walls of desolate houses of purahs. At night when the dark curtain covered the world, they brought many sticks and planks, stealthily covered the masjid known as the masjid of Sidi Bashir built by Malek Sarang, a Gujarati amir situated at a distance of a gun-shot from the fort and stationed themselves hidden from enemy's eyes. On that very night, sticks and planks which they daily got ready were firmly fixed opposite to the fort by the side of the masjid and prepared an entrenchment. Next day, when the juggling sky brought to light the nightly built tent with gold-threaded lightning of the day the trenches of the Dekhanis got revealed to inmates of the fort.

Verse

*Every secret which is hidden under curtain of the night
Becomes clear to all when it is day.*

As the affair had gone beyond the range of cannon-ball, both the armies kept the battle-field warm by shots from guns and swivel-guns from morning till evening. At night, the night-patrolling horsemen came around the city from two directions beating the drums within the fort. Guards of towers and fortifications lighted torches and raised cries of "Be conscious", and shouts of "Be wakeful" to the ethereal globe. Mumin Khan ordered the whole army to be in readiness and came to the Sarangpur gate. Nearly one watch of the night has passed when its darkness grew more dark.

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Kathera Parchah, octroi duties and amil of the paraganah of Haveli and said to him that he should collect the arrears in revenue of the autumn. Damaji also despatched naihs in his jurisdiction. Till now, Jawanmard Khan and his brother Zorawar Khan were in company of Sadashiv Damoder. He paid him at any cost fifteen hundred rupees as salary from the paraganah of Petlad as well as from whatever place he could get. In this way, a large amount of money was expended. Now that the kingdom was under control of another person, he excused himself for the payment. He, therefore, said to Sadashiv Ramchandra about it. He reduced the amount in view of a small number of soldiers and settled the amount with him in proportion to the number of his soldiers.

Verse

*From seeking more, your work will suffer
If you want benefit, do not seek more than limit.*

The Marathas had personally seen the path of entry and exist of the other party, they filled the breaches with sticks, planks and bundles of thorns and dug entrenchments and basis of walls from camp to batteries. They undertook to dig other trenches near the camp as the enemy had come as far as that place for support and help to the front battery. They got them ready along with the masons and labourers working night and day within a short time. They closed the door of masjid of Sidi Bashir which was towards the city. They guarded the gate to the side of their army. Having fixed a few cannons of distant range, they lighted fire of warfare by discharging cannonballs at the Sarangpur gate, towers and ramparts of the enemy. Janu Pandit brought a message of peace. He went back as it was not agreed upon. In short, salary of the soldiers till now was met with from imposition of fines as deposit of the Marathas, collection of revenue from the paraganah of Haveli; income from mahals of miscellaneous taxes. As yet their expenses had not risen very high. They pulled on in hope of victory and occupation of paraganahs. Now that the paraganah of Haveli went in possession and occupation of outsiders, besides, the gates were closed and the war continued, revenues of the mahals of the city were stopped. It was a time of difficulties. Sanbhuram, principal manager of affairs pondered over this matter very much. He saw no alternative except in imposition of biwarah, extortion and illegal exaction. He, therefore, imposed a biwarah of one lac of rupees on Hindu and Muslim merchants and bankers and distributed that amount as salary to the soldiers. The market informers who were not afraid of God and who rejoiced in losses of others which had become dull for some time, became brisk. Many houses were sold to pay taxes. At this time, Ghulam Husain Khan son of Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan got an opportunity to request for the post of Qazi of the city on



Verse

*Night like face of a negro in blackness
Colour of night reached as far as back of the fish.*

He sent Sanbhuram out with soldiers to lift up the advanced trenches. Men took themselves fearlessly to the spot as it was the first assault. In a small engagement, the opponents who had not as yet steadied themselves and who were not acquainted with roads and passages lost balance of firmness. Many persons from both the sides got slain and wounded. They retreated to their respective camps. Through consternation, many of them allowed their arms and other necessary articles fall down which were picked up by citizens. They brought sticks and planks by pulling them. Some of the cowards who had gone out, considered darkness of night as brightness of fortune and retired to corners and sides. Having emboldened themselves by witnessing the event, they raised louder shouts than those who had advanced and went away. As there was no obstruction and impediment ahead, they reached as far as the camp of the Dekhanis and discharged their guns several times. They returned nearly at mid-night. On the way, there were some buildings in Sarangpur which belonged to poor men who had come to the city through fear along with a masjid whose ceiling was of wood were considered by them as shelter and refuge of the enemy, set them on fire, Sanbhuram set fire to ancestral house of his own birth in Sarangpur which he had left some time ago on account of the locality being depopulated and had gone to the city to reside. Whatever population was there in that purah disappeared. In short, Sanbhuram returned. Some of the persons who were destined to die entered those ruined houses and had chosen fearlessly hard ground which were water-storages which are technically known in Gujarat as 'tanka'. Even though the buildings had become desolate, yet they were intact and full of water. Through ignorance and darkness of night they fell in a vortex of death and died. Next day, when the Dekhanis came to those desolate places a second time for trenches, they heard narration of last night's calamity from immersed persons of the sea of annihilation and fallen men of dark ravines.

Verse

*Oh rival ! You are passing over the bank of water
What do you know of our condition who are drowned*

In short, Sadashiv Ramchandra pressed hard for digging trenches and strengthening places of refuge. He turned to management of financial and administrative matters. He despatched amils and faujdars to their respective paraganahs. He appointed Sadashiv Balal, one of his confederates as **Karori** of

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Kathera Parchah, octroi duties and amil of the paraganah of Haveli and said to him that he should collect the arrears in revenue of the autumn. Damaji also despatched naihs in his jurisdiction. Till now, Jawanmard Khan and his brother Zorawar Khan were in company of Sadashiv Damoder. He paid him at any cost fifteen hundred rupees as salary from the paraganah of Petlad as well as from whatever place he could get. In this way, a large amount of money was expended. Now that the kingdom was under control of another person, he excused himself for the payment. He, therefore, said to Sadashiv Ramchandra about it. He reduced the amount in view of a small number of soldiers and settled the amount with him in proportion to the number of his soldiers.

Verse

*From seeking more, your work will suffer
If you want benefit, do not seek more than limit.*

The Marathas had personally seen the path of entry and exist of the other party, they filled the breaches with sticks, planks and bundles of thorns and dug entrenchments and basis of walls from camp to batteries. They undertook to dig other trenches near the camp as the enemy had come as far as that place for support and help to the front battery. They got them ready along with the masons and labourers working night and day within a short time. They closed the door of masjid of Sidi Bashir which was towards the city. They guarded the gate to the side of their army. Having fixed a few cannons of distant range, they lighted fire of warfare by discharging cannonballs at the Sarangpur gate, towers and ramparts of the enemy. Janu Pandit brought a message of peace. He went back as it was not agreed upon. In short, salary of the soldiers till now was met with from imposition of fines as deposit of the Marathas, collection of revenue from the paraganah of Haveli; income from mahals of miscellaneous taxes. As yet their expenses had not risen very high. They pulled on in hope of victory and occupation of paraganahs. Now that the paraganah of Haveli went in possession and occupation of outsiders, besides, the gates were closed and the war continued, revenues of the mahals of the city were stopped. It was a time of difficulties. Sanbhuram, principal manager of affairs pondered over this matter very much. He saw no alternative except in imposition of biwarah, extortion and illegal exaction. He, therefore, imposed a biwarah of one lac of rupees on Hindu and Muslim merchants and bankers and distributed that amount as salary to the soldiers. The market informers who were not afraid of God and who rejoiced in losses of others which had become dull for some time, became brisk. Many houses were sold to pay taxes. At this time, Ghulam Husain Khan son of Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan got an opportunity to request for the post of Qazi of the city on



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payment of two thousand rupees Mumin Khan accepted the amount as he was in need of money from any source He, by way of caution and diligence, got a document attested on security of Muhammed Hashim Bakhshi and Muhammed La'il Rohila so that there might not remain any breach therein. He became a Qazi in place of Muhammed Rukn-ul-Haqq Khan on 26th of the above month In dismissal and appointment of this post, Muhammed Rukn-ul-Haqq suffered a loss in money Ultimately, it did not remain with him

Verse

*When the Qazi writes a record in anxiety
He does not feel ashamed among turban-wearers*

As money was needed every month for payment to servants, biwarahi was again imposed more than before Sufficient money was not raised inspite of imposition of biwarah and various other fines Besides daily payment, the Kolis had to be paid every evening They had assembled from various parts in expectation of acquisition of cash and goods of co-workers of Dabhdoda They received break fast during days of a siege by Najm ud dawlah A break fast eater is better than an heir They had collected together in a large number

Verse

*Singers of this land
Good and bad assembled*

Every month, efforts were made more than before for collection of biwarah and fines Within a short time, salary of soldiers rose to a very high amount Besides collection of fines from Tom, Dick and Harry, in a shameless manner, no distinction was made between a friend and a foe Fraternity changed into hostility Fear of God and fright of the day of retribution were forgotten. Description of this would be a prolixity in narration and a cause of sadness Guards of the gates were sternly ordered not to allow any one to go out without permission and a sealed document Through reports of certain persons, it came to light that there were some small cannons and swivel guns in the house of Jawanmard Khan Taqi Beg Khan, Darogah of artillery was ordered to bring them out When rooms of his house were opened, thirteen small cannons, eighty swivel guns and muskets were found They were taken out and utilized His household goods were seized Several places were dug out on suspicion of buried treasures, but nothing came out During this time, war was waged with cannons and guns night and day Several times in dark nights, that is, once or twice in a month, Sanbhuram rushed on trenches of

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outsiders with all soldiers and waged war with arrows and muskets. Many were killed and wounded from both the sides. But the attempts proved futile until on the fourth night in the month of Sha'ban.

Verse

*When the bright sun showed its back
Atmosphere became dark and the earth harsh.*

He formulated another plan. He divided all the soldiers-horse and foot into batches. The Rohilas were placed under command of Muhammed La'l Rohila, the Marwaris under charge of Ganga Jat while he himself commanded the Arabs along with porters and miscellaneous soldiers. Muhammed La'l came out from the Raipur gate; Ganga Jat issued forth from the Daryapur gate; the Arabs marched from the Kalupur gate which was near the Sarangpur gate while he himself emerged from that gate and hastened to the trench outside. He ordered cannoneers of towers of that side to continue cannon-fire so that the enemy might not raise heads high. He took rest for a moment. They assaulted the enemy in this manner as against one another. A hard battle was fought from mid-night. They seized the front trenches and reached their army. The Dekhanis, out of care and caution, had dug so strong trenches from walls near the camp that the war ended there and the whole army reached on back of walls and engaged in defence till whiteness of dawn made its appearance from the eastern horizon. It began to distinguish friend from foe.

Verse

*World-illuminating planet drew forth its sword
Army of night retreated from day.*

The Dekhanis stepped forth with courage and boldness, attacked regiment after regiment of horse and foot and engaged in skirmish

Verse

*Party of war-seekers and mischief-exciter
All full of revenge and fearless to shed blood
They tied their waist tightly in revenge.
They attached their stone-like heart on war.*

They gave justice to valour and prowess. When the cannon-ball from above the towers which were a raised battery reached the enemy, they got no opportunity to gallop their horses in attack. With support of this, those who had come out remained steadfast in desolate houses as no quake found its



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way in their firmness. From the time the royal falcon of morning flew from the nest of horizon, till the crow of darkness of night did not open its wings, the war continued. In this engagement, nearly two hundred persons of horse and foot of the miscellaneous party were killed and wounded. From the other party also, a large number of persons were slain and wounded when the curtain-holder king of the east intervened and prevented both the sides from warfare. For some time, there was no desire for war in any one. They were only satisfied to defend trenches and protect themselves from cannon and musket fire from behind the walls. At this time, the biwarah was levied for the fourth time. The subjects got tired of it. They sold their household goods. Houses of those who had gone out were opened by their relations and street-dwellers in presence of the tax-collectors and other salaried-persons. Their cash and goods were sold out. The Kolis purchased their goods at half the price, sent bundles of them at night and sold them at a higher price outside in villages. Hindi records of their ancestors of many years were sold on weight. Accounts, books, transactions in complete got washed in water. Men and women, inspite of giving what was beneath their carpets in hands to salaried persons were arrested.

Verses

*Broken jar of an indigent poor man
Became equal to treasure of a rich man.
Houses without sack and mal
A beggar became an owner and the lady a captive.*

Messages of peace were received repeatedly from outside. As the time for it had not yet come, it proved of no avail. Unwise men of narrow sight attributed it to weakness of the other side. Flatterers, for flattery is a brisk business, invented baseless news from themselves every day and carved fresh statements saying that the Marathas had become helpless and that such and such a man brought a report that they would depart either today or the next day.

Quatrains

*How long will you carve words and engrave them ?
How long will you dart a stray arrow at the target ?
If you learn one lesson from the science of silence
You will laugh much at this sort of conversation*

Houses which were vacated by their owners were opened by Sanbhuram's men. They took out what was open and hidden. Money was found in copper and brass vessels. Copper was melted and coins were struck of it. The



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coins were paid in salary to soldiers. Brass was broken. As one cannon placed above a battery at Kalupur had become useless, it was moulded into a Kanbara cannon which was known as Hawai. The big cannon broke at the first shot. Kanbara remained unused as the cannoneer did not know how to use it. At this time, a royal order bearing the seal of Wazir-ul-Mamalik was received in reply to Mumin Khan's petition through couriers. It so happened that a gorgeous khil'at, a jewelled turban-strap, a banner, a drum and an addition to mansab which with original and additional rose to 4000 Zat, 2000 Sawar for which the Vakil had tried at the time of Jamusar's expedition some time before the occurrence of Ahmedabad event were received by the vakil and sent, from the court with a Bimawala. These articles were received outside in the army of Sadashiv Ramchandra. He secretly sent them inside by way of good services. Mumin Khan, on arrival of the royal order and receipt of royal presents which happened to come together, beat the drum of good news and regarded them as a good augury. He erected a pavilion at the foot of wall of the fort outside the Khanpur gate for announcement, proclamation and establishment of authority on 2nd Shawwal. He rode a horse for reception and wore the khil'at with his face turned to the Royal Court with all decorum in accordance with royal regulations. He conveyed contents of the Royal Order to the elite and the common..



CHAPTER 304

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER WITH THE SEAL OF WAZIR-UL-MAMALIK.

May Mumin Khan Bahadur asylum of valour and exaltation, seat of bravery and elevation be favoured with royal kindness ! A petition with eleven mohurs as a present and a letter with seven mohurs as a gift were received at this time. The petition and presents were placed before His Majesty. His Majesty had ordered to shower praise on you. A royal mandate was issued to that effect that he should devote himself with peace of mind to establish order in the subah with absolute authority and that he should try to chastise mischief-mongers and please the subjects by his good conduct. God willing, favours of the royal court were handed over to the vakil in accordance with the regulations. Under a royal order, he should write to the court about conditions in the subah. Stress was laid on this point. This order was written on 15th Rabi 'II, third year of Royal ascension. Mumin Khan entered the Bhadra rejoicing and beating the drum tying the royal order to his head. A report of this incident was received outside by Sadashiv Ramchandra. It was disclosed that Govinddas Khande Bimawalch who arrived from the capital, seized an opportunity, and delivered presents to him. He was, therefore, arrested and imprisoned. He wanted to punish him for his misdeed by tying him to the mouth cannon and blow him up. But he desisted from that punishment at the intercession of eminent merchants who slowly came out of the city. It was at this time that Shah Abdali who had led an expedition against Hindustan with a large army, reached the capital. Every day, fearful news in different ways about disintegration of the empire were received. Mumin Khan reported to His Majesty actual facts, in accordance with exigency of time, through a favourite of the king Najib-ud-Dawlah and sought help. As peace was concluded at the capital, he received no reply. In short, the Dekhans found the progress in capture of the fort very difficult through war and battle, they thought of resorting to fraud and plot with one of the inmates of the fort. They held a council of consultation and decided that perhaps they might accomplish that task by corruption of cash money and enchanting promises.

Verse

*When an affair is not accomplished through war
He pleasantly opens a door of contrivance*

Some of the Gujaratis were outside and they were acquainted with Salim the Arab Jamadar. They planned through Haria Ram for advancement and obligation of Salim. They brought to him messages of collusion



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He, having observed the condition of disloyalty, reported to Mumin Khan about it. According to his suggestion, he too spread a snare of stratagem as against it. He tamed the game by sweetness and politeness. A sum of money was proposed for management of this work. The affair passed on to mediators through oral messages and ended in writing letters. It was decided that fifty thousand rupees and permanent service with five hundred persons were agreed upon with the seal of Sadashiv Ramchandra and that the agreement was to be confirmed on oath on the security of reliable persons when that affair would be accomplished.

Verse

*Do not step in the valley of the stratagem and contrivance
For ultimately you would fall in a snare of calamity.*

As Sadashiv Ramchandra was tired of prolongation of the period of siege and large sums of money were expended on the army, he agreed to it. He considered this politic falsehood as a reality. He immediately agreed to pay two thousand ashrafis to the mediators slowly on account and handsel of a known amount of money and the rest to be paid at the stipulated time as registered after attainment of the object and victory. He sent the record of agreement of service with sealed pacts. He sat waiting like socket of the eye stitched at the door. Salim conveyed the amount as it came from outside to Mumin Khan and showed letters to him.

Verse

*By force and gold, decrees of fate cannot be rejected.
It is not worthy of any one to raise when and why in fate.*

When the mediators insisted on fulfilment of promise.

Hemistich

To day that promise would be fulfilled.

Salim thought of a plan to ward off ill-repute. He got them arrested by Mumin Khan who imprisoned them. But this closed secret and thought-out plan did not remain concealed. His deceit, within and without, became clear "more manifest than the sun and more clear than yesterday. In exchange for this work, Salim was paid three thousand rupees. Mumin Khan paid the ashrafis as salary to soldiers. For a few days, he was free from anxiety for salary of soldiers. When eight months elapsed on this night and day war and battle and the monsoon approached, flatterers remembered the oath with cancella-



tion and repudiation. They wagered with one another, thought as seen and heard unrevealed omens, unseen dreams and unheard news. They embellished the shop of flattery and engaged in its interpretation and narration. They held on to worthless idle tales, distracted nonsense of hypocritical recluses, fraudulent robe-wearers, wallowing jogis, ash-covered sanyasis and unfamiliar leprous vagrants. They regarded them as divine good news and undoubted help. They dyed their utterances in various colours, left them on a lofty vault, made by its declaration the parrot speak that now only a few days were left for accomplishment of the venture. The Marathas certainly and convincingly would not stay during difficult monsoon. Their feet of firmness would slip in mud and mire. Through relatives of such and such a man with this name and trace, dweller of the same street of Ahmedabad, a servant of Jawanmard Khan who out of relationship and zeal of Islam made a message send that the moment the army of clouds made its appearance the Marathas would take the path of flight to their respective native places. Such and such a man who was a sincere friend of so and so and who was out gave evidence with truth of that statement and that it did not admit of falsehood. Some of the simple-hearted fellows believed such nonsensical talks as truth and reality. They raised hands in prayer for rains and showed humility and humbleness with supplication and imploring for sending rains. It chanced that the arrow of their prayer reached the target of acceptance on the night of 4th Shawwal. Nearly a watch of the night had passed, a lightning shone, clouds rose up and rains poured down in cats and dogs. Ponds and ditches were filled with water. Breaches were created in pits of trenches. It made the trenchmen come out. Of necessity, they, in the same darkness of night when the lightning shone, "Every time the light helps them, they walk therein" they set their faces towards their camp, rising and falling with bag and baggage on shoulders and posted themselves under back of the wall of the strong, hind trench adjacent to their camp. Feet of steadfastness of night sitters of the night as well as the terrace and dome of Sidi Bashir's masjid which stood with help of men of round about places also gave way. They joined other companions till the whiteness of dawn made its appearance. The world illuminating sun opened eyes from behind the cover of a cloud.

Verse

*World illuminating dawn like other day
Brought the night to day to turquoise coloured sky*

Severity of rains subsided. Guards of towers and battlements of the fort who at this time like most men in the opposite trenches were the Arabs and Kohil as with Marathas. They were mutually acquainted with one another.



They inquired after one another's condition. They were addressed with their names but none responded. When they observed them well, they found none of them. Bearers of tidings forestalled one another in conveying good news of this victory to Mumin Khan. Sanbhuram who looked after protection and defence of the Sarangpur gate, came out, ordered people to destroy trenches, pulling and burning wood and planks. Whatever was fit to be removed and carried, people carried them away from hand to hand. What was fit to be burnt was burnt. At this juncture, Mumin Khan came with his men and saw with his own eyes. He inquired about steadfastness of the people. As the drops of rain drizzled, he climbed up the tower out of foresight and cast a glance at tents and places. The more he darted an arrow of glance from a bow of foresight, he saw nothing due to the face of the eastern sun being covered in a veil of clouds, drizzle and twist of smoke and the arrow of sight did not join that place. Flatterers, on supposition that their lustreless statement had come true and their baselessly spun story (baseless piece of cloth) caught colour of truth, began to congratulate with joy and gladness. They derided the Dekhanis.

Na'mat Khan 'Ali

*Blossom from smile terminated into laughter
It passed from that state and turned into a horse-laugh
Every one engaged in society in every manner
Hilarity of their intoxication soon reached like a sight
One in debate that his omen had come true
Grief of the heart is ended, it was a condition of repose
One in dispute that my dream came true
Hardship has gone and days of honour and glory arrived*

Again a report was brought that it became clear from a speech of accurate informer that the Marathas had no strength to bear a rain of arrows and so they bound up their provisions and loads and left that day or were leaving for Mahmudabad, until at nearly mid day when dagger-penetrating day rent under the curtain of clouds and showed its illumined face. It was disclosed that the tents were intact and every one was in his respective place. Sanbhuram stepped forward to get information and came near the trenches of the camp when they prepared for war and continued till after noon to inquire about last night's condition from one another by sending envoys of cannon-balls and musket bullets. It was proved that the declaration of flatterers had no brightness of truth. When it became clear to Mumin Khan that the Dekhanis had not departed, as that the masjid of Sidi Bashir and the masjid of the mausoleum of Afzal Khan Banbani were



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was one of the vazirs of Gujarati Sultans which was situated as a distance of a gun-shot from walls of the fort and was a source of anxiety due to trenches of the enemy, through fear that once again that they might steady themselves at that place, he ordered to demolish it then as the field was empty. God is holy, these two masjids are the same masjids that the Marwaris had intended to demolish at the time of Najm ud dawlah's siege. He, in view of its being the house of God and relics of ancient great men for which no one had then capability and scope to build such institutions of public utility especially the masjid of Sidi Bashir which was distinct and excellent in appearance and strong and solid in structure, appointed Mir Abul Qasim and others to dig his trenches so that they might remain secure against that calamity. Their and destruction was ordained at the hands of his son and it took place. As the masjids were built out of rocky stones, inspite of the fact that sculptors others worked at demolition they failed to disintegrate them. They resorted to another plan. They filled them with sticks and fire-wood and set fire to the masjid which presented an appearance of a fire temple of magians. Through keenness of fire the stones got burnt which got disintegrated at the slightest stroke.

Verse

*Drink wine, burn the pulpit, set the patched garment to fire,
Be a resident of a temple but do not harass the people*

During this time, the Delkhanis found out from reports of those who had come out and other passers-by that the principal manager of affairs and the master of control was Sanbhuram. He knew that he was supreme in all affairs invested with authority and that he was the originator and cause of this war and little. He received repeated messages of favours and mildness, letters of invitation about sincerity and friendship, enchanting promises of payment of cash, agreement of service, grant of a jagir to be corroborated with pledge and pact and strengthened on security and oath. He turned them down and replied that 'I have promised Mumun Khan. I cannot break it. I have taken an oath that I will not desert him. I will be content with what comes down upon me. I am satisfied with that.

Verse

*There is no difference from a wing of phoenix to a sharp sword
What comes over a son of Adam passes away*

Every now and then cannons were fired from towers. Men and animals died in the army of the Marathas. The high and the low constructed spacious walls for protection of their lives and they spent their time having crept under



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their shelter. But those for whom appointed time of death had come and decrees of faith were issued in their respect, there was no advantage to them in that plan of mud and brick. It so happened that nearly at mid-night, a cannon was fired at the camp of Jawanmard Khan. Sons of Syed Faqirullah who were in prime of youth, verdure of basil had begun to grow on roses of their cheeks, had not enjoyed fruits of youth, derived no benefit from life, were asleep side by side on a bed of death when a cannon-ball like a sudden calamity and heavenly decree reached the head of younger brother and scattered his brain. The right hand of the elder brother was thrown away from the shoulder. The former remained asleep at that very moment in the sleeping-room of death. The latter was brought to the city for treatment. He too after a few days reposed by the side of his brother.

Verse

*He who sleeps in this forest
Either he loses his head or his cap*

A few days ago, it had become clear from letters of the capital in respect of peace with Shah Abdali, continuation of sultanat of His Majesty, and appointment of Imam ul-Mulk Khan-i-Khanan at the proposal of Shah as Chief Minister. The author submitted a petition for congratulation to His Majesty with five Asharafis by way of supplication. It was read by His Majesty. A pair of special ear-rings were sent as a gift from the court of beneficence and favour. They came with coupiers on 7th Ziq'ad. They were received with due decorum. It was a matter of confidence and glory. It was at this time that Barajlal peshkar who was inactive at Khanbhayat port came to the city. In short, due to prolongation of the time of closure of gates, night and day clamour for payment of biwarah, and fines, government in every house, force and violence of tyrannical soldiers and servants besides, dearness of foodstuff which was brought by Kolis on head, people had fallen in an abyss of ruin being reduced to distress and affliction, they meditated to ward off this calamity and sought a remedy for escape from this peril. They struggled to bring the Dekhanis in the city and to convey news and reports to them, they made efforts to contrive with guards of towers and fortifications. At last, they reached a tower which was on corner of the fort between north and west on a bank of Sabarmati and which was known as Bandara Burj. They saw guards of that place who on account of a distance from the army were on one side like strangers or who spent their time in negligence out of an unconscious state. Their minds were in repose from dangers of the other side. The outsiders were informed about this state of affairs and they guided them to that side. They said, "If the plan is in accordance with destiny and they happen to come



to that tower, the site of Kharpur which was nearby and which was bricked for bringing water, food-stuff and grass and its decayed planks could be broken by elephants, perhaps victory will be gained " The Dekhans consisting of horse and foot reached that place with three mad elephants and ladders at close of the night on 9th /ulhryj. They found the guards asleep. They were about to place ladders for climbing over towers and walls of that side. It was against the decrees of fate. It so happened that a party of Kolis came there with food stuff and bundles of hay. They encountered them. They learnt about their absurd designs. They fought with them and came near the gate. The guards woke up from slumber of negligence on account of their uproar and clamour and learnt about the real state of affairs. They rose up for resistance and made use of their rifles. The Kolis entered the gate. They told the Arab battalion posted there as to what the matter was. They also came out and rushed to assault them. In the meantime, 'Abdul Ghafur and Sarimst happened to come near the scene with horsemen of the advance guard of the night. They spurred their horses outside and engaged in fight. The Dekhans who had conveyed ladders to the bottom of the wall stood firm and fought with arrows and guns when Mumin Khan reached himself on the tower in all rapidity. The war continued below and above for nearly two hours after day break. Many were slain and wounded from both the sides. Four horses of the Marathas lay dead on ground. As there was no possibility for advancement they retreated in accordance with 'Retreat is commendable'. Every now and then camel riders brought ladders to Sadashiv Ramchandra who waited and sought for union with the beloved of government. He repeatedly recited

Verse

*I strain my ear to hear the noise where is good news from those lips ?
My eyes are fixed on the road oh Lord! When will be the sight of fortune ?*

He expressed joy and pleasure. News spread in the army that the city was conquered. Turbulent fellows and pillaging vagabonds began to rise and jump out of great joy like donkeys who broke fetters and headstall. They raised noise and clamour and carried the ball of precedence and precipitancy from one another. They set out for the city when, on the road they learnt, from those who returned the truth. Hence they retreated with despair and despondency. They spent several days in regret remorse and for cursing the Kolis who nullified their plans. They sought another remedy for accomplishment of the task. Hari Umai Pandit had relation and acquaintance with Shah 'Abdur Razzaq. He saw Mumin Khan with his permission on the request of the Marathas with a message of amity, avers on of dispute, conversation of reconciliation and the matter of peace. He stayed for three days and talked with



him in persuasive and sweet language. It was at this time that a reply to his petition which Mumin Khan had submitted to His Majesty congratulating him on continuity of saltanat, peace with Shah Abdali as well as a letter to the Wazir-ul-Mamalik Imam-ul-Mulk Khan-i-Khanan was received. It was written therein that for nearly one year then he strove with life and wealth for protection and defence of the royal kingdom against the Marathas. His Majesty entrusted to the wakil a turban, a letter in His Majesty's own writing as well as a khil'at of four pieces for his son. He sent the turban in a leather bag and a khil'at in a stitched packet of cloth hidden from eyes of strangers on account of insecurity of roads and highways with four couriers. It so happened that it was received on the same day when Hari Umai (Om ?) came out without achievement of his desire. Mumin Khan preserved it as exhibition of His Majesty's gift.

Verse

*Wait so that you may see the fort and my court
Wait so that you may see the city and parade-ground of army.*

He pitched a pavilion for reception of presents with due decorum outside the Idaria gate known as Delhi Darwaza. He visited the author's house who was confined to the house on account of physical ailment at midday on 26th Zilhajj. He declared to him about receipt of gifts, a royal letter and reception and said,

Hemistich

May be I may smell fragrance of desire from this letter.

He sent the author ahead under pressure while he himself stayed there and sent for sawari and the army. He came out, at close of the day, from the author's house with all pomp and magnificence with Hari Umai. He performed decorum under usual regulations with his face turned towards the Royal Court and read the letter written with a Firangi pen and conveyed it to the audience.



CHAPTER 305

COPY OF THE LETTER IN HIS MAJESTY'S HAND

May Mumin Khan with royal faith be recipient of royal favours ! He should know that his petition was placed before me by my son I'timad-ud-dawlah Khan-i-Khanan. He verbally conveyed to me your loyalty. Your service is engraved in mind. He ought to be ready in performing his duty to the king and fulfil the condition of loyalty. Further, you will know through the letter of my son Khan-i-Khanan Bahadur that my favour will ever remain in increasing degree in regard to you. Khan-i-Khanan had also replied in an encouraging tone and a recommendation to send some Kutchi horses under a royal order. Keeping the turban on his head with glory and keeping the letter plume-like on it, he entered the Bhadra rejoicing. He granted leave of departure to Hari Pandit. But receipt of presents and arrival of the royal letter gave Mumin Khan no advantage of confirmation. It created no breach in foundation of determination of the Dekhanis. On this occasion, rotation of mean-nourishing, base-cherishing sky and revolution of base-natured, deceitful men moved in a magical manner in accordance with the desire of wretched Kolis of devilish habits and plundering ghouls of the valley of ignorance. People got involved in misfortune, inverted luck and distraction which according to the truth of "Round her neck a twisted rope" and the struggles of soldiers in harassment. The author gives a brief account of what he personally saw. How a meeting happened to take place of Hari Kotwal of Dabhoda with Sanbhuram in his own house. The two-tongued pen gives an account of it. The Kolis in the village of Dabhoda were of two sections some of them were called Kotwalis and the other section was known as Pagis. Due to rivalry amongst them, sometimes they were enemies of one another and sometimes friends. When the Kotwalis came inside the city in company of Sanbhuram in accordance with decrees of fate, they plundered money and goods and thus they became rich. They resided in Ahmedabad with servants, relatives, wives and children. Every day, they took cash-money, stole a horse and a camel of the Maratha army, gained profit out of sale of food-stuff, and purchase of citizens' articles. This excited sweat of hatred and jealousy and throbbled veins of temptation among the Pagis and Kotwalis of distant and near villages. They rubbed palms in remorse and mutual deception. They gave up eating food and lost sleep. They thought of a plan in garb of decent and fraud which might become a cause of cessation of restlessness and raising up from this felt cap (they wanted to enjoy equal status with them). They started giving securities for not rising in revolts and rebellions and submitting themselves to Sadashiv Ranchorandra. They undertook to block up paths of

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provisions on an agreement of daily payment. Some of them came forward in throwing them into error by carrying bundles of hay and food-stuff. They displayed good services as it has been said a yellow dog is a brother of a jackal.

Verse

*Every particle which is in earth and sky
Is to its own genus as a blade of grass is to amber.
Lights seek lights (Angels seek the company of angels)
Fire attracts fire. (Satans move in company of satans).*

Profits gained in conveyance of commissariat and other matters rose up ten-fold when compared to one of the Kotwalis. In spite of hostility in this respect, they chose amity. They surpassed the Kotwalis in bringing food-stuff and carrying away horses, camels, and oxen of the Maratha army and made amends for losses until their shameful acts became public. Some of them were arrested by the Marathas with their stuff and they were executed. Others kept themselves away. When taste of this work found its place in roots of teeth of the Pagis, they concurred with Sanbhuram and came with their families to live with the Kotwalis in the Bhadra and engaged in that kind of work. God is Holy! the place which was the alighting-place of noble princes and residence of eminent amirs, is a seat of a dog. It is a place of sausage seller. It has become a residence of crows and owls. They build nests with honour of good fortune. In the marriage-season of Hindus, many bridal festivities were held by beating drums and blowing bugles. More strange than that was that Hari Kotwal who breathed of generalship with Sanbhuram, considered himself his equal and compeer. Many a time he went out on a ride on the side of roads and markets, he wore importance of a great man and conciliated ryots and common-folk with a smile. He used to say to them that they should not, henceforth, give way to fear and that they should ply their respective trade and profession with peace in mind as there was none to molest them.

Verse

*When the place becomes empty from top to toe
Grass takes place of a straight cypress.*

In short, the wishes of Kohs were fulfilled beyond measure as they derived benefits from so many sources. They reaped daily profits from food-stuff and hay, from sale and purchase of goods and cloth. They purchased goods of merchandise in the city and sold them in nearby villages. They stole horses and camels of the Maratha army at night and carried them away by bringing



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up to the shelter of fort-walls. They adorned themselves in joy with turbans with gold strap on head, with silk and kimkhab breeches on feet, with ornaments in ears, round neck and a gold ring. Whatever their ancestors might not have imagined, they did by going for a walk in lanes and streets. They looked with an eye of meditation and depth of thought in every lane, street and house. At nights, they were engaged in collecting information. At every evening, they filled their skirts with daily cash money.

Fragment

*Harvests are given to crookedly moving persons
A blade of grass is not given to the upright.
Sugar and candy are given to flies
Bones are given to phoenixes*

They performed brave deeds several times by theft of Maratha horses and camels and conveying commissariat to residents of the fort inspite of diligence and night patrol of the Marathas. One night, they took with them horsemen of Sanbhuram's risala, kept them in ambush during day, caught horses and ponies of the other party taken out for bringing hay and brought them next night to the city. One night, they took an elephant-driver with them, girt up loins to steal an elephant of Damaji Gachwar and brought it. By chance, a watchmen woke up from slumber of negligence and saw an elephant being carried away. He thought that the chains of his feet had been loosened. He got up to tie him. The Kolis hid themselves, darted several arrows and fled away. In short, when income out of food stuff depended upon a head load of the Kolis due to danger of the Dekhans its price went up every day. It could be had at the rate of five, six seers (per rupee). Feet of steadiness of the common-folk became unsteady. Of necessity, they decided collectively to migrate without carrying for their houses. They viewed the Raipur gate as easiest for exit and so they gathered together at that place. The Arab Jamadar Haji Mubarak who was posted there for protection saw that they had collected together there for going out. He beheld the condition of the poor and the indigent, spinning old women who had spinning wheel on head and a child in an arm-pit whose oven of belly heated with fire of starvation due to want of a bread and whose back and side got stuck together like a dry thin bread, thin and lean, emaciated and delicate like a spindle, bewildered and confounded due to lack of means of sustenance, twisted like a raw thread to seek remedy for bare maintenance of life, and lamenting, wailing through hunger. He thought it an act of reward and a deed of goodness. He allowed them to go out after obtaining permission. When others saw and heard about the path of exit, every day batch after batch of Hindus and Muslims, men and women, rich and poor, those who had hidden



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themselves through fear of arrest in nooks and corners and who ended their days into nights in fear and fright, in changed garments, heart afflicted went out Sanbhuram appointed men of his own and others, out of caution, to find out heads and chiefs of every community for imposition of biwarah so that the out goers might not take away cash and goods with them or those who paid biwarah, might go away They were present there from dawn to dusk, made investigation and then allowed them to go. Atheistic spies appointed there made search They seized cash or ornaments of their own and deposits of others from widows Those merciless, spiritless fellows extended their unlawful hands as far as their secrets and thus, they dishonoured their private parts. If a biwarah-payer or an unfortunate hiding fellow who happened to be found out, was punished with imprisonment When they passed this valley, as the Gujaratis and especially the Muslims were charged with deceit by the Dekhanis, they were driven to their army and were not allowed to go Of necessity, they had to roam about from their houses and being driven from that place they had to live on the road, unroofed, unwallled desolate places under shelter of a thatched place in an afflicted state among uncongenial persons like criminals openly and unprotectedly What hardships and calamities did not descend upon their lives, property and reputation¹

Verse

*The world is a desolate place full of fear
What calamities are there in this water and clay*

At the time of siege of Najm ud-dawlāh, people were reduced to similar hardships Some of the purahs remained in prosperous condition Many buildings were intact Disgraceful and notorious Mirwāns did not subject out-goers to such distress The moment any one went out, no one molested him They reposed in tranquillity in their houses. Now there did not exist houses in name and trace All of them had become "Ruined upon props" In moist weather and dark nights, they had nothing with them except an earthly carpet and a heavenly sheet of cloth as a covering They slept on a bed of despondency Besides all these difficulties, they suffered from fever and jaundice before end of a week Every day batches after batches of Hindus and Muslims, males and females, small and great had no strength to live in those desolate places and so they died It was strange, that this great calamity and major hardship descended upon people of this region Most of the living families did not remain even in name in this public calamity

Verse

*I saw a lot of people got distressed
The world of death became external*

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It is said that one-third of those who had gone out remained safe after the war was over and returned to their original houses. Many of them were ill. Those who were ordained to die, died. During that time, Raghunath Rao, brother of Peshwa Balajirao was in the neighbourhood of the capital with a large army in company of Mallhar Rao. The wakil of Mumin Khan thought of ending the dispute by dividing the subah on a half share. He won over the workers of Wazir ul-Mamalik on this plan, as an amount of money was needed for management of this affair, he wrote to Mumin Khan about it. He talked to Sanbhuram to arrange for it. He gathered together bankers, merchants and chiefs and obtained from them by force and violence hundis for twenty thousand rupees. When Raghunath Rao was talked of this transaction, he refused. Again, the hundis were not honoured. In the year 1171, the Kolis assembled together like flies around sweetness for receipt of their daily payment. They waited for a few days. They knew about the city's condition. The residents were reduced to difficulties. There was no sweetness in the confection. Many of them went out. Once again, they saw Sadashiv Ramchandra with apologies to make amends for their past offences. They settled that they should make such a big hole in the fort wall that a horseman might go in and come out from it, in order that the brave soldiers might enter through it and conquer the city. They got an opportunity to succeed in their plan. On 2nd Moharram, they found the watchmen incautious between Sarangpur gate and Kalupur gate. Having regarded this opportunity as a boon, they made a breach for two horsemen to get inside side by side. Persons, who were appointed for this task and who had taken shelter at the back of desolate masjid of Sidi Bashir waited there. They were informed about it. They hesitated in regard to place and attack. As divine will had not so ordained, guards of the towers learnt about such a breach, they started firing guns and swivel guns when the sun rose. The outsiders cancelled their intention and retreated. Sanbhuram learnt about this incident, he attributed it to the appointees there. He transferred them and ordered the breach to be filled with bricks. Velad in the paraganah of Haveli situated at a distance of six kurohs from the city and near the village of Dabhola, Mumin Khan, under guidance of far-sighted and experienced Kolis, sent Shah Muhammed Jamadar with a party of five hundred Arab and Hindu horsemen and footmen to post Kolis of that place on an agreement of daily wages by way of a thanah. In like manner, Muhammed Nur was sent with a cavalry and an infantry with two small cannons and materials of lead and gun powder to stay with the Kolis in a fortress of Koli situated at a distance of two kurohs from the city. On account of stationing regiments at these two places, the Kolis and those who brought provisions from various places to the city obtained facilities to bring foodstuff to the city. First they assembled at Velad, when they got an oppor-



in the paraganah of Petlad. He opposed the Marathas and attacked their thanas. He assessed and collected revenue and paid it to his soldiers as salary. He thought from his own point of view that he rendered good services. He hoped for good results. With reliance on word and oath of Mumin Khan, he left his dependents in Khanbhayat and carried on his depredations. Some of the unwise, short sighted selfish persons and jealous men who were a calamity, attempted to overthrow him. They charged him saying that though he was outwardly with him (Mumin Khan) he amassed money on that account and that he was wealthy from before. He returned to Khanbhayat as fate was after him. Mirza Muhammed Zaman Shahzada, the Naib arrested, and imprisoned him. However much, he said in humility and supplication that he was on reliance of oath, pledge and pact and began to repeat

Verse

*In principles of service and usages of faithfulness
If you seek much, you will not find one like me*

but to no purpose. He was entrusted to stern and severe tax-collectors appointed by Nadir Shah. He was subjected to beating and torturing. Whatever people had disclosed about him and of which they suspected about him, was not practised. It was not deemed advisable to cause him injury and to leave him alive. With the blast of a trumpet, a stone was placed on his bosom and destroyed.

Verses

*Do not seek syrup of honey from the world
For it is mixed with poison
You imagine it to be honey
It is not honey, it is the syrup of death*

When this news reached Ahmedabad, Mumin Khan remarked that he entertained an absurd idea of Khanbhayat's occupation. He was killed without my acquiescence. The truth of goodness's reward manifested itself in evil. It was at this time that Sadashiv Bilal, makasdar of Petlad, who was outside and was acquainted with dismissed Barajlal peshkar who for some time was in the city without any employment sent word to him that if he came out near Bagh i Shahu he would tell him something which might tend to goodness of both the parties and welfare of the general public. Barajlal informed about it to Mumin Khan, obtained his permission and went there in company of Arabs and Rohilas. He met him. He declared to Mumin Khan the gist of conversation he had with him. As still something was left in rumination, it was not



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accepted. Hari Kotwal, the chief of Kolis of Dabhoda found his future prospects disturbed and distracted and his purse empty like the body of the rubrb (rebeck) There was obstruction in receipt of daily allowances of Koli companions who night and day minded war and battle In despair, he made speciousness of the necessary affair as an excuse, obtained permission for a few days and went away never to come back again The Kolis also joined him.

Verse

*A pure jewel ought to be capable of beneficence
Otherwise every stone and a piece of clay may become a pearl and a coral*

But as there was a great benefit in bringing food stuff, it was brought and sold

Fragment

*He who in origin was of base element
Never expect any goodness from him.
Because through efforts cannot be made
A white falcon out of a black crow.*

It was at this time that Muhammed Yasin son of Muhammed A'zam the Rohila Jamadar who formerly was a servant of Shripat Rao and after attainment to power of Mumin Khan, all the Arabs and Rohilas became his servants, he too got employed in his service. He was appointed with his father to guard the Astoria gate. As he had spent some time in company of the Maratis, he had established sincere relations with some of them. Those who were outside, like fate ordained in his respect, one of his sincere friends sent word for plot with Gujeratis who had relation with him He was in the prime of youth He had not tasted cold and heat of world and not seen depth and height of time, he entered into an agreement of service on a higher salary, and a present of cash at the present time and in future without information and counsel of his father as well as consultation of an experienced man Immediately, he received one hundred asharafis along with a letter in accordance with an agreement

Verse

*If any one had a grain of stratagem with him
He ensnares many a clever bird*

He, due to inexperience, began to scheme and plan He gave a feast every day to secure companionship of many. He made every one obliged of his kindness by bestowal of cash and articles and grateful to himself of his



favour He did this sort of work for a few days The short sighted sky felt its sense of honour hurt and the vein of jealousy began to throb It informed Sanbhuram through verbal information of spies he had kept in the Maratha army Muhammed La'l who was connected with the Rohila community, began to make investigation and inquiry When he found it true, he detained him in his house with the consent of the Rohila community He inquired about the use of asharafis It came to light that the amount was spent in giving feasts and presents to friends of the bread He also learnt through one of the Marwaris who had received one, two asharafis He too affirmed and said, "I have borrowed that amount as a good loan' out of sincerity and amity " I do not know of any other affair The Marwaris regarded his statement as attributed to averting harm and declared their intention to imprison him As he was true in his statement, he on oath said,

Hemistich

Witness of a sincere lover is in sleeves

By a usage prevalent in that region, a vessel full of sesame oil is boiled on fire in respect of great affairs It become hot to such an extent that if for example a hard stone is thrown into it, it becomes liquid. A ring or a similar thing is thrown into it, the swearer who believes in his true statement, takes a bath, puts his hand with good faith into it and takes out the ring Keenness of fire turns cold and safe for him It does not cause any injury to him A truthful man and a liar are distinguished by this method

Verse

*It is pleasant if a touchstone of experience is brought in
So that any one who tells a lie becomes black faced*

When he was firm on his truthful statement he should bring out a ring from such oil in presence of a large assemblage Unalloyed gold fingers of the sun and silvery fore arm came out unalloyed from the crucible of test Those who were present raised cries of applause and approbation Every one of them gave him a present in cash and articles according to his capacity He became popular through blessings of truth and was freed

Verse

*Through truth, Ahf has its place in the midst of life
It an on account of its crookedness is always in midst of blood*



1965-06-03 -Mirat I Ahmadi -A History of Gujarat (838)

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Muhammed Yasin whose cash was all counterfeit was stabbed to death by a sharp knife in prime of life by his maternal uncle in presence of his father and the Rohilas on 2nd Rabi 'I to serve as a lesson to others

Poem

*He who placed his feet in an abyss of fraud
Will eventually destroy his head
Fraud is a serpent which has two heads
Each one has a kind of danger into it
That head wounds the heart of an enemy
This head causes harm to one's own master*

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CHAPTER 306

APPOINTMENT OF PAPAJI HARPALE TO BLOCK UP ROADS AT KOCHHRAB BY DAMAJI GAEKWAR SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA SENDS JAWANMARD KHAN IN COMPANY OF SADASHIV DAMODAR AT THE PASSAGE OF BADIJ, BHAGWAN IS SENT TO BAGH-I-SHAHI SIEGE OF THE CITY IS REDUCED TO STRAITS

Soldiers were reduced to difficulties within the fort. Stones of dispersion fell among them. Willy nilly, they took discharge and came out slowly from the abyss of siege. Damaji Gaekwar who was engaged in recitation of "dispersion of their army" regarded occurrence of it as an acceptance of his prayers. He invited all people for employment. Horsemen were not needed. He employed footmen from amongst those who had come out. Every destitute soldier or non soldier got a means of sustenance. The door of livelihood was opened for him. Condition of ease after difficulty appeared. In the beginning, nearly ten thousand horse and foot had assembled with Mumin Khan. They engaged in battle fearlessly with establishment of the subah. The Dekhanis, through fear that if they separated the army from them and appointed regiments at ford or passage, God forbid, they might attack collectively, and might be defeated. Now that dispersion took place among them and signs of spiritlessness became visible in them, they attended to blockade of various paths. Damaji Gaekwar despatched Papaji Harpale and Sewakram who was his naib in the city with an equipped army consisting of their companions and military detachments to Kochrab on the west of the city which was situated at a distance from the river Sabarmati. He alighted on the back side of the village on Thursday 4th Rabi '1. The regiment posted from the side of Muhammed La'l Rohila at that place returned to the city. Receipt of provisions of food-grains, barley and all vegetables sown there was stopped.



CHAPTER 307

WAR WITH PAPAJI HARPALE MUHAMMED REZA BROTHER OF MUHAMMED HASHIM BAKHSHI IS WOUNDED DEATH OF 'ABDUL GHAFUR, THE ROHILA JAMADAR

Poem

*Next day when the king of the East
Rose up on vault of water-lily
Time opened door of brightness
World began another game*

Muhammed Reza brother of Muhammed Hashim Bakhshi marched with an equipped army consisting of his companions, Muhammed Lal, 'Abdul Ghafur and Sarmast Rohila. They seated themselves on the bank of Sabarmati shooting with swivel-guns. He crossed the river to attack and to rout Papaji Harpale who was an impediment on the path of receipt of provisions. The enemy, who was ready and prepared, out of caution and cleverness advanced to receive them and blocked up their path. He engaged in war with arrows and muskets and did not allow him to place his feet above the embankment of that side from the sandy plain. They too had no boldness to advance through fear of cannon-balls of towers of the fort and bullets of swivel-guns. One watch and a half of the day passed when the field was arrayed. Many soldiers of both the sides got wounded. In the midst of an engagement, a gun-bullet hit Muhammed Reza on the head, scratched his skin and passed. His horse too was hit by it. Of necessity, he turned reins of his horse and set out to the window of the Bhadra garden. Cowards, who accompanied the brother of Bakhshi had an opportunity to render good services, fled from that dreadful battle-field. Muhammed Hashim, who sat on a tower of the passage of a khidki overlooking the river near Mumin Khan, was engaged in viewing the battle-field. He came and inquired about the seriousness or otherwise of the wound. He bandaged it and burnt rue seeds in a censer to ward off influence of a calamity. Mumin Khan too came at the scene, applied ointment of gladness with cheerful inquiry of his condition. He was not seriously wounded. It healed up within a short time. He elected a day for taking a bath of health. As the elder brother is in place of a father, he regarded it as a new lease of life for his brother. Affection and concord witnessed in these two brothers on this occasion was a wonder of the world, so to say one soul and two bodies.

Verse

*Two heads like a pen but one in soul
Their tongues two, strength of conversation one*

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Mumin Khan, becoming helpless, wrote to Mirza Muhammed Zaman Shahzadah, Naib at Khanbhayat who treated the elite and the common folk with good conduct and who had applied ointment to wounds of the oppressed and the distressed there that he should send an amount of money at any cost at that time. He did not wish to stain his skirt with this offence and so he wrote in reply that he would not manage it and that it should be entrusted to some other person. Hence, Mumin Khan appointed Muhammed Zaman Khan as Naib. He, under his instruction, subjected many persons to punishment of torture and thus he collected something. As the siege was reduced to straits from day to day, there was neither a grain of food nor a blade of grass, the Jamadars in agreement with one another disclosed about it to Mumin Khan and said,

Fragment

*Tyranny of the dome of the sky had not reached extremity
More than which did not remain in mind
The world burnt to such an extent in the sun of events
That the mountain for example had no shadow*

Since long, due to late payment and dearness, the horses were not given any grain and their nose bags remained without barley. The animals cannot do without fodder. Death of animals was a cause of distraction to soldiers. A muster of existing ones who were yet alive should be taken. If they were to be kept with the soldiers, their price should be given in writing, otherwise they should be discharged, willy nilly, allowances for horses and barley were given. Those who were freed, went away. Some of them remained taking bonds. Some of them, through collusion of the Kohis who then nearly seven hundred of them had brought food stuff fighting in head load and forty oxen brought out their horses. They too came out with any batch when they got an opportunity. Price of food stuff rose to two, three seers per rupee which was bought secretly in the morning from civil population and sold. It could be obtained after a difficult search. Men and animals were reduced to great straits. People were involved in such a state of affairs which no eyes might see. How long can the author come out from the responsibility of writing and narrating it.

Verse

*Suppose, I become all tongue like a lily
How can I be free from responsibility of its description*

Some of them who had no way of escape for themselves nor an idea as to how to send out their horses, pitied the lot of dumb animals. They let them



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loose so that they galloped in desolate places night and day and grazed in case they came across a blade of grass. Cows and buffaloes of citizens were forbidden to be taken out through fear that in future they might be utilized as food. If, in case, some obtained permission through influence and intercession, the moment they were taken outside the gate, the Arab and the Rohila guards of the gates and towers slaughtered them and took away their pieces. Some water-carriers who maintained cows and buffaloes for purpose of carrying water, as they could not maintain them, sold a cow for fifty rupees. Shameless butchers mixed their flesh with the flesh of dead horses and oxen who died of starvation in a grazing place and sold it. People who could not go out nor acquire foodstuff, ate bread prepared out of seeds of some plants. Price of these seeds was more than that of wheat. These seeds got exhausted after a few days. Old servants resigned and bade adieu. Slaves gave up slavery and went away. They became servant of Damaji Gaekwar and girt up loins for siege of the city. They were on the right. They were alone. They had sent their dependents out-side. A single man failed to get a bread.

Verses

*Famine made them so unsteady
That bread became rare like elixir of life
Broth was away from a vessel to a distance of two hundred stages
Name of a bread on an oven was forgotten*

It so happened that under such circumstances, Sanbhuram sent two confidential men to summon brother of Balloo Koli whom he knew by showing him green gardens (on deceitful promises). He collected nearly seven hundred Kolis, attacked a trench on the other bank of the river Sabarmati when two hours of the day were left. He had a small quantity of foodstuff. Some persons from both the parties were slain and wounded. He came to the city. Mumtaz Khan gave him a khil'at and a horse and conciliated him. He had removed nearly three thousand persons consisting of horse and foot, residents of the city, chiefs of Bohras and Hindus who had gone on account of biwarah. Many persons who remained inside the city for preservation of their prestige and reputation free from disgrace and shame and chose to die in starvation, could not be maintained on that small quantity of foodstuff which was carried away from hand to hand by Arabs and Rohilas. People suffered serious difficulties. Wails rose up from every house. The author had one horse who was necessary for him. One day, he bought five bundles of dry and green grass for two rupees. These were brought from desolate places round about the fort and bank of the river. These too were obtained after much search. He fed the horse. He ate for two hours due to severe hunger with all plea-



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sure In the past, he would neither look at nor smell such grass Every day, thirty, forty rupees were spent on food stuff inspite of the fact that superfluous servants were sent away to Syedpur at a distance of three kurohs from the city, the mahal of jagir This quantity of food stuff was obtained with great difficulty from morning to evening He remained contented with a dry bread He paid one rupee per day to an attendant and four menials yet they grumbled as it was insufficient they said In short, the brother of Balloo who openly entered the city at day time by beating and striking Sadashiv Ramchandra and Damaji Gaekwar rebuked and reproached guards of roads of that side Nearly at mid day, he brought two cannons of a range from Nawrangpur and placed them on the Bhadra fort and discharged cannon balls till evening Cannon-balls came inside the fort He remained busy with that occupation till close of the day when the battle ended Damaji also planted cannons in the garden of Ghaznu ddin Husain and heated the oven of war Every day, he sent new recruits from place to place He conciliated Kolis of various places by forgiving their past offences, fixed their daily wages and posted them along with his own men for protection of paths The brother of Balloo who had received a Khil'at and a horse and who had become bold after his entry into the city girt up his loins to lift up trenches of that side and came out with a party of Arabs and Sindhis The Dekhans also came from the opposite camp A war ensued with arrows and muskets The Kolis gave just ce to valour and prowess The war continued till evening Many of the soldiers were slain and wounded from both the parties The brother of Balloo received a bullet on the thigh in the midst of battle He put forth an excuse of lameness When the dark curtain of night was hung down they desisted from war His Koli companions were arrested due to shortage of provisions and want of food stuff However much they intended to go out in the darkness of night all together in a body to bring, if possible the food stuff but they got no chance Of necessity, they went out slowly when they got an opportunity The brother of Balloo, being wounded, remained with a few who treated him It was at this time that other Kolis being excited with sweat of greed may, with the vein of life came to the city with food stuff The guards of the path were alert with caution and consciousness due to rebuke and reproach Those who reached the trench of Jawan-mard Khan waited for an opportunity when guards of the paths who were in ambush learnt about them, blocked up their path, killed and wounded some and arrested them with bundles of food stuff Next day, he sent the Kolis with their bundles to Sadashiv Ramchandra As the southern side of the city from Nawabas to the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhikan may his grave be sanctified on the shore of Sabarmati where the siege was in charge of Damaji Gaekwar and no one was appointed there was a passage at night of transport and communication of horse and foot from



Khanbhayat and of food stuff. It was at this time that Shiv Singh son of late Anand Singh who had the paraganah of Idar under his occupation, shared half of it with Damaji Gaekwar. He desisted till now from partisanship and help to both the sides and waited for stoppage of war. He sent an equipped army of horse and foot, after inquiring about the shake in the pillars of steadiness of the besieged, in view of loyalty of Sujan Singh Hazari. Damaji Gaekwar stationed him on roads towards Idgah and the Kankariya Tank while Hari Ram was posted with his companions and new recruits on entrance to highways of Behrampur and the shrine of Shah Bhukhan may his grave be sanctified. The city was surrounded from the four sides halo-like. The Arab Jamadar Salman was in charge of the Jamalpur gate while Muhammed Lal Rohila with his companions was in charge from the above gate to the gate-barrier. As the walls of houses at Behrampur, Kadanpur and Nawabas were residences of poor men stayed on and were situated near the fort, he sent his own men in the evening by way of caution, set them on fire and roasted owners of houses. Next day, Salman and his companions as well as Muhammed Lal sent some spade-men to pull down walls around the burnt places and advanced with an intention of resistance against Hari Ram. Both the parties waged war with arrows and muskets. Some were slain and wounded. But nothing was achieved. When the siege was completely managed, Shamshir Beg, a Qasbat of Dholka who had a few horses and who had acquaintance with Hari Ram, petitioned him and sent his horses outside. Muhammed Hashim Bakhshi had nearly thirty, forty horses. He had a small quantity of hay and food grains which got exhausted. There did not remain a grain in harvest and a blade of grass in a bin. Helplessly, he brought out his horses to send them to Khanbhayat with porters in darkness of night. By chance, the Marathas learnt about it. They pursued them. They got dispersed like stars of the Greater Bear constellation. Some fled to Khanbhayat and the rest to the fortress of Kali. In this struggle, a horse tumbled, the rider fell down from its back and died. The horse fell in the hands of the Marathas. Sidas Shiv Ramchandra was at ease with regard to the thana of Velad. He now thought of capturing the fortress of Kali. He sent a regiment thrice with several cannons and swivel guns. The fortress was built by A'zam Khan during the regime of His Majesty Shah Jahan Badshah. It was of iron foundation (impregnable). There was no shelter and a river in vicinity. However much they fired it with cannon balls, but to no purpose. Muhammed Nur Thanadar remained steadfast.



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cessation of war and conclusion of peace. A letter with the seal of Peshwa and a few lines from himself were sent to Mumin Khan to the effect that he should not talk of bygone days and that he should acknowledge Khanbhayat as his own and surrender Ahmedabad so that link of friendship and amity might be strengthened in future. He received them through two spies. Mumin Khan wrote in reply about grant of certain concessions by way of a request which were not accepted. The siege and the war passed beyond a period of one year. Time of sailing of ships was near. Shah Nur must return to Surat port. The affair of Ahmedabad was not settled by a letter, and a message. He again made a proposal in view of welfare of God's creatures, preservation of life and reputation of Mumin Khan in the matter of peace. He negotiated with the Peshwa without most success. It was settled that the ports of Khanbhayat and Ghogha without any partnership, payment of one lac of rupees in exchange of expenses for establishment in cash, and elephant should be granted to Mumin Khan. He obtained letters with the seal and handwriting of Peshwa in this respect to be delivered to Sadashiv Ramchandra. They were sent with ten spies and Ranchhod Das, originally a Gujarati but who was since long in service of the government of Peshwa and an experienced and sensible man. He said, "In view of attainment of reward in the path of God as I have placed my feet in travel to Hejaz, I will be one hundred kurohs ahead if the arrow of plan reaches the target of desire."

Hemistich

How pleasant would it be if two objects are achieved with one miracle.

He started in all haste and came out on 1st Jamadi I. Sadashiv Ramchandra sent some confidential men to receive him. The knower of truths and sciences who had gained intelligence of straits of the siege and distraction of the besieged on the way, saw Sadashiv Ramchandra that very night and talked to him about his object. He heard a reply that the besieged were reduced then to great straits. It would be over after a few days. There was no need for peace. Shah Nur obtained permission, with utmost pressure, for entry into the city for getting information about the condition and seeing the consequences. Next day, he went to Kalupur gate. He sent information of his arrival to Mumin Khan. He sent Rashid Beg who then had come from Khanbhayat as summoned and brought him in. He and Ranchhod Das were alighted in the house of Rashid Beg. They were made his guests. Mumin Khan welcomed him and sent word that he should really take rest due to fatigue and that he would see him at night. As the knower of truths and sciences had openly come for arrangement of peace from Poona and remained one night outside and then entered the city, the general public-military and civil popula-



tion became hopeful and knew with certainty and conviction that peace would be concluded. Price of food-stuff which the civil population had raised to one and a half per rupee, suddenly came down to four, five sers a rupee and food-stuff was brought for sale on road and market. Verification of "Verily with difficulty, there is ease" became manifest. In short, Mumin Khan saw Shah Nur in company of Sanbhuram and Muhammed La'l. He was an aged man, a wolf who had seen many monsoons, tasted cold and heat of life. He saw and heard him with the subject-matter of the following poem.

Poem

What an old man ' wise and shrewd
Plucked a grain from every harvest
World seen, knowledge learnt
Travelled, moved in society
Familiar with goodness and badness of the world
He had seen enough of joy, pain and adversity
Wise, slow and of keen intelligence
Speaking in privacy, silent in assembly
An experienced man who spoke late
One to whom victorious fortune is combined
He bases his work on reason and knowledge
He does not place his feet beyond proportion
I wish from the Creator of world
That you should be exalted among all
May his shining sword be enemy burning
May the bright spear be victorious of thee
Listen to my advice, do not turn your head from it
Do not trust much in this incident
Now the star of the Dekhans is exalted
For the king and the minister are overpowered by them
There did not remain stability to throne and a royal couch
There remained no authority with the Meer and the Vazir
When from revolution of the lofty sky
No sultan of Hindustan remained illustrious
In every epoch revolution of the sky
Teaches work in a different style
With Balaji, that Peshwa in the Dekhan
The old sky now has become friendly
When the sky evails a neck
It brings exalted ones in a lasso



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*His plant became elevated in such a manner
That it cast its height beyond the sky
He tried peace and war in the world
He saw loss in war and gain in peace
Hostility is not at all advisable with him
No one experienced welfare from dispute
It is not worthy to light fire thus
To burn harvest with one grain of barley
Fire of lightning will be lighted
Many houses will be burnt
Path of hostility is unpleasant
Unpleasant hostility is all fire
Abstain from fight with any one
For I saw a drop developed into a torrent
Show mercy to inferior men
For there is one superior to you also
Even if your forearm and grip are of iron
They too have side of bronze
If your fist breaks head of an enemy
Your finger too gets hurt
Life of many an innocent man becomes a target
Much wealth gets destroyed illegally
Stock that you took of your own accord
Is not such You played a wrong game
Your well-being and welfare lie therein
That you should now make peace with the Dekhanis
Your ill-thinker whether small or great
Amity with him is better a hundred times than war
The thread was short for that piece of stitched cloth
The speaker closed his lips with speech*

Mumin Khan heard all the particulars and replied that "several times before this, a request for peace was made on condition that I should return the ports of Khanbhayat and Ghoghra without partnership Besides, it was stated repeatedly that I will get another place and more lies of rupees I have not accepted these terms Now if a few villages from the paraganah of Petlad nearby Khanbhayat are added to that, I will make peace out of respect for you" The knower of truths and sciences fell in a sea of amazement He said, "With so much importunity and dispute, I had brought the Peshwa, with obligation on me, to this agreement Secondly, Sidashive Ramchandra did not wish to make peace in hope of conquering Ahmedabad How will it be



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when the condition of besieged is seen with one's own eyes " Once again, he opened his mouth with admonition and arguments-reasonable and traditional and said,

Verse

*You had almost won and it was your turn to play
When you played crookedly, what can one do*

It is necessary to make peace on these terms. Now that the matter is out of control and water has passed over head, steadfastness is very difficult. If you can come out of obligation, we say and hear, what can be better than this that you should enjoy independent authority. You ponder over it. During this period of one year and a half, what amends from His Majesty have been carried out that you should hope for them in future. It is best and most proper that you should make use of slight far seeing wisdom and put your head for an hour in the collar of thought as to what is the condition of soldiers due to reduction of the siege and distress of sustenance. What is the argument for you to throw yourself in the field of destruction and to gamble away life and reputation. Have you not read the verse "Then do not throw with your own hands into destruction"? It is like a fist and a scalpel. In this age, no one has power to do what you did on account of the Peshwa's ascendancy as domination is his domination for strong persons of the age are sitting with their strong fore arms in sleeves and with hands washed off contention with him. If you agree to the proposals that I have brought so far so good. I have travelled all this long distance merely for the sake of God and undertaken so many difficulties. I have brought emphatic letters in this respect from the Peshwa in order that peace may be patched and it may avert the war, and preserve life and reputation of people. When he found Mumin Khan in thought, he said, "Having gone out, and having become acquainted with truth and falsehood of this conversation, I will give you a reply." Next morning that he intended to go, he intended to see the author with whom he had former acquaintance and Ranchhod Das also who was his old acquaintance. He learnt every detail of the event and the gist of conversation of the last night. It was understood from the substance of talk and also by a wink he said, 'Perhaps my trouble and efforts will be wasted. Further, the choice is with God.' As he had no chance to take a bath since long, he went for the bath. It so happened that weather affected him. He had, of necessity, to stay for two days more. At any rate, food stuff became visible by this means, for three, four days more and starving eyes saw the disc of bread. Shah Nur went out on 5th of the month. He informed the Marathas as to what Mumin Khan had said. They said that they had no information about this agreement and that it had no brightness of truth. If any one had so said,

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he must have said on his behalf What reliance could be placed upon it ? The besieged were reduced to great straits due to want of bread They raised their wails to the sky Their patience got exhausted Their affair had reached the utmost extremity Men and women failed to obtain a thin bread of wheat and barley. This state of affairs was observed There was no work left for him What need was now to hold conversation and visit him in this respect He should wait a few days more to see as to how the city was conquered of its own accord Further

Verse

*What less have I seen of water materials
That I should be twisted in matters of peace*

The knower of truths and sciences had good in view Letters of the Peshwa were urgently sent at his satisfaction He expressed regret Sadashiv Ramchandra could not turn away from them He accepted willy-nilly what he had settled with the Peshwa Shah Nur returned to the city with gladness after two days He came in by the Jamalpur gate where Salman Jamadar was posted It was not mortared with bricks because of his steadfastness Its time had not come and fate had ordained it otherwise In his absence, some stinging selfish persons (poisoned Mumin Khan's ears)

Fragment

*Any one who had a vicious habit
It manifests itself voluntarily
A scorpion strikes its sting on stone
Even though it is ineffective on it*

They attributed his visits, and earnest efforts to self-interestedness by absurd arguments They thus deviated the mind of Mumin Khan from the right path It was his intention that peace should be concluded through him and that there should be no say of any other person in it At this time when he came, he did not meet him with indifference for one complete day Next day,

Verse

*When from cold breaths of dawn of slanderers
All at once the tray of the sun fell from the upper storey*

The knower of truths and sciences got hurt in feelings He sent word with Rashid Beg that if his visit was loathsome, he should be allowed to go Mumin Khan came and heard what happened outside He saw the same



tune and made the former claim Shah Nur went away When news spread that there was no possibility of peace, cereals suddenly disappeared and those who

Verse

*Void of reason, wisdom and stripped of sharp understanding
Except wheat and barley he knew nothing*

had sold out their stock within a few days, repented Restlessness and disquietude spread among the people In spite of all these affairs, Shah Nur sent word from outside to the effect that "As goodness and reward are in view, I will stay for two, three days more If you are pleased with what I have said to you, I am ready " As he was given in writing in some other manner, it was not acted upon He talked about to Bhagwan with whom he formed acquaintance through Muhammed Hashim Bakhshi when he was at Broach It was settled that he would come on a pledge of 'Abdullah Zubairi, the Arab Jamadar posted for defence at Dihli Darwaza and declare to him face to face about the object, pledge and pact of peace He arrived there on 12th night of Jamadi I He met Mumin Khan, Muhammed Hashim, Sanbhuram and Muhammed La'l on the terrace of gate and mentioned the topic of peace As Sanbhuram did not wish the peace should be settled through Muhammed Hashim, the conversation terminated into harshness and the assembly was broken up Everyone went to his respective house Muhammed Hashim was convinced in his mind that Sanbhuram upsets matters out of animosity To make him a partner in welfare is to strike an axe on one's feet of resolution He would arrange for peace in a manner wherein lie his welfare and well being Next day, he summoned Bhagwan He and Mumin Khan went to the same house and talked in conciliation and favour It was settled that next day, Tata Pandit, principal manager of affairs of Sadashiv Ramchandra should come to Bagh i-Shahi while Bhagwan should be with Mumin Khan by way of hostage Mumin Khan should go to him and talk to him It was done the next night At the close of night when Muhammed Hashim returned from Tata, every one went to his house Sanbhuram took stock of the last night's situation, as he managed all affairs with self-opinionated manner, he sent out the message of peace on his responsibility without permission of and information to any one He called Antu Pandit He every day arranged a separate shop outside Sarangpur gate in the desolate masjid of Sidi Bashir and negotiated with him He visited him continuously for two days They put their heads together and brought goods of object in the field of review Sadashiv Ramchandra regarded his discord as concord of his luck and practised negligence out of maturity

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Verse

*When there is discord in army of the enemy
Why shold a sword be uncovered from a sheath*

Paths and highways were closed with strictness and sternness for both entry and exist By witnessing this state of affairs, Jamadars of the soldiers, from minor to major, got united in word and reality, went to Mumin Khan and declared to him that every living creature could not do without the human necessity of food

Verse

*To heat an oven of stomach every moment
Is a calamity on the day of not getting it*

The Kolis brought some quantity of foodstuff which was bought by civilians in darkness of night for profit It was secretly sold The quantity would continue for two, three days Others did not get anything On supposition, that it would come, one man needed one rupee per day for his maintenance There was no scope for salary If a plan could be formulated, there would be stability Guards of the gates demanded three times of what arrived He made them write a lease that whatever food stuff was brought, should be brought to the Bhadra where it would be distributed Once when it was brought it was made a tray of booty Every one took away what fell into his hands He thought of another plan All the food stuff should be bought by the government and that one ser per head should be distributed Muhammed La'l was appointed to search houses of people and to seize whatever quantity of food stuff was found from any place They found shawls from the houses of certain persons They were given to soldiers In the meantime, the knower of truths and sciences, Shah Nur wrote to 'Azizuddin Muhammed Khan Bakhshi Chronicler who was his relative that he would proceed to Surat in a day or two If it was possible for him, he should come and see him for farewell. He went with permission of Mumin Khan He stayed there for a night and returned He brought a message with him that nothing had happened If he had some desire he should be informed When he received no reply, he proceeded on his travel



CHAPTER 309

CONCLUSION OF PEACE THROUGH DAMAJI GAEKWAR OTHER EVENTS

When Mumin Khan failed to arrange for money for payment to the soldiers, they were reduced to difficulties and starvation. They began to disperse. From every party some and from every group many, willingly or unwillingly came down from above the ramparts with the help of ropes as gates came in the way and went away. Sadashiv Ramchandra had hoisted a standard of safety at Saraspur in consultation with wise statesmen and gave an invitation to the public and tidings of security to starving men of the fort. Many who were afraid of being molested by the Dekhanis were solaced. They came out from whatever side they could, reposed at the foot of the standard and then went to any side he liked. Mumin Khan, on witnessing this state of affairs became anxious about evil consequences.

Verse

*There was no hope from strength of soldiers
There remained no reliance on plan and reason*

Necessarily, he began to move in the matter of peace, with care and caution, through an excellent intermediary like Damaji Gaekwar. He received a reply that he should conclude peace on the terms as brought by Shah Nur as he came from the Peshwa. It was the best and then he would come in to satisfy him in other respects. As he had gone to a distance of one or two manzils, couriers were sent but they failed to reach him. Every day, people got reduced to more difficulties for want of bread. They sought a corner of safety and went away. Mumin Khan, however much looked with an eye of meditation.

Verse

*I do not know where the friends who were with me gone.
What is the condition that they deserted us*

The Dekhanis learnt about the real state of affairs and condition of the garrisoned. They advanced trenches from all sides and made the plain extremely narrow. Damaji Gaekwar, in view of former relations with Najm-ud-dawlah, as it took time for return of Shah Nur, became himself a surety for conclusion of peace. He talked about his conversation with Mumin Khan to Sadashiv Ramchandra and made him agree to it under pressure. He summoned a reliable man of sagacity and shrewdness for this work. Barajlal Peshkar was wise and an adept in conversation and negotiation.

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Poem

*An envoy should be wise
Bold and brave in speech.
He should reply to every question
In a manner proper for the right course.
He should disclose his words
In a manner as demanded by assembly
Many a person by one harsh word
Upset the world and killed populations.
Another by means of his charming speech
Established friendship between two hundred persons.*

was proposed for the task. He was sent on 12th Jamadī II. He spent three, four days in negotiations. It was settled that one lac of rupees in cash should be given deducting thirty-five thousand rupees concerning ashrafis of Salim. Peshwa's half the share was retained in Khanbhayat. Ghogha should be left to Mumin Khan. Sanbhuram should be handed over to them. He himself should go out of Ahmedabad with his dependants, companions and goods in all tranquillity. All the affairs were managed through security of Damaji Gaekwar. Barajlal informed Mumin Khan about these terms. As the matter was out of control and the arrow of plan had left the thumbstall, there was no alternative except to move the head of willingness and to come out in safety. At the request of Salim that the ashrafis were counted in account, he demanded a clear voucher so that no demand might be made in future. It was brought in writing.

Verse

*Next day when the juggling sky
Opened the lid of the box of stratagem*

Barajlal went out for arrangement of porters, sawari of rath and bahel (carriage). In the meantime. Sadashiv Ramchandra, thinking that at that time when many persons had not remained, trenches were unguarded, every one was anxious for a donkey and his load, opportunity should not be abandoned. He got men ready for an assault, fired ahead a few cannon-balls. Jawanmard Khan came near the Shahpur gate at one gallop from the side of trenches. Guards of that side who stationed themselves for preservation of life and wealth, extended their hands in defence from above the towers and fortifications. When the outsiders advanced, they went rear and displayed boldness. Having informed Mumin Khan, they said,

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Verse

*One quarrel not subsided, another disturbance took place
One revolt, being not suppressed, another calamity came*

He immediately came with those who were present and induced them to fight and sent them out through window of the gate. They fought with arrows and muskets as well as with short arms. Many of them died. Some were wounded. Barajlal, who was near Damaji, learnt about this incident and said that whenever an agreement for peace was signed and registered, an attack made unawares was a breach of promise. As he had no information about it, he sent camels to forbid them to fight. He conciliated Barajlal and said,

Verse

*When my object with you was unity
What matters if the whole world arises to fight*

But before arrival of those who were sent out for prevention, they themselves retreated as they could not advance and thus they had to desert from war of their own accord. During this time, a report was received from Surat port that Safdar Muhammed Khan, the port-officer died. His son-in-law 'Ali Nawaz Khan who acted as the Naib, established himself as the port-officer.

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CHAPTER 310

EXIT OF MUMIN KHAN FROM AHMEDABAD AND DEPARTURE TOWARDS KHANBHAYAT INCOMING OF THE DEKHANIS ARREST OF SANBHURAM

When peace was concluded through efforts of Damaji Gackwar, Mir Najmuddin son of Syed 'Aqil Khan was sent for capture of the fort of Kali for the surrender of which Mumin Khan had sent a letter with his seal to Muhammed Nur, the thanadar but he continued to hold it. Mir Najmuddin marched with Sadashiv Ramchandra's men so that he might surrender it. Thanadar being satisfied with regard to himself, estimate of his establishment and immediate payment of ten thousand rupees came out. Damaji Gackwar took a portion of this amount upon himself which Barajlal, after departure of Mumin Khan should follow him with that amount. Carts, oxen and camels carrying his bag and baggage were sent to several stages under escort of Papaji Harpale, and Baburao with their companions to reach Mumin Khan as far as Khanbhayat. Khanduji Senker was sent to the Bhadra fort for its defence. Damaji's men accompanied him as far as Jamalpur gate with Barajlal who entered the city on the night of 17th Jamadi II. They saw Mumin Khan and alighted in the fort of Bhadra. Mumin Khan divided the porters and the sawari and ordered to pack up baggage and start on the road. Sanbhuram was not associated to take part in transaction of peace, he too remained in his own house near the Sarangpur gate with private porters. The Dekhanis through fear that God forbid that he might go out under dark cover of night, the army was kept ready and prepared for the whole night and they kept a watch circle-like round the city Sanbhuram under guidance of well-wishers sent on his dependents and the younger son with a party of Kolis from the gate so that they might be taken to a safe place. They paced with great effort-they found the path of exit closed unto them like fortune closed against them. Hence, they returned.

Verse

*Next day, the lion of golden claws
Attacked cave of the sphere*

The Arab and Rohila horsemen and footmen assembled at the Bhadra. The party who had sent horses to the army of Jwanmard Khan either by way of relation or friendship, was called back, the Dekhanis arrested them on the way at the time of bringing them back. They plundered whomever they found. In short, most of the horsemen whose horses were at a great distance and who could not be brought, got ready to walk on foot. Mumin Khan, having sent his



dependents and porters, himself went on horseback with Papaji Harpale and Baburao. He halted an hour near house of Salim Jamadar which was situated on the road waiting for him as he had accompanied his family. At this juncture, Sewakram, Naib of Damaji who had reached the sands of Sabarmati entered Bhadra immediately from window of the garden of that side. He plundered some goods as well as those who were about to come out. He closed the fort gates and posted guards there. Mumin Khan came out from the Jamalpur gate with Salim, Muhammed La'l, Ganga Jat, Arab, Rohila, Sindhi jamadars and other horsemen. The Marathas were stationed in their place. Some of the turbulent Marathas came out around the city and guarded most of the houses whose owners had gone out. They carried away sticks and planks they came across. Sanbhuram like a rake with a torn drum sat at his house with porters at the foot of a tree thinking as to what to do scratching his head. When suddenly two horsemen galloping their horses reached there and said that Mumin Khan stayed at Behrampur waiting for him and that he should go there at top speed. Sanbhuram, on hearing these tidings, ready that he was, went in a zananah sawari. When he approached the Jamalpur gate, the Marathas closed the door against him and prevented them from going. Of necessity, he returned to his house like an unfortunate man. It was found out that the horsemen were sent by Muhammed La'l and Ganga Jat by way of friendship without permission and information of Mumin Khan on that pretext in order that he might be released. At this juncture, Sewakram Naib of Damaji reached there with his confederates. He displayed generosity. He forbade his porters who to show bravery had prepared themselves for obstruction and contention. Sewakram was called near him. He dismounted from the horse. They held hands of each other and led him with his elder son Anupram to the house of Rustam Ali Khan which was to be his place of residence. He arrested all the horses seizing from hands of porters and entrusted them to his own men. His wife hid herself with her younger son in somebody's house. Mumin Khan sent Barajlal in accordance with the agreement to Damaji Gaekwar. He advanced further. On the way, he saw Chhanmu and Kesari Singh who with Sanbhuram were active in extortion and exaction of taxes as well as ruining people, who were cursed by citizens, came out of the city as they did not deem it advisable to stay. They were arrested and entrusted to his own men. He encamped that day at Nahali at a distance of six kurohs from the city.



CHAPTER 311

ENTRY OF SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA AND DAMAJI GAEKWAR IN CITY ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER DEPARTURE OF SADASHIV TO SAURATH FOR COLLECTION OF PESHKASH OTHER EVENTS

When out going of Mumin Khan and arrest of Sanbhuram were disclosed to Damaji Gaekwar, he entered the city by Jamalpur gate nearly at one watch of the day on 17th Jamadi II, 1171, for establishment of order and appointment of guards. As the house of Salim was situated on the road, he fixed it for his residence and went there. He ordered it to be swept and entered the Bhadra fort. He posted watchmen at the gates and towers round the fort. He tarried for a few hours and then hastened to the tent. At close of the day, Sadashiv Ramchandra entered Bhadra by Khanpur gate facing the river Sabarmati. He appointed Baburao as kotwal of the city and ordered the gates to be opened. He went to the camp at night. Next day, the general public the elite and the common came to their respective houses and residences. They witnessed their ruined houses. The relatives and caste-fellows of those who had gone out had sold their house hold goods to pay biwarah. They had broken sticks and planks. They had dug out their hoarded treasure. They found themselves empty handed like the bowl of a rebeck and the palm of the indigent. Bloody tears rolled round their eyes. Tears began to pour down like run drops. From among those who had died in this public calamity, left none behind them to light a lamp. Others returned to their original houses. They mourned again in memory of those who had died. Those who arrived afflicted and in wails died. In short, there arose a strange kind of lamentation. A wonderful state had overtaken the small and the great. An epidemic of jaundice spread among the people. Many persons died. This state continued for nearly three months when God the Holy and the Great showed His beneficence to the remaining. In short, when the gates of the fort were opened, a large quantity of food stuff was brought to the city. Eyes of hungry, starving persons were satiated. Sadashiv Damodar, on hearing the opening of gates, sent his own men to bring three elephants who were on the point of dying due to starvation. He tarried for two days more and then proceeded to his residence. Damaji discharged new recruits and rolled up the carpet of hostility and contention. Sadashiv Ramchandra marched from his old camp and alighted near Baghi Shahi. As close of the day, he entered the Bhadra in company of Jawanmard Khan. He tarried a few hours and then went to his tent. Jawanmard Khan requested permission to go to Pattan. He was granted presents of Khil'ats and a horse. He was



granted leave to go. He bade adieu to Damaji who had brought his tent and provisions near the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhukhan, may his grave be sanctified, on the bank of Sabarmati. He reached his tent on the ford of Badi nearly when two watches of the night had passed on 22nd. He marched at that very time. Damaji left his son Sayaji Gackwar in the army and entered the house of Salim. As the author had acquaintance and familiarity with him, he dined with him. In the meantime, Hindu and Muslim bankers and merchants who were involved in the grip of control of others, came back. They were solaced and heartened. They were satisfied by giving them turbans and sashes in accordance with the Dekhani custom. Next day, all of them met Sadashiv Ramchandra who, having marched from Bagh-i-Shahi, had shifted to the sandy plain of Sabarmati at the foot of fort-wall at Bhadra. They were shown conciliation and regard by grant of pieces of cloth. They came out with joy. On 24th the author, Muhammed Rukn-ul-Haqq Khan Qazi 'Aziz-ud-din Muhammed Khan Bakhshi Chronicler and Haji Nurullah, the only four remaining servants saw Sadashiv Ramchandra. During this time, he had heard reports from outsiders about every one of them withal he had learnt about the safe course of the author, he treated them with warmth of heart and good behaviour and permitted them to go. He entered the pavilion near Anba tank on the other bank of Sabarmati on 1st Rajab with intention to collect peshkash from Zamindars of Jhalawad and Saurath. He appointed Naro Pandit, brother of Pandurang as Naib of the city. He issued an order, without any molestation, for the retention of Jagir and stipulated salary of the author, Qazi, Bakhshi Chronicler and Haji Nurulla in the manner Raghunath Rao had settled. Ghulam Husain Khan was removed from the post of Qazi as recommended by Mumin Khan and retained and continued as before Muhammed Rukn-ul-Haqq Khan. From ancient times, drums were beaten on behalf of the royalty and government at the gate of fort-citadel called the Bhadra. The drummers were paid salary by the Diwan of the subah and the public treasury. The Nazims paid them after they occupied Ahmedabad. On Sunday, drums were beaten for five times. Now they were beaten on Saturday, as decided by the Marathas. They were beaten every two days. It was an innovation. An Iron-hook for driving elephants was impressed on coins. It was removed by Mumin Khan. Once again, standards hoisted before chabutra of the Kotwali were dyed in bhagwa colour peculiar to the jogis. Sadashiv Ramchandra marched on 3rd of the month after appointing amils, mukasdars (rent collectors) at every place and mahal. Sayajirao son of Damaji Gackwar marched towards Kapadwanj and Bhel for proper assessment, collection of peshkash and taking securities from Kolis, Sanbhuram and his son were fettered at the order of Damaji. Damaji at this time went as avowed by him for a bath in the river Narbada. He took



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Sanbhuram with his son with him and detained them at Baroda under guards After the bath, he came back to the city within as short a time as possible He despatched Sayaji for collection of peskash to Saurath in respect of his own share With an intention for charitable deeds as memento, he dug a reservoir at Karez, a watering-place and a well in a plain at the back of Salim's house where he resided He utilized stones at these places from the ruined masjid of Sidi Bashir Good intentions of the founder of this masjid became manifest Its stones were again used for good purposes Some stones were used in repairs of the fort As the water of the well was saltish, water was brought by way of a water-wheel and fountains situated at the Khanjahan gate which in early times were constructed by Syed Muzaffar alias Syed Mastu on Sabarmati Salim had repaired the broken and inactive water-wheel and drew water inside his own house A passage was made from it and carried to a reservoir, so that thirsty persons might feel glad and joyous by drinking water from that sweet fountain

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CHAPTER 312

ARRIVAL OF MUMIN KHAN AT KHANBHAYAT EVIL END OF SOLDIERS DEATH OF BRAJLAL PESHKAR

Mumin Khan came out of Ahmedabad with a party of soldiers who remained with him till the end, bore hardships of the siege and remained loyal to him. At every stage of his travel to Khanbhayat, horsemen and footmen had no energy left due to want of hay and food stuff. They stayed in purahs, villages and towns, or they left for their respective houses. Some of the footmen got themselves employed in the service of Damaji. They remained with the Dekhanis on blockade of paths and passages. Every day, batch after batch and every night band after band joined him from every nook and corner in hope of receiving arrears in salary. A large army consisting of horse and foot assembled around him by the time he reached Khanbhayat. Mumin Khan sent his dependents and goods within the fort of the port and himself alighted in the garden of the merchant Muhammed Baqir. He gave a horse and robes as presents to Papaji Harpale and Baburao, appointees of Damaji Gackwar. He estimated arrears in salary of those who had assembled around him. The estimate came to nearly five lacs of rupees. He had no ability in him to pay his amount. He began to ponder over it.

Verse

*Head of every image which is hidden from eyes of wisdom
Does not become clear except in the mirror of deliberation*

He sought help from the old man, wisdom. After thought and deliberation, a path became clear and manifest to him. He intended to take refuge inside the fort and engage himself in opening the transactions of the soldiers. But he feared that God forbid, soldiers or military detachment of Khanbhayat who too demanded salary might join them and open the gates. Thus they would bring in others. Under these circumstances, a great harm and a huge revolt were imagined. Hence, he apprized Papaji Harpale and Baburao of his intention. He requested them to stay for a day after coming inside the fort so that he would get himself ready. The soldiers would not think of a revolt due to fear of their partisanship. They accepted this proposal out of respect for him. Mumin Khan had paid salary for twenty days every month under terms of an agreement to 'Abdullah Khan Zubaidi and the Arab jamadars. Their arrears were light as he had agreed to pay the remaining amount in toto on condition of confederacy till the whole amount was paid. They accepted these terms. When the light-bestowing body of the day hid itself under threads



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of ambergris -scented ringlets, and covered itself with night dress, he came out unawares with Muhammed Hashim Bakhshi and Muhammed Reza from that assemblage and entered the fort from the Kawarah gate. In the morning when the child sun fell from the membrane of the East in the swaddling band of the horizon, the soldiers when they opened their eyes from sleep of negligence found their day like sleeping fortune. They sat in despair and despondency. The Arabs and the Rohilas created disturbance and came to the Pitah gate. When they saw no way of advance, they retreated. What Mumin Khan feared, did not take place and so he was satisfied. Papaji Harpale and Baburao halted for a day and then returned to the city. 'Abdullah Zubaidi and the Arab Jamadars brought their baggage, closed the doors of entry and exit, engaged in protection of the towers and fortifications and placed cannons in opposition. Mumin Khan had not informed the Arab Jamadar Salman for some diplomatic reason at the time of his departure. He was not called to the council of consultation. Through fear of an affliction that took place in Ahmedabad in respect of security of Harikishandas, the chief of silk-merchants and that he had undertaken to pay a sum of money on behalf of discharged persons and therefore, he had some suspicion in his mind and so he did not come. Ganga Jat halted for two days. He was contented with what he acquired of horses, camels, cash and goods of which he never thought. He feared the evil consequences and so he went to Idar. There was a talk about soldiers. Muhammed Rohila was a leader of Rohilas. Their account by way of salary came up to eighty thousand rupees. He sent a message that a settlement should be made on half of that amount viz forty thousand rupees. As he had a firm determination not to separate himself till the course of life and that he would sell off his possessions and pay twenty thousand rupees. If an arrangement for another amount of twenty thousand was made, he would be set free. Mumin Khan summoned him to himself for management of this affair. He, out of care and caution, made Muhammed Zaman Shahzada as surety and came with three, four horsemen. Two days were spent in negotiation of this matter. Muhammed Zaman found that perhaps a damage to reputation might be done, and so he informed Muhammed La'l about it. He came out at night and went to Dhawan, residence of the Kolis with his life in safety. At this time, Brajlal, with the remaining amount, went to Amil of the Peshwa's share. He halted the Amil at Petlad and went to Khanbhayat with his naib. He was made to take charge of mahals of the port. Mumin Khan paid half the amount of salary to 'Abdullah Zubaidi and the Arab Jamadars. He negotiated with others who were inside and outside. Some of them were paid half of what was due to them. Others were paid as stipulated. Some were paid eight and four annas in a rupee in cash, a horse, an axe and a camel. There was also a settlement on payment by instalment. Receipts were taken.



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promise and pledge He wrote therein that becoming suspicious on the statement of a self-interested man, he had gone out, it could be removed on the security of any one He wrote in reply that he was constantly ill and lying in Khanbhavat, and that out-going become certain, he came out for a change of climate to Ahmedabad He should really give permission to bring certain things from his house Mumin Khan granted permission in view of appeasement of heart Zahid 'Ali halted for a few days at Petlad and then started for Ahmedabad Sadashiv Bilal made arrangement for portage and sent Trimbak by way of an escort with a party of horsemen and footmen to reach him to Ahmedabad He saw Naro Pandit, Naib of the city and resided there Muhammed Hashim Bakhshi who also was fearful and anxious for certain reasons, failed to find a way of escape As he was a sincere friend of Zahid 'Ali, he arranged through him with Sadashiv Bilal for going out He waited for an opportunity to treat an event before its occurrence

Verse

*Remedy of an event should be sought before its occurrence
Remorse is of no avail when an affair is out of control*

It was so heard Responsibility of this report rested upon the reporter He thought of a plan He made thirty, forty porters apparently demand their salary On this pretext, he sold out superfluous loads and burdens and obtained a cash amount He pretended to quarrel with his relative Muhammed Sadiq who lived with him on ground of money and displeasure He got separated from him and lived in another house He entrusted him what was worth taking out and thus his burden was made light Muhammed Sadiq who disclosed indignation against him, obtained permission from Mumin Khan and thus came out Muhammed Hashim pretended illness and confined himself to his house Porters, and soldiers, active and inactive, came to pay a sick - visit to him His brother Muhammed Reza treated them with hospitality and thus he kept an assemblage warm around him by this means Mumin Khan also came to see him He inquired about his idea He cheered and heartened him by way of practicability and strove to join the broken thread for removal of doubt

Verse

*When a thread is broken it can be joined
But there remains a knot between it*

Having removed his belt for show of sincerity, affection and amity he became his guest Muhammed Hashim, wily milly treated him with hospitality. He summoned his dependents and also made arrangements for



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the night At night, when the assembly dispersed and they too remained alone, he warmed up sociability and brought the conversation to his object He kept his son present, placed his hand over his head and gave him an oath that whatever had become the subject of fear due to statements of selfish persons was not true and that they were absurd statements

Verse

*Do not listen to anyone, listen to me
For men of self interest have every sort of interest*

In reality he should employ porters and horses Visits should be gladly paid as before so that ill thinkers would cease to speak evil and the enemies would become pale-faced As remedy, except willingness, was not there in accordance with exigency of time, he accepted it Mumin Khan, being satisfied, returned to his house the next day In spite of this fact, due to disclosure of certain close friends and intimate companions whether out of well wishing or by way of hatred and rancour, they told him the innermost idea of Mumin Khan's mind on account of which he was not at all at ease His sincerity and oath were given different interpretations They said that all matters of speciousness were meant for throwing persons into negligence As he was helpless, he maintained former relations of usual visits with a distracted mind with subterfuge Internally, he never rested for a moment from seeking a way of escape and retirement After a few days, he kept the porters ready on a plea of testing the horses He seated his dependents in one rath and sent it out in a manner as no one might suspect as to whose it was He said that it should be driven fast on reaching the gate and should not look behind till they reached Petlad At close of the day when Mumin Khan was free from recitation of the Quran and went inside, Muhammed Reza, his brother was sent to him He then went to his brother Both of them, without delay and remissness rode horses along with porters who were ready He spurred the horse and reached the gate of the fort Out of common-sense and throwing them into error, he inquired as to which side the sawari of Mumin Khan had gone to get information about robbers Thus a wrong lane was pointed out He took the road to Petlad After an hour when Mumin Khan learnt about their departure, he mounted the horse-back immediately to pursue them He spurred the horse to a distance of three kurohs but did not reach them He had to return per force Muhammed Hashim got into the rath and reached Petlad at one watch and a half of night had passed Sadashiv Bilal saw him at a suitable place and sent him food Next day, a letter of Mumin Khan addressed to both the brothers was received It was stated in it that it was not proper, in spite of renewal of pledge and promise on oath, to take this unworthy course which was a cause of ill-repute to both the parties If



they had the intention to go and to seek separation, who would have prevented them. Really speaking, they should return, see him and then depart with pleasure and joy so that doubt of the people might be removed and mouths of critics would be closed. In reply, they wrote to him about the salary of their confederates. Mutual correspondence was harsh and severe. It now got cut off. It was stated before that Salim Jamadar gave up confederacy of Jawanmard Khan, came out of the city, resided at Dholka, and that Mumin Khan brought him to Ahmedabad. This account was given at several places. He was brought up from old times in a Mughal circle. He was influenced by their society. He had determined with heart and soul that he would not separate himself from the society of Mumin Khan for the rest of his life. In view of taking asharafis from the Dekhanis as mentioned above as well as in one or two affairs, he became a target of curse of the people and he made the Marathas his enemies.

Verse

*Do not attach yourself to any friend or region
For land and sea are wide and men many*

In spite of the fact that a number of Arab and Gujarati Jamadars came to the city and employed themselves under Sadashiv Ramchandra and Damaji Gackwar, he had no courage to go back. He undertook certain affairs at the advice of certain inexperienced men and so he had to wander from his house and lose all that he had.

Verse

*It is good to turn away face of the heart from two groups
From inimical friends and friendly enemies*

Men of rancour and jealousy reported to Mumin Khan about the wealth that he amassed as Kotwal of the city during ten years' government of Jawanmard Khan and had imprinted it upon his mind. He deferred it to an opportune time and behaved with him with external regard out of kindness and avour to purify his heart. He imagined it to be sound, sincere friendship and made utmost efforts to manage matters of soldiers' salary with as much economy as possible. He waived claims of his own salary as well as that of his confederates and waited in hope of some betterment. Muhammed Haslam always in private and public.

Verse

*Night and day was a companion and an associate
From morning till evening was intimate and confidential*

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was night and day consulted by Mumin Khan in regard to administrative matters. Whatever he heard about Salim and what he himself thought of, was deferred to a time. He kept knowledge of it in his mind. At this time when he himself came out safe and curtain of secrecy was rent asunder, he wrote two words out of friendship to Salim and made him vigilant of his work. He induced him to come out and to live with care and consciousness. He imagined it, out of simplicity, to be increased friendship and sincerity and handed over that letter to Mumin Khan.

Verse

*That man is too much attached to the wish of heart of enemies
Who does not listen to the advice of well wishing friends*

He said reminding him on oath that Muhammed Hashim in so writing had no object and interest except to create discord and disaffection among two sincere friends. He thought of enmity with me in regard to your friendship and that he should remain satisfied in all respects with him. When he was not a servant, he said that he would bring his adopted son Ghulam Husain along with a batch of Arabs to be employed in service. Selfish persons thus received a handle in their hands. Throwing responsibility on him, he declared that perhaps he might hear of enmity from some other quarter and that he should go away as others did. Hence, Salim came with five, six private persons for inquiry about salary on 6th Shawwal. Mumin Khan said to him that there were certain matters which it was not proper to be talked of face to face. What Gulabrai peshkar said, should be done. He got up and went inside. Gulabrai declared to him that he needed a small amount of money by way of a good loan. He replied that whatever there was belonged to him and that he had chosen his friendship with all heart and soul. Wealth was of no matter and that he had no cash. He had no objection in parting with horses and camels that he had. Mumin Khan expressed affliction at these words. In the meantime, one of his companions interpreted this matter in a different way and explained to him in the Arabic language. He immediately went to the house of Muhammed Rashid Beg. He generously helped him to preserve his reputation. A party of Nadirshahi Mughals and gunners entered the door and surrounded themselves halo-like around Salim and closed the way of escape unto him. He remained in that condition for nearly thirteen full days. When he found no way of escape and salvation, he undertook to pay him after negotiation twenty-six thousand rupees and came out from that place. He consoled him by selling ornaments of women, household goods and borrowing a loan.

Verse

*There is no hope of fidelity in this earth
There is no marrow of faithfulness in this bone.*

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The purport of a tradition of the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him " He who helped a tyrant then God dominated him upon him " came true At the time of Jawanmard Khan's government, he had given an amount of money to a merchant Shaikh Mahmud to do business in partnership He requested him to repay it now when he was in need of it He failed to pay it The merchant retired to Dhawan

Verse

*To do good to vicious persons is such
Is to do evil to virtuous men*

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CHAPTER 314

RETURN OF SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA FROM SAURATH HIS ENTRY INTO THE CITY OUT-GOING OF DAMAJI GAEKWAR ON SUMMONS FROM PESHWA BALAJIRAO OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR

Sadashiv Ramchandra had gone to Jhalawad and Saurath. He reached while collecting peshkash, Porbander situated at the extremity of Saurath on a sea shore. He then returned to Junagadh. It so happened that Sayaji Gaekwad arrived there assessing a share of his own from Golwad and Kathiawad. Sher Khan Babi sent several horses by way of presents to Sadashiv Ramchandra and Sayaji Gaekwad. From this side, Sadashanker Munshi was sent with a message for appointment of a naib at Junagadh as well as a present of clothes in accordance with a Dakhani custom. He had to return to the city for certain matters. He, therefore, returned to Ahmedabad on 8th Shawwal and devoted himself to administrative work of the Nizamat. Zahid 'Ali and Mir Najmuddin met him. They narrated to him an account of exit and escape. He conciliated and heartened them and gave them robes. Sayaji Gaekwad also returned on 15th. Sadashiv Bilal had detained Muhammed Hashim and Muhammed Reza till arrival of Sadashiv Ramchandra. He had written a report about them to him. Sadashiv Ramchandra permitted Zahid 'Ali also to go so that Sadashiv Bilal and Muhammed Hashim might together try to liberate Khanbhayat. Zahid 'Ali went to Petlad and engaged himself in enlisting soldiers for invasion on Khanbhayat. Some got themselves separated from him and came out. Others deemed it a source of livelihood and informed Mumin Khan about it. They spent the amount that they had received. When a month ended in this manner, Mumin Khan who had become acquainted with their designs was vigilant with care and consciousness. There was no progress made in this affair and the image of desire was not visible in the mirror of object. Zahid 'Ali came to the city on 11th Zilhajj. Muhammed Hashim went with his brother and dependents to Miyagam. He was friendly with Baranmal zamindar. It was at this time that Sanbhuram and his son were removed to Poona from Baroda under orders of the Peshwa. Letters for summons of Damaji Gaekwad were received. Sadashiv Ramchandra did not deem it advisable for his departure for certain affairs. He wrote to Balajirao for his stay at Ahmedabad. It was not accepted. Chankaji, a sentinel came to escort him. Of necessity, Damaji entered a tent near 'Idgah on 26th Zilhajj. Sadashiv Ramchandra encamped at the Kankariya tank with intention to go out for collection of peshkash. Mumin Khan had sent his confidential man to Peshwa, out of foresight and maintenance of friendship and amity by sending reports of this side to him and placing certain problems of his own before him.



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The chief managers of affairs made his son Muhammed Mahabat as his successor. Sadashiv Ramchandra halted for twenty days. He settled the amount of difference of the share which Mumin Khan had appropriated, he took that amount as pointed out by his agent and then went to Kathana. He then proceeded to Umeta in Chorasi taluqa of Kumbhayat as the local zamindar had stayed payment of peshkash to the Nazim. In the meantime, letters of pressure to send Damaji were received. There was no occasion for excuse and alternative but to go. Having settled the question of peshkash of Umeta, he crossed the Mahi river. He sent his son Sayaji for collection of peshkash to Saurathi as a part of his share. He then set out for Poona. Sadashiv Ramchandra went to Barasinor, mahal of wairandari of Sher Khan Babi where his son Sardar Muhammed lived for the last so many years. He had appropriated half the share of Peshwa at the time of Ahmedabad's siege. Again, Desais of Virpur paraganah had come with Dipsingh zamindar of Lunawada with complaints against him for his imposition of fine. Sardar Muhammed Khan was in prime of youth. His principal manager of affairs, Sultan Habsh guided him to hostility against him. He wore a shield of resistance on his head at back of the fort and advanced the hand of defence from above the rampart. A war ensued between them with cannons and guns. A few days were spent in this way. One night, Sadashiv Ramchandra prepared ladders and ordered them to place against fort walls. He himself stood there as support to the army. Some climbed up with courage. The guards became vigilant. A war ensued with cannons and guns. In the meantime, it was morning. The world was illumined. As he could not advance, some got wounded. Sardar Muhammed Khan had no alternative without settlement. He sent out the Sultan with the local muqaddam and agreed to pay thirty thousand rupees. Sultan and the muqaddam remained as hostages. Mumin Khan had sent a letter to Peshwa about his arrival, arrival of Sadashiv Ramchandra, and exaction of twenty thousand rupees in a different manner. This letter was sent with a fast courier with some presents and he had mentioned therein the cause of delay. A horseman Husain with some other spies came with letters in respect of revocation of that amount of money and taking Mumin Khan with them. Mumin Khan sent him to Sadashiv Ramchandra who was at Barasinor. He said that he took the amount in respect of a difference in share and that he had not taken it without any cause. He thus gave a reply and sent away the horseman. He then went to the zamindar Dipsingh of Lunawada where since long the Nazims had no occasion to go. The zamindar took refuge on the back of walls and fought with him with cannons and guns. Sadashiv Ramchandra determined to punish him. He ordered to dig trenches and remove them forward. He summoned Sardar Muhammed Khan with a party of soldiers to take part with him in the war. He came with



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security of 'Abdullah Zubaidi and a regiment of Arabs consisting of three hundred horsemen and footmen. A few days elapsed in war. Sadashiv Ramchandra saw a small mountain in the neighbourhood. It was very difficult to climb it up on account of a dense jungle and a thicket of trees, he ordered to cut down the jungle. He placed a cannon of range with great effort which served a battery for the place of Dipsingh. He discharged several cannon-balls which proved effective. He brought out smoke of amazement and vanity from the palace of his brainless mind. Of necessity, he sought his favour with an apology and repentance and agreed to pay fifty thousand rupees and gave a hostage. Sadashiv Ramchandra permitted Sardar Muhammed Khan to go, and proceeded to the paraganah of Modasa. He reached the village Vilasana in the paraganah of Idar. It was at a distance of seven kurohs from the Qasbah of Vadnagar under Jawanmard Khan's jurisdiction. On the way, he assessed and collected revenue according to the condition and capacity of the village. He then encamped at Aklor in the Vijapur taluka under Jawanmard Khan. Zorawar Khan was at Visalnagar which was nearby. He came and joined him. It was at this time that Ranchhod Das and Sewakram who had gone to Rajah Lakhpat at Kutch returned to the city. Ranchhod Das went to Sadashiv Ramchandra. He reached Palanpur by way of Samanbar on 5th Jamadi I. The local faujdar Muhammed Bahadur had built a fort with towers and fortifications. He fought a war with him. Jawanmard Khan came there, as summoned, with an army of nearly one thousand horse and foot on 9th of the month and joined him. The war prolonged to one month. During this time he plundered round about villages. Peace was settled through Jawanmard Khan on payment of thirty-five thousand rupees besides plunder of villages which also was a considerable amount. He gave a hostage. He marched on 9th Jamadi II. He gave permission to Jawanmard Khan and his brother to depart from Unjha Unawa. He proceeded to Limdi of Jhalawar. On the way, he collected ten thousand rupees from Suja, Zamindar of Kathosan. He marched to Limdi and engaged in digging trenches and kindling fire of war. It was at this time that Santoji, Naib of the city brother of Sadashiv Ramchandra, started repairs of the fort-wall near the Raighad gate overlooking the river Sabarmati which in time of Shripatrao was disintegrated along with water-wheels on account of flood by utilizing stones of Sidi Bashir's masjid outside the Sarangpur gate. He pulled out stones with great efforts. As the distance was great, he brought stones from the masjid near the Khanjahan gate. The wall and the battlements were strongly built with rocky stones. As none of the owners of water-wheels was alive and the heirs had no capacity (to maintain them), they remained in dilapidated state.

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CHAPTER 316

ARRIVAL OF SYED MU'INUDDIN KHAN ALIAS SYED ACHHAN FROM POONA TO SURAT TO CAPTURE IT WITH THE HELP OF AHMED KHAN QILE'DAR REMOVAL OF 'ALI NAWAZ KHAN.

It was stated under events of the year 1162, (1749) an account of out-going of Syed Mu'inuddin Khan alias Syed Achhan from Surat port to Balajirao Peshwa and in coming of Safdar Muhammed Khan. He now heard about the death of Safdar Muhammed Khan and establishment of 'Ali Nawaz Khan in authority. He requested the Peshwa through Muzaffer Khan Gardi for wreaking vengeance and establishing government at the port and said,

Verse

*I wait not from strangers but my heart
Whatever grief it suffers, suffers from self (or relatives)*

The Peshwa acceded to his request as he chose his company since long and spent his time in difficulties. He thought that if he assumed power, he would, in reality, be the king maker. He, therefore, wrote letters of confederacy and help to merchants and nobles of the city and also to Damaji Gaekwar in respect of aid and succour. He gave a party of Muzaffer Khan Gardis companions to accompany him. He travelled the distance as far as Songadh. He felt difficulties in respect of expenses and other necessities. By chance, the star of his fortune was in exaltation and it had joined the part of felicity. Some of the passers by technically known as Angadia carried cash of bankers of the port to Aurangabad. They met him at the opportune time. He regarded this incident as a divine favour and godly help and so he seized the money. He then marched and came to a distance of twelve kurohs from the port of Surat. He engaged in recruitment of soldiers. He sought help from Neknam Khan, faujdar of Broach. Professional soldiers gathered around him thinking it as a means of livelihood. Syed Achhan behaved out of kinship with favour and mildness and sent a message of peace to 'Ali Nawaz Khan saying that he should not talk of the past and that if he desisted from war, he would be appointed as Naib. As he had pride and vanity in him due to a large number of friends and helpers, as well as concord of the Qile dar Ahmed Khan, he fell apart from the path of confederacy.

Verse

*The vein of pride is a branch of the tree of folly
It does not lose itself from being woven*

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As the heavenly decree had ordained it otherwise, he turned his head
from it

Quatrain

*However much a man is wise
He is blind and remiss in matter of destiny
None is more dear to any one than himself
Whether he is ignorant or wise*

Syed Achhan approached nearer and waited for an opportunity. Temperament of 'Ali Nawaz Khan was dominated to a greater extent by black bile. Hence many of his servants and close associates such as Zafaryab Khan Habshi, Waliullah and others felt aversion in certain matters with him. They got disheartened with him and lived in hope and fear. They all conspired together to bring Syed Achhan by some means. 'Ali Nawaz Khan learnt about the approach of Syed Achhan. He said to the Qile'dar Ahmed Khan that he should send his men in company of an army that he sent against Syed Achhan. Zafaryab Khan and others learnt about it. They prevented the Qile'dar from so doing convincing him by reasonable and traditional arguments and it was reported by giving him an amount of money. They entered into a pact of friendship with Syed Achhan. Next day when 'Ali Nawaz Khan sent his army with war materials and implements, none came out of the Qila'. Those who went fought with arrows and muskets. Many of them got slain, wounded and retreated with a defeat. 'Ali Nawaz Khan got exasperated on account of remissness of Ahmed Khan and sent him harsh messages, threats and menaces. The Qile'dar hinted to Syed Achhan that he should go to Rander on the other bank of Tapti opposite to the fort and stand firm there.

Verse

*A tame fowl however thrown afar
Comes back with joy when said, come*

He considered this divine gracefulness as felicitous time and good luck. It was at this time that nearly five hundred persons consisting of horse and foot as sent by Neknam Khan came by way of succour. As four thousand persons old and new had assembled together, they went to Rander on 20th Rabi I and occupied it. Mas'ud Habshi who was there on behalf of 'Ali Nawaz Khan was arrested. They plundered it and thus obtained affluence and stability. 'Ali Nawaz Khan, in spite of the fact that he had nearly eight, nine thousand soldiers, could not dare oppose the enemy due to hypocrisy of the Qile'dar and disloyalty of others as he deduced. Of necessity, he knocked at the door of concord with Ahmed Khan. He received no reply from him. Syed Hafizuddin



CHAPTER 316

ARRIVAL OF SYED MU'INUDDIN KHAN ALIAS SYED ACHHAN FROM POONA TO SURAT TO CAPTURE IT WITH THE HELP OF AHMED KHAN QILE'DAR REMOVAL OF 'ALI NAWAZ KHAN

It was stated under events of the year 1162, (1749) an account of out-going of Syed Mu'inuddin Khan alias Syed Achhan from Surat port to Balajirao Peshwa and in coming of Safdar Muhammed Khan. He now heard about the death of Safdar Muhammed Khan and establishment of 'Ali Nawaz Khan in authority. He requested the Peshwa through Muzaffer Khan Gardi for wreaking vengeance and establishing government at the port and said,

Verse

*I wait not from strangers but my heart
Whatever grief it suffers, suffers from self (or relatives)*

The Peshwa acceded to his request as he chose his company since long and spent his time in difficulties. He thought that if he assumed power, he would, in reality, be the king maker. He, therefore, wrote letters of confederacy and help to merchants and nobles of the city and also to Damaji Gaekwar in respect of aid and succour. He gave a party of Muzaffer Khan Gardi's companions to accompany him. He travelled the distance as far as Songadh. He felt difficulties in respect of expenses and other necessities. By chance, the star of his fortune was in exaltation and it had joined the part of felicity. Some of the passers by technically known as Angadia carried cash of bankers of the port to Aurangabad. They met him at the opportune time. He regarded this incident as a divine favour and godly help and so he seized the money. He then marched and came to a distance of twelve furohs from the port of Surat. He engaged in recruitment of soldiers. He sought help from Neknam Khan faujdar of Broach. Professional soldiers gathered around him thinking it as a means of livelihood. Syed Achhan behaved out of kinship with favour and mildness and sent a message of peace to 'Ali Nawaz Khan saying that he should not talk of the past and that if he desisted from war, he would be appointed as Naib. As he had pride and vanity in him due to a large number of friends and helpers, as well as concord of the Qile'dar Ahmed Khan, he fell apart from the path of confederacy.

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It does not lose itself from being woven*

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As the heavenly decree had ordained it otherwise, he turned his head from it

Quatrain

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He is blind and remiss in matter of destiny
None is more dear to any one than himself
Whether he is ignorant or wise*

Syed Achhan approached nearer and waited for an opportunity. Temperament of 'Ali Nawaz Khan was dominated to a greater extent by black bile. Hence many of his servants and close associates such as Zafaryab Khan Habshi, Wahullah and others felt aversion in certain matters with him. They got disheartened with him and lived in hope and fear. They all conspired together to bring Syed Achhan by some means. 'Ali Nawaz Khan learnt about the approach of Syed Achhan. He said to the Qile'dar Ahmed Khan that he should send his men in company of an army that he sent against Syed Achhan. Zafaryab Khan and others learnt about it. They prevented the Qile'dar from so doing convincing him by reasonable and traditional arguments and it was reported by giving him an amount of money. They entered into a pact of friendship with Syed Achhan. Next day when 'Ali Nawaz Khan sent his army with war materials and implements, none came out of the Qila'. Those who went fought with arrows and muskets. Many of them got slain, wounded and retreated with a defeat. 'Ali Nawaz Khan got exasperated on account of remissness of Ahmed Khan and sent him harsh messages, threats and menaces. The Qile'dar hinted to Syed Achhan that he should go to Rander on the other bank of Tapti opposite to the fort and stand firm there.

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Khan son of Syed Achhan was brought inside the fort through a window. On the night of 1st Rabi'II nearly at midnight, Syed Achhan, at the suggestion of the Qile'dar embarked a boat and alighted in the house of Haqiqat Khan. Zafaryab Khan came with those with whom he had colluded and joined them. On Monday morning which was the first date of the month, Syed Achhan's men rushed for assault, with Ahmed Khan's men, on the darbar, residential quarters of the ruler. They fought with arrows and muskets. Nearly three hundred persons of both the armies were killed and wounded. Trenches were dug opposite to one another. Guards of Syed Achhan along with men of the Qile'dar were posted at the gates of the city-fort. They closed doors of entry and exit. Dragon bodied cannons began to pour fire on the darbar from above the fort. Amanullah Khan, house steward of 'Ali Nawaz Khan deserted him. On witnessing desertion of his servants, his soldiers lost steadfastness. Becoming fearful of the evil end, they came forward to demand salary. As there was no time, he gave each one what he demanded and took receipts from them. He consoled and heartened every one of them and sent them to the trenches. As food was essential, path of receipt of food-stuff was closed, the house-steward Amanullah, out of discord, kept the store of food-stuff at such a place where the hand could not reach.

Verse

*Abstain from a friendly foe
Like dry fuel from keen fire*

Nearly at evening, the water carriers also fled away. Scarcity of water was followed by scarcity of bread. Syed Kamaluddin Qazi had causal relationship with 'Ali Nawaz Khan. He intended to lift up the trench at the Navsari gate so that provision of food stuff might be brought from that side and thus the work might be enlivened. He went to that side with a party of soldiers. He assaulted the enemy. By chance, a musket-bullet hit his temple and he succumbed to it.

Verse

*A knot of heart of a musket opened
It was tyranny, it was death, it became lightning of calamity.*

His companions fled. 'Ali Nawaz Khan, in a confused state, broached the topic of peace to seek advice of his specious well-wishers. He vacated the Darbar on Friday, 5th of that month and went to his house which he had bought in the Sodagars' street. Syed Achhan tarried in a serai for an elected hour. He entered the residential quarters of the port-officer on 11th and devoted himself to manage administrative affairs and to establish order. He granted leave to the auxiliaries of Broach by giving them Khil'ats and horses.



CHAPTER 317

PASSING OF THE IRON BASED FORT OF SURAT PORT UNDER OCCUPATION OF THE ENGLISH HIS INFLU ENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENT OF FARIS KHAN AS NAIB OF SYED MU'INUDDIN KHAN DISCHARGE OF AHMED KHAN QILE'DAR

One of the events of this year was occupation of the iron based fort of Surat port by the English Captain. The substance of it is: When Ahmed Khan son of Hafiz Mas'ud Khan Habshi Qile'dar sided Syed Mu'inuddin Khan out of self conceitedness and head strongness without sounding the temper, seeking advice, consultation and consent of merchants and nobles especially the English Captain, he established himself in government with the support of the Qile'dar. Domination and arrogance of the negro party increased ten-fold more than before. In this engagement with Syed Mu'inuddin Khan and his brothers, hat wearers suffered losses in wealth to extent of lacs of rupees in their area at the suggestion of Hafiz Mas'ud Khan. This fact was mentioned in its proper place. The negroes who after displaying refractoriness, placed their feet beyond limit of blanket and caused harm and injury to men especially to servants of the English due to animosity with them. As for example, they had murdered, before this, their two Parsi employees. At this time, he made an alliance with them in a manner mentioned, nay, they were made his partners and equals in government. Guards of both of them were posted at the gates of city fortifications. Mr Spencer, the captain feared consequences. He, therefore, desisted from business and transactions. He informed Mr. Boger Jandaral his boss at Bombay about this event. Jandaral did not like disturbances at Surat port as well as ascendancy and power of the negroes. As there did not remain awe of the saltanat, he established friendly relations with the Peshwa due to his ascendancy and again Bombay was near Poona at a distance of six days' journey. He sounded his opinion in respect of expulsion of Ahmed Khan and liberation of the fort from him on certain conditions. He wrote to Spencer, the captain at Surat port that he should come out of Surat in boats, anchor in the river and wait for receipt of war-materials and succour. He wrote to Peshwa in view of impregnability and strength of the fort and foresight out of care and caution and summoned armada from port of Bassein and an army by land. Spencer, under instructions from Jandaral embarked his goods in boats and came out. Syed Mu'inuddin Khan and Ahmed Khan got perturbed at the sudden outgoing of the captain, arrival of armada of Vasai (Bassein) and Faris Khan who till then was there. He sent some merchants to them for conciliation and investigation of this move.



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He waited for receipt of an instruction from Jandaral. He said out of collusion in accordance with exigency of time that he did not enjoy peace of mind and so he had retired. He was subordinate to Jandaral. He would act in accordance with what he would write to him. In the meantime, the Maratha army came outside the port by land. Citizens were seized with great perturbation and consternation on account of this fact. Spencer wrote a letter to Syed Mu'inuddin Khan, Syed Abdullah successor to Syed 'Idrusi, Chalabi and nobles to the effect that tyranny, harassment and disorder had crossed limit in the port and that merchants could not mind their business with satisfaction. The secret idea of Jandaral was that there should be safety and security in a royal kingdom. There should be no remorse and partiality in any one. Ahmed Khan Qil'dar's men murdered two of their employees without any cause. Murderer should be handed over to them otherwise he should be prepared for war. Further, he would not allow ships to sail in season and dependents of Syed Achhan who were in Bombay to come out. When Jandaral received a report of arrival of armada of Vasai port in the river and the Dekhani army by land, he sent several boats full of his servants, essentials of artillery, and warships so that they would liberate the fort from Ahmed Khan. They entered the harbour and anchored. Nearly two months were spent in such negotiations. Heavenly decrees were in accord with their plan.

Verses

*If all particles of the world get twisted together
They are nonentities with decrees of God
When fate puts out its head from the sky
Wise men all become blind and deaf*

In accordance with the substance of "When God intended a thing, its materials get ready", Ahmed Khan was always insanely intoxicated by drinking red wine and measuring emerald cups night and day. His father Hafiz Mas'ud Khan, in view of his condition, had made Bilal the negro who was reliable the defender of the fort from the very beginning. After his death, Ahmed Khan had continued him as such. He got aggrieved with him for a certain affair and threatened him in his absence with imprisonment, murder, insult, damage to his reputation and thus he perforated the shell of heart with a needle of tongue.

Verse

*Tongue has ruined many heads
Tongue is a domestic enemy of the head*

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Bilal was frightful of his reputatation He sowed seeds of discord in the field of concord Mr Spencer the captain came to know of it and regarded this discord as a fortunate sign He made him friendly by giving him a sum of money Intentions of hatwearers became very clear Ahmed Khan sent an army with several cannons and essentrals for defence to a Zangi port situated on the entrance of boats and prepared trenches On 26th Jamadi II, hat wearers unfurled sails of boats and sailed for the fort They fired several cannons from above the towers over the boats They proved ineffective It is said that they were without cannon-balls as contrived In short, the boats reached the shore The hat-wearers alighted in their garden They carried an assault on trenches of the Zangi port Cannons were tied on them from boats The trenchmen became unsteady in a slight engagement Many got slain and wounded The Zangi port fell in the hands of the captain Syed Mu'inuddin Khan, in view of partisanship of Peshwa, did not succour Ahmed Khan in accordance with exigency of time "The reward of obligation with obligation ' was not acted upon by him The hatwearers raised batteries on 4th Rajab and fixed cannons on warships whose shots weighed fifteen maunds and twenty maunds opposite the fort A discharge of few cannon-balls disturbed the besieged Every cannon ball that came down on roof of a building like a heavenly calamity made it levelled with dust of the road Every shot that sat on surface of the earth like a thunderbolt went down as far as water For example, the main tower with its elevation of the fort demolished it as far as the middle part by one blow of a cannon-ball With all swiftness, they gave no opportunity to scratch head and respite to breathe and raised smoke from palace of their brains Even though, the cannon came from above the fort yet it proved ineffective because of collusion Within one full day, a cry of "the safety" rose up On the third day, Syed Mu'inuddin Khan sent a message for peace and sent an army for reception The captuin accompanied by Faris Khan entered the port by the Makki gate They besieged the house of Ahmed Khan halo-like He was inside the house Those who came forward for resistance were slain and wounded He vacated the fort, entrusted it to his men and the English standards were planted side by side with the royal standards He appointed Mr Class as Qile dar He went to see the fort He ordered some of the buildings whose maintenance he deemed improper to be demolished He then began to get repaired cracks and disintegration Some of the houses that were in front of the fort were also pulled down soon and the place was turned into a plain Administration and Qile'dari were conducted in consultation with Mr Spencer the captain He took management of administrative matters into his hand of power The Vasai armada was ordered to go The Maratha army which had come by land was not so



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much aware of internal condition After being free from this business, he attended to blockade of paths of communication They went away when the captain wrote to them that Jandaral had written to the Peshwa He appointed Faris Khan as Naib of Syed Mu'inuddin Khan who was port-officer in name. He fixed his salary as much as he needed for sustenance. Faris Khan was made a free agent in all matters When Syed Mu'inuddin saw no alternative except submission, he gave him a Khul'at of Naibship and an elephant

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CHAPTER 318

DEPARTURE OF MUMIN KHAN, PORT-OFFICER OF KHANBHAYAT TO PESHWA BALAJIRAO BY WAY OF BOMBAY

Arrival of Husam, the horsemen and spies of Peshwa Balajirao for escorting Mumin Khan at his request were stated above. He now moved himself to the Naginah Bagh at the pressure of horseman and thought of mobility and immobility with himself. He was in no way satisfied with the Marathas. He spent some time in evasion of today and tomorrow. At last, he decided that as Jandaral had established friendly relations with the Peshwa on account of his being near as well as in respect of Surat port, he would stay at Bombay as it was at a distance of six manzils from Poona to meet him to satisfy himself through him.

Verse

*One can, with ointment of good plan and sound judgement
Heal wound of a heart broken into a hundred pieces*

He, therefore, summoned captain Skeen at Khanbhayat port who a short while ago had gone to Surat. He talked to him in regard to a meeting with Jandaral to talk to him about his ideas. He wrote to him that he did not deem it proper to come by land due to want of cooperation with the Marathas and a great distance. He would come by sea to Bombay and then hasten to Poona. Jandaral was satisfied with this arrangement as he desired as well as with what Mr Skeen had written to him. The captain at Surat port sent some boats, under instructions of Jandaral by way of an escort to Khanbhayat. Mumin Khan placed some necessities and seated his close associates in his own boats that were kept ready and prepared. He sent horsemen and camels carrying loads with the horsemen by land so that they should join him at Bombay. He appointed Muhammed Zaman Khan son of Fidauddin as Naib and Gulabrai peshkar in Khanbhayat in his own place. Sails of the boats were hoisted on 4th Sha'ban. The bridle of helm of the ship of intention was turned to that side. He arrived at Surat port. Captain Spencer alighted him outside his own garden and became his host. He wrote about it to Jandaral. He allowed him to go after receipt of his reply. Mumin Khan reached Bombay. Jandaral treated him with honour and respect and considered his arrival as precious. He alighted him in a suitable house and treated him with hospitality. Mumin Khan wrote a letter to Balajirao about his arrival with the consent of Jandaral and sent it with reliable persons to Poona.



CHAPTER 319

MARCH OF SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA, NAIB NAZIM FROM LIMDI ASSAULT ON HALVAD ARREST OF BABHA, LOCAL ZAMINDAR RETURN TO CITY DEPARTURE TO POONA

It was stated before about the arrival of Sadashiv Ramchandra at Limdi, digging of trenches, and warfare. After occurrence of the war with cannons and guns, he collected peshkash of the stipulated amount within a few days. He sent Tata, his principal manager of affairs on account of physical ailment to Ahmedabad. He marched against Halwad of the Zamindar Babha and encamped at Dharangdhra at a distance of ten kurohs noted for impregnability of its fort and central situation. He busied himself with digging trenches. Babha, on getting intelligence of it, sent his own men along with the auxiliaries who had come from other parts with war materials while he himself stayed at Halwad. Some of his rivals and enemies, out of revenge and animosity which was a quality sufficiently vicious

Quatrain

*Oh people of the world ' you are revengeful with one another
So to say you are unaware of your own death
Like two hungry dogs for the sake of stomach
You look at one another with jealousy*

conveyed reports and condition of the army to Sadashiv Ramchandra through Bhagwan who was in command of the vanguard and managed matters of peshkash and had accompanied him. He unawares attacked Halwad under their guidance on the night of 4th Sha'ban. The Zamindar's men offered resistance and advanced to fire cannons and muskets from within the walls which were not so strong. Sadashiv Ramchandra sent in advance the Arab and Sindhu regiments. He approached the fortwalls with an assault. He ordered diggers to dig and split walls. On the other side, he excited elephants to break the gate. In spite of the fact that cannon balls and musket-bullets poured down like fiery hails, those who were ordained to die, died. 'Abdullah Zubaidi, Salman and Bajardan jamadars got wounded along with others. The gate gave way within a short time and there was a breach in the wall. All the soldiers, having made an assault, entered the fort. Vagabonds and rabble of the camp plundered that town which was prosperic is like a city. Most of the merchants being tired of oppression of unkind governors, had taken refuge here from Ahmedabad and other towns. They were subjected to pillage. Shops situated on roads and houses of poor folk mostly were looted. Every one came



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out whatever he could get of animate and inanimate property Babha zamindar was besieged in a fortress of his own residence. The army surrounded it centre-like from four sides. On witnessing this state of affairs and termination of the matter to this extent, Babha found his life and property in danger and saw Sadashiv Ramchandra with folded hands. Sadashiv Ramchandra who too was present in that battle field ordered his soldiers to stop plunder, appointed body guards, took him with himself and came out. He encamped having pitched his tent at a suitable place. As the Maratha fortune was in the ascendant, Halwad was assaulted with easiest means otherwise it was not a place which could be broken with such an army. In short negotiations were started for peshkash and fine. After a great wrangle, it was settled at one lac and twenty thousand rupees. He was kept as a hostage till payment of the stipulated amount. He marched further. Jamindars of other places learnt a lesson from the incident of Halwad, came from distant and near places and agreed to pay peshkash willingly. Santoji brother of Sadashiv Ramchandra the naib in the city as written by his brother sent in carts a two storeyed artistically painted wooden bungalow prepared by Shripatrao for the Peshwa with superfluous materials and men to Poona. Savaji Gaekwad who had gone to Saurath for collection of peshkash from places of his share was free now from assessment and collection of revenue. He plundered certain places. He besieged Gondal. He exacted a fine of seventy five thousand rupees and returned to the city on 22nd Sha ban. He alighted in the house of Salim which was under occupation of his father Damaji. Khanderao, brother of Damaji who lived in Nadiad had gone out towards Bhel for establishment of order taking securities for not rising in revolt from Kolis of paraganahs of his share. He collected peshkash from all places, established order and proceeded to Idar by way of the paraganah of Vijapur. He plundered several villages. Jawanmard Khan came at top speed from Pittan and joined him and accompanied him as far as his jurisdiction and then left him. Khanderao was free from Idar and went to Dholka by way of the paraganah of Kadi. He halted at several places and hastened to Nadiad. Sadashiv Ramchandra reached vicinity of Junagadh. Muhammed Mahabat defended towers and fortifications out of care and caution. Three continuous years were spent in running government of the subah. Monsoon was about to approach. He had to go as summoned by the Peshwa to set right the past account and estimate revenue for the future. He beat the drum of retreat and returned in hot haste. He entered the city on 27th Ramzan and actively engaged himself in preparations of departure. He sent ahead three elephants, superfluous bag and baggage with a party of soldiers. He waited alone for preparing a charter (lagaz) of travel. In the meantime, Tata principal manager of affairs who suffered from physical ailment died.

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Sadashiv Ramchandra was engaged in mourning and funeral rites for a few days. He started for Poona on 8th Shawwal and encamped at Kantoriya Tank outside the Raipur gate. After three halts, he appointed Santoji as Naib of the city as before and Bhagwan as Sarfauj and in charge of a military detachment. Babha, zamindar of Halwad paid his ransom and freed himself from Bhagwan. Dipsingh, Zamindar of Lunawada released his hostage by giving one elephant, seven horses, a piece of cloth and a cash amount. Bhagwan, therefore, sent Sarasram who formerly was Faujdar at Barahsinor on behalf of Sher Khan and had acquaintance with Dipsingh due to neighbourhood for bringing cash and other articles from Lunawada.

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CHAPTER 320

DISTURBANCE AT SURAT BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND THE MARATHA MUKASDAR

One of the events which took place in the month of Muharram of 1173, (1759-60) was a disturbance raised by Muslims at Surat port against the Maratha mukasdar. The substance of it is: The Dekhani Pandits moulded an image of their god Ganesh out of mud in month of Bhadun. They worshipped it for a few days. They threw the image in the river on the appointed day by taking it in a procession seating it on an elephant or in a paliki with great pomp, magnificence and honour. From the beginning of the Dekhani rule, this practice was annually observed in Ahmedabad. At Surat port, the local pandit dared not publicly practise it being due to government of Safdar Muhammed Khan and 'Ali Nawaz Khan. Syed Achhan was established in power this year by the aid and help of Peshwa Balajirao. It entered into his head to observe the custom in Surat as in Ahmedabad. The idol of that deity should be placed in a house with decoration and embellishment and worshipped. It so happened that there was a small masjid in a compound before the house of his residence. He thought that place to be suitable and raised disturbance there. The worshippers of the idol thronged together having come in groups and parties for its worship. There lived in the city Arabs, Persians, Rumis, Rohulas, negroes, Muslim residents and travellers. They learnt about the worship of an idol in the House of the Eternal God, they were seized with Islamic zeal and religious spirit. They, having made the Qazi their leader, in a body set out for his house for breaking the idol. The Dekhanis came forward for opposition and resistance and thus a war ensued between them. Many persons from both the parties got slain and wounded. Ultimately, the Muslims, having rushed in a body, took out the idol from the masjid and cast it on the dust of disgrace. They plundered the house. Pandit mukasdar wanted in an afflicted state to go out and create disturbance for retribution and amends. Syed Achhan, coming to know of it, went for apology to him saying to him that he had power to stop it in a public revolt due to a religious matter when the Muslims were in a preponderating number. He conciliated him with sympathy and heartiness.

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CHAPTER 321

OCCUPATION OF BARAHSINOR BY THE MARATHIAS

May it not remain hidden that the paraganah of Barahsinor which was situated at a distance of thirty-five kurohs from the city was granted as a watan to the Faujdar Salabat Muhammed Khan Bahi during the regime of His Majesty Khuld Manzil. He undertook to defend paths and highways, as it lay on the road to the capital, from Koli robbers of round about places. He built a strong fort round the gasbah and an impregnable fortress over a hillock. He took reliable securities from depredatory rebels of round about places. He held in assignment of condition the faujdari of Virpur paraganah in addition to that. After his death, it was held by his son Sher Khan. This fact was mentioned at its place in the book. As he lived most of the time in Ghogha and Junagadh, he had appointed independent naibs there. At the time of Raghunath Rao's arrival and occupation of the subah by him, his son Sardar Muhammed Khan was there. Sarasram who managed administrative matters, went to Raghunath Rao, made strong efforts, obtained a written document from him for not molesting Barahsinor and Virpur on agreement of half to half for his mukasdar. He spent his life in management of its affairs. Sardar Muhammed Khan was in the prime of youth, he had not seen cold and heat of life and not tested its sweetness and bitterness. He rose against Sarasram at the instigation of Sultan who had disaffection with Sarasram. Sultan became the principal manager of affair out of head-stongness. After the death of Sher Khan, power and authority of the negro increased more than before. Last year when Sadashiv Ramchandra led an army to this side, he fixed thirty thousand rupees as half a share for its occupation. Nearly ten, twelve thousand rupees were gradually recovered out of that amount. Sultan's enemies found the field empty of him. They found the opportunity in accordance with their wish. Sardar Muhammed Khan too, on account of his power and domination was afflicted at heart but lacked courage. They, therefore, turned robbers.

Verse

*Men who lack courage are insignificant to themselves
Heavy stone (courage) is a jewel of men*

Without thinking of evil consequences, and in haste, he deferred payment of the remaining part of the stipulated amount and ransom of Sultan. He wrote to Muhammed Jahan who too was a slave and an independent naib of Sultan but was not moved due to hostility of Sardar Muhammed Khan who made no distinction between good and evil. Sardar Muhammed



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Khan found him insistent on it, he suspected him, felt afflicted and came out to gather power and strength and expel Muhammed Jahan. He sat for a few days at Atarsunba to manage this affair. When Bhagwan saw no way to recover the remaining amount, he began to threaten and warn Sultan. As he was aware of hostility and designs of Sardar Muhammed Khan, he saw no way of release. He was tired of hardship in prison where he was beaten and oppressed. He entered into collusion with Bhagwan. He agreed to hand over Barahsinor to him on condition of his paying thirty thousand rupees in cash as expenses for a military detachment and that he should write off the amount in arrears and revoke the bonds. Bhagwan disclosed it to Santoji. He considered it to be a great success and a huge triumph and deemed it a creditable service to the Peshwa. They corroborated the pledge and pact on oath. Bhagwan came out with Sultan for management of this affair on 22nd Muharram. He reached vicinity of Barahsinor. Sardar Muhammed Khan who at this time had recruited soldiers and assembled some Kolis by way of help struggled hard with a design to expel Muhammed Khan. He saw no strength in himself to oppose when he saw Bhagwan and hastened to Lunawada having desisted from it.

Verse

*If no favour is received from the treasury of grace
Effort avails not, attempt leads no where*

Bhagwan's men entered the town without prevention and hardship on 27th of that month and occupied it. He gave the promised amount, returned the bonds, released Sultan and presented him with a robe. He employed him along with some other footmen as well as Muhammed Jahan in service. They were kept there. He seized cannons, swivel guns, lead and gun-powder along with other materials found in the fortress and then came out for establishment of order, assessment of villages and taking securities from Kolis. He halted for a few days in Virpur. In the meantime, Sarasram had gone to Lunawada to bring an elephant, a horse and the remainder amount. He arrived with one elephant, seven horses and a cash amount. He released the hostage of the zamindar Dipsingh and allowed him to go. Bhagwan, after being free from establishment left his son Kalu for defence of Barahsinor with a regiment of two hundred horse and the same number of foot. He then returned to Kheda. He sent the elephant and horses to Santoji at Ahmedabad. He went to Saurashtra under his order, for collection of peshkash. From ancient times there was a Hindu deity by name Ranchhod at Sarangpur. Due to the siege of the city by Sadashiv Ramchandra, that locality had become desolate. It was stated that it



CHAPTER 321

OCCUPATION OF BARAHSINOR BY THE MARATHAS

May it not remain hidden that the paraganah of Barahsinor which was situated at a distance of thirty-five kurohs from the city was granted as a watan to the Faujdar Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi during the regime of His Majesty Khuld Manzil. He undertook to defend paths and highways, as it lay on the road to the capital, from Koli robbers of round about places. He built a strong fort round the qasbah and an impregnable fortress over a hillock. He took reliable securities from depredatory rebels of round about places. He held in assignment of condition the faujdari of Virpur paraganah in addition to that. After his death, it was held by his son Sher Khan. This fact was mentioned at its place in the book. As he lived most of the time in Ghogha and Junagadh, he had appointed independent naibs there. At the time of Raghunath Rao's arrival and occupation of the subah by him, his son Sardar Muhammed Khan was there. Sarasram who managed administrative matters, went to Raghunath Rao, made strong efforts, obtained a written document from him for not molesting Barahsinor and Virpur on agreement of half to half for his mukasdar. He spent his life in management of its affairs. Sardar Muhammed Khan was in the prime of youth he had not seen cold and heat of life and not tested its sweetness and bitterness. He rose against Sarasram at the instigation of Sultan who had disaffection with Sarasram. Sultan became the principal manager of affair out of head-stongness. After the death of Sher Khan, power and authority of the negro increased more than before. Last year when Sadashiv Ramchandra led an army to this side, he fixed thirty thousand rupees as half a share for its occupation. Nearly ten, twelve thousand rupees were gradually recovered out of that amount. Sultan's enemies found the field empty of him. They found the opportunity in accordance with their wish. Sardar Muhammed Khan too, on account of his power and domination was afflicted at heart but lacked courage. They, therefore, turned robbers.

Verse

*Men who lack courage are insignificant to themselves
Heavy stone (courage) is a jewel of men*

Without thinking of evil consequences, and in haste, he deferred payment of the remaining part of the stipulated amount and ransom of Sultan. He wrote to Muhammed Jahan who too was a slave and an independent naib of Sultan but was not moved due to hostility of Sardar Muhammed Khan who made no distinction between good and evil. Sardar Muhammed



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Khan found him insistent on it, he suspected him, felt afflicted and came out to gather power and strength and expel Muhammed Jahan. He sat for a few days at Atarsunba to manage this affair. When Bhagwan saw no way to recover the remaining amount, he began to threaten and warn Sultan. As he was aware of hostility and designs of Sardar Muhammed Khan, he saw no way of release. He was tired of hardship in prison where he was beaten and oppressed. He entered into collusion with Bhagwan. He agreed to hand over Barahsinor to him on condition of his paying thirty thousand rupees in cash as expenses for a military detachment and that he should write off the amount in arrears and revoke the bonds. Bhagwan disclosed it to Santoji. He considered it to be a great success and a huge triumph and deemed it a creditable service to the Peshwa. They corroborated the pledge and pact on oath. Bhagwan came out with Sultan for management of this affair on 22nd Muharram. He reached vicinity of Barahsinor. Sardar Muhammed Khan who at this time had recruited soldiers and assembled some Kolis by way of help struggled hard with a design to expel Muhammed Khan. He saw no strength in himself to oppose when he saw Bhagwan and hastened to Lunawada having desisted from it.

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proper place The Brahman worshippers of the idol brought it to the city and kept it in their respective houses. Santoji came to know of it at this time. In his view, he regarded it as a good act. He bought a house near the Sarangpur gate within the fort, repaired its decay and disintegration and fixed that idol there. He lighted one lac and twenty five thousand lamps within a month by way of a vow. Many a time, he personally went for worship night and day and remained there for long. Idol-worshippers went there in batches and parties. At no time was that temple without a votary. It was stated before in the list of events at the time of disturbance at Surat port that the leading merchant Mulla Fakharruddin had gone to Bombay with the help of Mr. Lam (Lamb) the Englishman. He was now seized with love of his birth-place which is a part of faith as an English captain was a Qile'dar and because of his power, Mu'inuddin Khan, the port-officer had no boldness to do anything. He returned to his birth-place with his dependents with the leave of Jandaral in the month of Rabi'ul

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CHAPTER 322

RECEIPT OF A ROYAL ORDER IN RESPECT OF ENTRUSTING QILE'DARI TO THE ENGLISH COMPANY. A SANAD OF PORT-OFFICERSHIP TO SYED MU'INUDDIN KHAN. OTHER EVENTS

When a report of events of Surat port such as incoming of Syed Mu'inuddin Khan and occupation of the port by the Captain was received by His Majesty, Hadi 'Ali Khan who since long was the vakil of the Qile'dar and the port-officer intrigued with the Wazir-ul-Mamalik to issue a royal order in respect of appointment of a Qile'dar in place of Ahmed Khan and darogah of the royal armada with a permit of annual salary of two lacs of rupees except receipts for goods or money of His Majesty, like Yaqut Khan Dandarajpuri, the discharged darogah in the name of the port-officer as Jandaral of Bombay and captain of Surat port were servants, in the name of the English Company technically called Company Sarkar and a sanad of Port-officership in the name of Syed Mu'inuddin Khan. The order was obtained and sent. Mr. Spencer the captain pitched a tent in a plain before the fort under royal regulations and assembled sons of Mu'inuddin Khan, the Qazi, writers, merchants and nobles, entered the pavilion by way of reception, fulfilled dues under usual regulations by turning face towards the Royal Court and received the Farman. The scribe conveyed its substance to the audience.



CHAPTER 323

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER

May the English Company, substance of equals and compeers be hopeful of royal favours. It should know that we have bestowed upon it with favour the service of Qile'dari of the port of Surat in place of Hafiz Ahmed Khan as a source of glory and honour at this time of success and period of auspiciousness. It ought to fulfil thanks and gratitude for the royal favour. It should exert itself in defence of the fort, maintenance of militia, ready stocks in accordance with regulations and try its utmost to live in consciousness and vigilance. It should regard as a pressing urgency from His Majesty in these matters. It was written on 11th Muharram, sixth year of Royal Accession to the throne with a letter of the rank of chiefship and nobility, position of an amir and a ruler, knower of the stages of state and religion, wiseman of the ranks of kingdom and creed, hoister of the standard of pomp and glory, adorning of the carpet of magnificence and greatness, support of khilafat and rulership, reliance of saltanat and conquest, victor of battle-fields of world-conquest, adorning of jovial assemblies of felicity, subtlety finder of royal thrones, enigma knower of temper and knowledge, essence of the mirror of reality and fidelity, light of the lamp of one colour and purity, heart cheering companion of the special gathering, confident private abode of truth and sincerity, minister of sword and pen, statesman of affairs of the world chief among khans of lofty station, best among dignified amirs, vazir of sound meditation, principal manager of kingdoms, brilliant-minded amir of lofty worth worthy of distinction and honour, fit for respect and discernment, pillar of saltanat of the king with authority of Solomon, faithful ally, wazir of kingdoms choice of the state, principal manager of affairs, Asaf Jah Nizam ul Mulk Bahadur Fateh Jung, sipahsalar Mr Spencer, after receiving the dignified royal order, fired cannons, gave a khilat to Muhsin 'Ali Khan son of Hadi 'Ali Khan in respect of delivery of the farman, gave a shawl to some servants of the fort, and returned to his house. He sent a permit of two lacs of rupees as salary for armada to Syed Mu'innuddin Khan the port officer. As the sanad for port-officer had been received as pledged for want of arrangement of His Majesty's amount of expenditure, Syed Mu'innuddin Khan could not really arrange for it. It was deferred for some other time. After a few days, Mr Purlis was appointed, in place of Spencer, as captain and Qile'dar Khanderao, brother of Damaji Gackwar who resided in Nadiad, as the season, and raising of corn had approached, recruited horsemen and footmen and went out for assessment and collection of legal revenue and taking securities from rebels of paraganahs under his charge. Vintners had openly opened shops for selling wine in the bazar of Sayaji.



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Gackwad and at some other places Santoji, Naib of Nizamat arrested three such persons and having tied them to the mouth of a cannon blew them up as a lesson to others. It became clear from a letter of Sadashiv Ramchandra from Poona that one of the gardis of Muzaffer Khan Gardi's party who was a servant in the sarkar of Peshwa threw a jamdhar at Sadoba, son of the Peshwa's uncle who was the principal manager and administrator. It did not prove effective as destined. He was arrested. An inquiry was held. In investigation, it was discovered that it was at the instigation of Muzaffer Khan. He was summoned. Both of them were put to death. He destroyed basis of brotherhood. Santoji beat drums of rejoicing and ordered cannons to be discharged and distributed sugar in accordance with the Dekhani custom. Naib of the Gackwad's share of the city was Sewakram. Damaji Gackwad appointed Trimbak Mukund in his place. Mahipatrao who was at Nadiad came to the city on his behalf and assumed charge.

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CHAPTER 324

SALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY SHAH JAHAN BADSHAH NIZAMAT OF SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA, NAIB OF BALAJIRAO AND DIWANI OF THE AUTHOR

It was stated before under events of the year 1170, (1756) the occasion of arrival of Ahmed Shah Abdali at the capital of Shah Jahanabad and his union with the Taimuria family After conclusion of peace and meeting of the Shah with His Majesty, the shadow of Holy God, he appointed Khan-i-Khanan as Vazir as before and Najib ud-dawlah Paizai as Mir Bakhshi out of well-wishing. He sent Prince Shah 'Alam as Faujdar of Chakla Mansi fort. He went with Prince Mirza Hidayat Bakhsh and Mirza Baba with intention of giving experience in administration in the subah of Lakhnaw and Banaras with Asaf Jah Nizam ul-Mulk who was discharged from ministership After a few days, he returned to the capital on account of extreme heat leaving Nizam-ul-Mulk in the stirrup of the princes as against Shuja' ud-dawlah, Nazim of the subah of Lakhnow and Benaras Once again, he met His Majesty and renewed pledge and pact He fixed Timur Shah and his son in the capital of Lahore as far as Sirhind, as subah of Kabul, Multan, Tattha and Bhakkar belonged to Shah Abdali under terms of peace; his name was recited in the khutabah and impressed on the coins He then hastened to Qandahar Nizam-ul - Mulk was on that side for two, three months When he saw no advance, he made peace with Shuja'-ud-dawlah and intended for the capital At this time, the Maratha regiments were summoned on hearing the arrival of Shah Abdali Raghunath Rao, brother of Balajirao and Malhar Holkar etc arrived and joined He took them with himself and came to the capital As he had disaffection with Khan-i-Khanan, his maternal uncle and Najib-ud-dawlah he confederated Raghunath Rao with himself on an agreement of half a share in mahals of the Capital and imperial provinces on condition of companionship and overthrow of Najib-ud-dawlah He then occupied himself with the siege. Najib ud-dawlah resisted and the war continued with cannons and guns for nearly one month Ultimately, Najib ud-dawlah came out on the security of Malhar Holkar and went to Sahranpur places of his jurisdiction on the other bank of the river Ganges Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk came to the capital, employed himself in service and became the Vazir. He began to administer the state affairs with absolute authority Khan-i-Khanan stopped visits and retired in his own house. Prince Shah'Alam who had gone to place of his jurisdiction, collected an army during this time and became the source of exploits Asaf Jah did not find the prince's stay outside and his assumption of



authority in his interest, sent farmans for his summons and repeated letters in His Majesty's own hand-writing. The amount that he had agreed to pay to the Marathas was paid from the royal wealth and assignments in the mahals and sent them to Lahore. Raghunath Rao marched to that side and brought out royal servants out of Lahore in cooperation of Adinah Beg Khan and divided income and administration in half. Prince Shah 'Alam had helplessly to come under pressure and receipt of letters. He encamped outside the Capital. He willy nilly entered the capital at the pressure of the vazir. He stayed for a few days. As Asaf Jah did not enjoy peace of mind, he suddenly sent an army to bring back the Prince. In spite of the fact that many persons had deserted the Prince through fear of the vazir, he offered resistance with as many persons as he had. He engaged in war with arrows and muskets for one full day. He extricated himself from that dangerous situation by fighting. He hastened to Vitthal Sukhdev who with three, four thousand horsemen, was appointed by Raghunath Rao for recovery of remaining amount. Wazir-ul-Mamalik sent an army. A war ensued but without any progress. Prince Shah 'Alam did not again deem it proper for him to stay. He crossed the Ganges and went to the jurisdiction of Najib-ud-dawlah and Barha. Najib-ud-dawlah welcomed him and engaged himself in some necessary arrangements. Some persons from the Barha family and others employed themselves in the Prince's service. He stayed there for nearly one month. He then marched to Azimabad. As the season of return for Raghunath Rao had approached, he appointed naibs and agents in mahals, and paraganahs of the capital and the subah of Lahore on an agreement of half the share and then he set out for his native place. The Wazir-ul-Mamalik acquired power and authority more than before, took into his hands power of appointment and dismissal of royal servants, government and administration. He entrusted establishment of order in the fort, Diwan-i-Khas to his reliable men. The king displayed courtesy and politeness in accordance with exigency of time and carried out the wish whatever it was of the Vazir. He was contented with whatever the amount for food and other expenses he received. He had nothing except the name king. He accepted petition of the Vazir out of external advisability. Khan-i-Khanan summoned his maternal uncle with Lutfullah Khan his diwan under guardianship of the superintendent of ordnance and kept him under surveillance. He administered the state matters at ease.

Verses

*Revenge in whatever heart it placed its hit
Heart becomes hard for causing harm.
It sees you and talks in sweet language
When it goes, it hatches secret designs.*

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In 1172 (1759), Jankoji Sindhia son of J. Apa was sent by Peshwa Balajirao for collection of half the share of Hindustan in revenue and income of the other mahals with an army. He reached the capital and proceeded towards Lahore. He occupied the subah and Maratha government extended in paraganahs of the Punjab as far as the river Indus known as Attock. Jankoji stayed there for some time, left Sahba Patil with an army in that subah. He returned as the monsoon had approached, reached environs of the capital and went with the advice of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik to the temple at Mukteshwar situated on the bank of Ganges at a distance of thirty-five kurohs from the capital. That place was within the territory of Najib-ud-dawlah, he made queries of half the revenue of mahals under his jurisdiction. Some days were spent in mutual visits of envoys. Monsoon also came to an end. Najib-ud-dawlah crossed the river and encamped opposite to Jankoji. A war ensued with cannons and guns. Nearly three months were spent in this manner. Shuja-ud-dawlah son of Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jung with an impression that the Marathas till now had not reached that side and the mahals of the Lucknow subah under his jurisdiction were adjacent to those of Najib-ud-dawlah, to whose succour they had come, became an intermediary and a means of peace between them. At this juncture, Ahmad Shah Abdali crossed the river Atak with Timur Shah for retribution and intended to march on Lahore. Sahba Patil, Dekhans and the eldest son-in-law of Adinal Beg Khan and Siddiq Beg Khan who were united with the Marathas under instructions of the Wazir ul-Mamalik saw no strength of resistance in them and so they joined Jankoji. Shah Abdali's men established their rule and order in the city of Lahore and paraganahs of the Punjab as far as Sirhind. Jankoji did not make peace on account of collection of revenue. Shuja-ud-dawlah also crossed the river Ganges and joined Najib-ud-dawlah. He induced and persuaded Prince Shah Alam who was in the neighbourhood of Allahabad to come and join him. Jankoji, on inquiring about the concord of Shuja-ud-dawlah as he could not come out of obligation till then with Najib-ud-dawlah, wrote to the Wazir-ul-Mamalik that he should soon reach there with His Majesty. The Wazir every now and then requested His Majesty for march of royal standards but he did not do so out of indolence. As his mind did not enjoy peace from the side of Shah Abdali, he with an impression that His Majesty must have secretly joined with him and that Shuja-ud-dawlah, Najib-ud-dawlah and the Prince also had united with him, and that there would be war from two fronts, feared the evil consequences of it. He, therefore, took out his dependants from the capital and sent them to the fort of Surajmal Jat so that they would be safe and secure under his protection. He entered the tent and set out for Farrukhabad situated at a distance of six kurohs with an intention to succour Jankoji. On witnessing this state of affairs, all sections of population got frightened of their lives, wealth and reputation, thought



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of evil consequences, viewed a place of refuge and came out. They went to an estate of a zamindar, subah of Oudh, Benaras, and fort of Surajmal Jat and resided there. Helpless, afflicted and indigent persons lived there. It was heard that the letters of Shah Abdali reached the Wazir at that place to the effect that the Marathas had arrested His Majesty. He deduced from those letters what he had feared. He sent Mehdi Quli Khan and Balash Khan, Darogah of his diwankhanah along with some turbulent fellows to His Majesty to manage matters of the king and the Khan-i-Khanan.

Verse

*When the time cherishes the helpless
It plays ants with cruel dragons*

They arrived like a sudden calamity and irresistible heavenly fate and represented to His Majesty through mouth of the Wazir that he should in person march with the army. It was not accepted as His Majesty was indisposed. As they found His Majesty disposed towards society of recluse - durwishes, he was taken to meet a durwish at Kotla Firozshah situated in the old city when

Verse

*The sun drew forth a golden dagger from the East
The sun entirely illumined the world*

On Thursday, 8th Rabi'II, 1173 Balashkhan stabbed him with a sharp knife while another turbulent fellow overthrew him from behind with a sword.

Verse

*He threw the peacock feather at that place
The world was free from the splendour ofkaus*

Fragment

*Mean world is a shameless woman
A husband never enjoyed fruits of her
Who placed his feet on the peacock's throne
When he did not bear a blow of sword on his head from its hard*

At the close of that very day, Mehdi Quli Khan and Zafarullah Khan entered the fort under instructions of the Wazir and brought out from among princes of the noble family of His Majesty Mirza Sanjar, son of Muhiy-us-Sultanat son of Muhammed Kambrishi son of His



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Majesty Khuld Makan who was twenty-five years old and seated him on the hereditary throne of the saltanat and named him Shah Jahan Badshah-i-Ghazi. They issued a proclamation of safety and security in his name. At night, Khan -i-Khanan and Lutfullah Khan who were under surveillance in the fort were pulled in a raw hide and finished to death.

Fragment

*Whom did the sky place any one in safety under the sun
Whom ultimately did not annihilate like the first dawn ?
Tailor of the world for the stature of any one
Did not stitch a garment which was not at last rent asunder.*

Next day, it was Friday, 9th of the month. The king was seated on horse-back, taken to the Jame 'masjid, recited the Khutabah in his name and returned. A report of the above event was received by the author through a letter of the Wakil in the Royal Court on 24th of that month. He saw Santoji, obtained permission to beat drums of rejoicings to proclaim His Majesty's accession to the throne, recite the Khutabah in his name and issue coins with his titles. Permission was given in writing with his seal.

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CHAPTER 325

OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1173 AFTER DEPARTURE OF SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA

Sayaji Gaekwad returned last year from Saurath after being free from assessment and collection of peshkash of his share and lived in the city. At this time, season of reaping and harvesting of corn arrived on 2nd Jamadi II. He went out Harba Ram who was sent as peshkar by Damaji Gaekwar, joined him. He marched to Dholka on 5th. Bhagwan who a few days ago had gone to Saurath for collection of peshkash of the Peshwa's share returned having assessed and collected revenue as fixed the previous year. The case of Barahsinor's capture was reported to Balajirao through Sadashiv Ramchandra. His action was applauded and eulogised. He gave for Bhagwan a khil'at and an elephant brought from Lunawada with a sanad of Barahsinor. Santoji, on hearing about Bhagwan's arrival, went to Solorah in Dholka at a distance of seven kurohs from the city with an elephant as written by Sadashiv Ramchandra. He gave the elephant to him and brought him to the city with himself.



CHAPTER 326

RETURN OF MUMIN KHAN FROM POONA

It was stated before about the departure of Mumin Khan, port officer of Khanbhayat in a boat with an intention to meet Peshwa Balajirao at Poona. After his arrival at Bombay, he sent takils through mediation of Jandaral, who held conversation with him. He was satisfied with that. He started on 14th Muharrm for Poona and reached a distance of two kurohs from Poona on 4th Safar. Pandurang, Gopal Hari and others received him under instructions of the Peshwa and brought him. Sadashiv, cousin of the Peshwa received him by going as far as entrance of the gate, brought him in his company to Balajirao. He embraced him, seated him by his side with respect and cheered him by warmth of heart inquiring about his health. He was taken to the house fixed for his stay. One thousand rupees were sent by way of hospitality. After a few days, Peshwa Balajirao paid him a return visit in company of Raghunath Rao, his cousin Sadda, his brother Shamsheer Bahadur and his son Vishwasrao. Mumin Khan received them. Nearly a watch was spent in conversation about certain matters. He presented to the Peshwa several pieces of precious cloth, a pair of inland gold rings, a gold chain, two swift horses with silver accoutrement. He gave presents of cloth, gold rings, a horse to Raghunath Rao and similarly to Sadoba, Shamsheer Bahadur, and Vishwasrao and to other companions befitting their rank and status a turban, a sash, turpaulin (tarpatri) and a shawl. The Dekhanis were very much pleased by his laudable conduct. They praised and eulogized him for his gifts.

Verse

*Blessed Faridun was not an angel
He was not an admixture of musk and ambergris
He enjoyed supremacy because of justice and generosity
You practise justice and generosity, you will be Faridun*

In short, he stayed for nearly two months in Poona. He then sought permission for departure. The Peshwa, at the time of bidding him farewell, presented him with clothes, an elephant and gave gifts of turbans and sashes to his companions after a custom in the Dekhan. A pledge and pact was made. Mumin Khan too accepted all the terms.

Verse

*I pledged that I will not turn my head from a pledge
I made a condition that I will not deviate from your condition*



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In certain matters, Jandaral had accepted a responsibility and stood a surety. He saw Jandaral at Bombay. He satisfied him in all respects. He despatched elephants and horses with his companions by land. He took leave of Jandaral. He said, with care and caution, out of unity and loyalty.

Verse

*Place the hand of faithfulness round the waist of promise
Strive so that you may not become a promise-breaker*

He returned by boat to Khanbhayat on 24th Jamadi I and halted in the garden of Chalapi situated in Zangi port waiting for arrival of elephants and horses. After some days, the elephants arrived. He hoisted banners for departure to Khanbhayat by land. As Broach was situated on the road, Neknam Khan, the local Faujdar treated him with a feast and presents. He reached Khanbhayat, by continuous marches on Thursday, 19th Jamadi II. Trimbak Mukund Naib of Damaji Gaekwad who was appointed Naib in the city in place of Sevakram, came to the city on 3rd Rajab and actively attended to his work. Khanderao Gaekwad returned after assessment and collection of revenue from Kadi and other mahals of the Gaekwad's share. He arrived at Sarkhej at a distance of three kurohs from the city and hastened to Dholka. Thence, he went to Dehgam in Bhel where the Kolis had raised disturbance. It was at this time that a report was received that a severe war was fought several times for certain matters between Salabat Jung, Chief of the Dekhan and Peshwa Balajirao. A large number of soldiers from both the armies were slain and wounded. A peace then was made to the satisfaction of the Peshwa. This information was learnt by Santoji, Naib Nazim through a letter of Sadashiv Ramchandra on 16th Rajab. He ordered that this news should be proclaimed for expression of joy by beating drums and firing of cannons. Sayaji Gaekwad who had gone to Surath for collection of peshkash of his share arrived at Gholwad and besieged the town of Talajah. He enjoined payment of one lac of rupees on the local zamindar and held reliable hostages. His temperament was dominated by bile since long. It rose in intensity at this time and deviated from the path of moderation. It terminated into unfamiliar gestures and postures. His servants brought him to the city for treatment in the month of Sha'bin. Harbi Ram went ahead to remaining mahals which were unassessed. Before this, an account of disloyalty of Sultan Habashi and Muhammed Jahan before occupation of Brahamnor was given.

Hemistich

*There is a statement of the Prophet, may peace and benediction of
God be on him that "There is no goodness in a slave".*

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There is a retribution from men of the world Within as short a time as possible, those unfortunate offenders and wicked ill-intentioned fellows received punishment for their misdeeds and were involved in a misery of ingratitude

Verse

*You practise evil and expect good
Reward of an evil deed is evil*

Substance of it is After surrender of Barasinor fort, they got employed as servants and lived there They spent their life in perfect disgrace and wretchedness, cursed and taunted by friends and foes in the garb of infamy and baseness They expected something from the Marathas As their object was achieved, they neglected them They did not see it due to unpraiseworthy deeds and wicked actions They repented and became penitent after loss of sight They were to receive an amount of money as a condition for surrender of the fort They were given a portion of it after negotiations as a part of their efforts Some amount was spent on mediator The small amount that they received was a loss in this world and the next (insignificant) They had no face to return to their masters With what prestige could they approach them and with what eyes could they see their face

Verse

*Death beneath a stone
Is better than life in disgrace*

They struggled hard to seek a remedy and retrieve their lost reputation They made some guards of the fort their friends by heart-chanting promises They wrote letters of apologies to Jawanmard Khan and Sardar Muhammed Khan who had gone to Pattan to forgive their past offences and bygone crimes Sardar Muhammed Khan induced them and persuaded them to come Jawanmard Khan and Sardar Muhammed Khan sent praise and eulogy in reply As their plan was contrary to decrees of fate, the letters went into hands of men of Kalu, son of Bhagwan After knowing the contents of letters, he thought to himself

Verse

*Take firmly to the path of revolt today
For tomorrow there will be no remedy for it*

He summoned Sultan and Jahan on some excuse and arrested them with servants and attendants His wife and children were arrested and his proper-

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ty-animate and inanimate was confiscated. He sent those very letters to his father at Ahmedabad. He received a reply that they should be chained and kept in prison under strong guards. After a few days, Bhagwan, under orders of Sadashiv Ramchandra went out for bandobast and assessment of the paraganah of Petlad which had been postponed. Having settled revenues of that place in a few days, he hastened to Barahsinor. He attacked and plundered some villages situated on bank of the river Mahi. It was at this time that the mother of Santoji, Naib Nazim came from her native place with the son of Raghu, her grandson and nephew of Santoji to meet him. As the time of wearing a thread called Janoi of his nephew had approached which was celebrated with joy and eclat by the Brahmans, he engaged in preparation of that ceremony with festivity. Under guidance of a Gujarati Hindu who had acquired some influence on him in certain good and bad affairs and who had been the manager of affairs in extortion, imposition of fine and innovations, he levied a tax in shape of presents of congratulations for this festivity on all sections of populations-merchants, bankers, tradesmen etc. Tax-collectors were appointed to collect it. This tax came to be known among the general public as biwarah of janoi. Some other evil practices were innovated by greed of that wretch. Farmers who are known as kanbis and another caste who allowed widows to remarry technically called dhariwah were charged to pay something by the Kotwal in ancient times. It was included in the list of forbidden taxes. All such taxes were prohibited in the regime of His Majesty Khuld Makan. They were revived at this time. One rupee and four annas were levied per head of a Dhariwah who was then permitted to remarry from the chabutarah of Kotwali. Again, when one of them went for marriage from the city to towns or villages called Jan, he had to pay four rupees as nazaranah to the Nazim, Darogah of Kathera Parchah and the patrolling faujdar. If a Jan from outside places entered the city, they were allowed to come in after payment of ten annas as a price of a cocoanut. Santoji did not come down to disgrace of this sort of matters. He could not attend entirely to settle problems of revenue, nay, the lasso of his capacity could not reach elevated places. Extortion and imposition of fines on subjects and ryots which did not exist in the government of Peshwa were levied.

Verse

*When the Sultan allows tyranny to an extent of half an egg
His soldiers kill a thousand souls for roasting*

Khanderao hastened for establishment of order among the Kolis of Bhel, as an untimely disturbance had taken place. In spite of the fact that war ensued several times with Kolis of Lohariyah, no progress was made. He could not



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establish order among them. He, therefore, postponed it for some time. He returned to Nadiad. Wretched Kolis became bold, they showed their inborn nature, they resorted to brigandage, massacre, wounding travellers and passers-by, carrying away cattle of villages and environs of the city. Khanderao, on hearing about indisposition of his nephew Sayajirao came to Ahmedabad. He stayed for a few days and took him to Nadiad with himself. The mother of Santoji returned to her native place with her grandson. Santoji had gone with her to a distance of two kurohs. On his return, his horse became unmanageable in a plain near 'Idgah and began to run wildly and then fell in a well nearby. It so happened that his feet got clipped in the middle with wall of the well. Santoji whose thread of life was not yet to break reached mouth of the well with a bridle in hand when a servant arrived at the nick of moment, helped him and raised him up. The horse went down to the bottom of the well and died. Bhagwan returned to the city after establishment of order at Barasinor on 18th Shawwal. He brought Sultan and Muhammed Jahan with their wives and children in chains and fetters in a bad state and entrusted them to Santoji saying that they suffered punishment of torture and flagellation in prison for revoking thirty thousand rupees which were given on condition of surrender of Barahsinor.

Verse

*Do not be negligent of retribution of action
Wheat grows from wheat and barley from barley*

Oh men of sight ! learn a lesson from it. Who did and who did not get Harba Ram after return of Sayajirao, had gone for collection of peshkash from the remaining mahals. Being free from it, he came back on 15th Ziq'ad. In the rainy season, it rained more heavily than past years. At the close of season when the first fruits of most of the autumnal crops such as Bajri which at many places had bunches of grains and dried up, became fit for reaping and harvesting. It rained untimely. Grains in bunches again became green and grew up. Most of the crop got spoiled. In 1174, (1760) it became clear from a letter of Sadashiv Ramchandra that the revenue of the subah was not possible with him. The affairs of Nizamat were entrusted to Ganesh Apa, mukasdar of the paraganah of Jamusar and Maqbulabad. On inquiry of it, Nagar, a Gujarati clerk, originator of good and bad affairs and who had acquired an amount of money in this way feared evil consequences. He fled with some of his assistants and co workers to Dabhoda, resort of the Kolis. From the beginning of the Peshwa's government, six thousand rupees every month were charged as a share of the Gaekwad for expenses of city regiments. It was stated before at its proper place that Trimbak Mukund, Naib of Damaji was a partner and equal in every thing.



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He declared that he had received half a share in all kinds of illegal taxes. He had not paid that amount for two, three months due to negotiations of it. He stayed payment. Affairs ended into bitterness from both sides. On morning of 4th Safar, this matter terminated into digging of trenches and array of battle-field. Santoji sent an army under command of Bhagwan to his house. A war ensued with cannons and guns. Some persons from both the parties got slain and wounded. At close of the day, well-wishers of both the parties mediated and desisted them from warfare. They tried to settle their dispute.

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CHAPTER 327

APPOINTMENT OF GANESH APA IN PLACE OF SADASHIV RAMCHANDRA AS NAIB OF THE SUBAH OF AHMEDABAD BY BALAJIRAO

Sadashiv Ramchandra failed to manage certain matters of revenue of the subah Peshwa Balajirao appointed, in his place, Ganesh Apa who for some time was the mukasdar of the paraganah of Jamusar and Maqbulabad for administration of Ahmedabad Subah. He was in Poona. He was appointed from the beginning of Magsar which under calculation of the Dekhanis was the beginning of the season. It coincided this year with 18th Shawwal, 1173. He stayed for collection of an army till end of the monsoon which was full of difficulties especially in this region where transport and movement with baggage was difficult nay, impossible. He wrote to his Naib Bapu Narayan who was in Jamusar to assume charge. He came to the city on 22nd Safar, 1174 saw Santoji and made a declaration of sanads and letters. He held conversation in respect of income of mahals expenses of salaries of soldiers and beginning of the year. Some days elapsed in giving an account of revenue of the mahals. He assumed charge of the paraganah of Haveli. One month was spent in this sort of wrangling. At this juncture, Savaji Gaekwad who was at Nadiad, who by now had recovered came to Ahmedabad. He alighted in a house which he had built behind the house of Salim. Bapu Narayan came out for bandobast of Haveli paraganah and Mahmudabad as far as Petlad.

Verse

*Bride of the sun of good appearance
Showed face from this indigo curtain*

A regiment of soldiers set out for the Bhadra Fort. They surrounded themselves around Santoji and made demands of their salary. They carried severity and harshness beyond limit. Santoji writhed within himself like a serpent on account of their obstinacy. He changed colour every now and then.

Verse

*Through anger he changed colour in such a manner
That the scales of strength remained without weight*

As he was helpless to do anything in a state of his discharge from service he dismounted from the steed of arrogance and vanity and took to the path of gracefulness and mildness.



Verse

*With wonder of this five - days' idea
That fool names it state and wealth*

He removed intoxication of the wine of wealth and position from his head

Verse

*It is easy to remain sober when drunk with wine to satiety
If you acquire wealth and do not get intoxicated, you are a man*

He summoned Bapu Narayan and handed over charge of mahals of the city. He made him a means for payment of soldiers' salary and settled the matter. Bapu Narayan appointed Raghu Shanker as Kotwal and appointed his own men in the mahals of the city. Santoji made preparations for departure. He came out of the city on 15th Rabi'I in company of Bapu Narayan who hastened out for reception of Apa Ganesh. He entered his tent at Kankariyah Tank outside the Raipur gate. A report was received that Apaji had reached vicinity of Baroda. Bapu Narayan appointed Ramaji in his place for defence and protection of the city. Sayaji Gaekwad appointed Harba Ram for collection of peshkash of his share for Saurath and gave him a khil'at. He came out with Sewakram and went to see Apa Ganesh for a certain affair. Santoji and Bapu Narayan marched on 17th and proceeded further. They met Apa Ganesh near Petlad who had crossed the river Mahi. Santoji started for Poona. Sultan Habashi and Muhammed Jahan were arrested on a charge of fraud of Barasinor as mentioned above. Even though, they were subjected to beating and whipping, that which was in view did not come to pass. Hence, Santoji carried them in chains and fetters. The 'Arab jamadar Abdullah Zubaidi did a charitable deed. He got them released by paying three thousand rupees. Ramaji, Naib Nazim arrested a Brahman Tahawarji, Wakil of Rajah Lakhipat, zamindar of Kutch for intercepting his letters and imprisoned him. On 1st Rabi 'II, Sayaji Gaekwad started for Baroda. Apaji Ganesh reached Umeta in Choras of Khanbhayat and engaged in a skirmish with a local zamindar. He exacted a peshkash of eleven thousand rupees. As the Kolis of Dhawan had revolted, they had carried away some cattle of Jamusir paraganah, he led an army against them and plundered that place. Some of the Kolis were slain and wounded. He marched from that place and arrived near Khanbhayat port. He laid the basis of peace and declaration of sincerity with Mumin Khan, the port-officer and met him. He fixed eighty-four thousand rupees as a half share of the Marathas according to an agreement. He received an elephant as a present from Mumin Khan. He removed his men from the port of Khanbhayat.



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He started for the paraganah of Ihasra for worship of that great deity at Dakor. Thence he hastened to Barasimor. Sayaji Gaekwar who had gone to Baroda came back to Ahmedabad on 11th Jamadi I. Khanderao Gaekwad marched from Nadiad for establishment of order and chastisement of Kolis of the paraganah of Bhal who formerly behaved with insolence. He took securities from rebels of the Vatrak district and attacked Lohar. He arrested some chiefs of Kolis of that neighbourhood. He started for Idar by passing through Vijapur and Visalnagar paraganahs under jurisdiction of Jawanmard Khan. He took something by way of a feast from most of the villages of Vijapur and Visalnagar. Vakils of Rajah Shiv Singh who occupied Idar came to see him and satisfied him with annual payment as agreed upon. He arrived at Kadi for establishment of order. Jawanmard Khan Babi who had recruited new soldiers came out from Pattan for establishment of order in paraganahs under his jurisdiction. He hastened to Radhanpur and took something by way of feast from several places as far as Anjar under Kutch. Muhammed Zafar Babi cousin of Muhammed Mahabat Khan son of Sher Khan were hostile towards each other. Muhammed Zafar came out from Junagadh and intended to wage war. Muhammed Mahabat also recruited soldiers and had come out. Jawanmard Khan resolved to go to that district to remove bitterness and restore amity between them. He proceeded seizing something by way of a feast from every spot and place. Muhammed Zafar and Muhammed Mahabat met him one after the other. Jawanmard Khan restrained them from enmity and animosity by reasonable and traditional arguments and brought about reconciliation. He assessed and collected revenue from the paraganahs of Saurati Sarkar in company of both the armies and reached Luliana and Dhandhuka. On 4th Jamad II Apaji Ganesh Nazim of the subah entered the subah. Nobles and chiefs of Bohras and Hindus met him. He devoted to administrative matters. Tahawirji who before this was arrested by Ramaji on a charge of intercepting letters to Rajah Lakhpur was released on recommendation of Sayaji Gaekwad. A report also was received that Jawanmard Khan parted company from Muhammed Mahabat at Dhandhuka and marched towards Pattan by way of Patdi in Viramgam jurisdiction. He entered Pattan on 6th. Sayaji Gaekwad started for Baroda on 12th. Harbaji agent of Gaekwad who had gone to Saurati for assessment and collection of the Gaekwad's share, started from Dholka. Apaji Ganesh stayed for nearly one week in the city and gave mahals of Kathera Parcha octroi duty offices and cattle market as stipulated to Dekhani pandits and the paraganah of Ghogha with the port to Zahid Ali the merchant. He appointed Keshavrao as naib in the city and went out to paraganah of Kadi, Viramgam for collection of peshkash. He met Khanderao at Kadi and left for Saurath.

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CHAPTER 328

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF ARRIVAL OF CAVALCADE OF THE
EMPEROR AHMED SHAH 'ABDALI EVENTS IN THE
CAPITAL ARRIVAL OF SADASHIV PANDIT ALIAS
BHAU, COUSIN OF PESHWA BALAJIRAO WITH A
LARGE ARMY WAR WITH THE AIGHANS DEST-
RUCTION OF THE DEKHANI ARMY ISSUE OF
A ROYAL ORDER WITH THE SEAL OF SHU-
JA-UD-DAWLAH IN RESPECT OF THE
SUBAH TO MUMIN KHAN ARRIVAL OF
DAMAJIRAO GAEKWAD IN BARODA
DEATH OF PESHWA BALAJIRAO OTHER
EVENTS TILL END OF 1174 (1760)



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He started for the paraganah of Thasra for worship of that great deity at Dakor Thence he hastened to Barasinor Sayaji Gaekwar who had gone to Baroda came back to Ahmedabad on 11th Jamadi I Khanderao Gaekwad marched from Nadiad for establishment of order and chastisement of Kolis of the paraganah of Bhal who formerly behaved with insolence He took securities from rebels of the Vatrak district and attacked Lohar He arrested some chiefs of Kolis of that neighbourhood He started for Idar by passing through Vijapur and Visalnagar paraganahs under jurisdiction of Jawanmard Khan He took something by way of a feast from most of the villages of Vijapur and Visalnagar Vakils of Rajah Shit Singh who occupied Idar came to see him and satisfied him with annual payment as agreed upon He arrived at Kadi for establishment of order Jawanmard Khan Babi who had recruited new soldiers, came out from Pattan for establishment of order in paraganahs under his jurisdiction He hastened to Radhanpur and took something by way of feast from several places as far as Anjar under Kutch Muhammed Zafar Babi cousin of Muhammed Mahabat Khan son of Sher Khan were hostile towards each other Muhammed Zafar came out from Junagadh and intended to wage war Muhammed Mahabat also recruited soldiers and had come out Jawanmard Khan resolved to go to that district to remove bitterness and restore amity between them He proceeded seizing something by way of a feast from every spot and place Muhammed Zafar and Muhammed Mahabat met him one after the other Jawanmard Khan restrained them from enmity and animosity by reasonable and traditional arguments and brought about reconciliation He assessed and collected revenue from the paraganahs of Saurati Sarkar in company of both the armies and reached Luliana and Dhandhuka On 4th Jamadi II Apaji Ganesh Nazim of the subah entered the subah Nobles and chiefs of Bobras and Hindus met him He devoted to administrative matters Tahawarji who before this was arrested by Ramaji on a charge of intercepting letters to Rajah Lakhpat was released on recommendation of Sayaji Gaekwad A report also was received that Jawanmard Khan parted company from Muhammed Mahabat at Dhandhuka and marched towards Pattan by way of Pardi in Viramgam jurisdiction He entered Pattan on 6th Sayaji Gaekwad started for Baroda on 12th Harbaji, agent of Gaekwad who had gone to Saurath for assessment and collection of the Gaekwad's share, started from Dholka Apaji Ganesh stayed for nearly one week in the city and gave mahals of Kathera Parcha, octroi duty offices and cattle market as stipulated to Dekhani pandits and the paraganah of Ghogha with the port to Zahid Ali the merchant He appointed Keshavrao as naib in the city and went out to paraganah of Kadi, Viramgam for collection of peshkash He met Khanderao at Kadi and left for Saurath

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CHAPTER 328

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF ARRIVAL OF CAVALCADE OF THE
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DEATH OF PESHWA BALAJIRAO OTHER
EVENTS TILL END OF 1174 (1760)

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out of caution, his dependants and goods as mentioned above. There was sway of Ahmed Shah in the capital city without any opposition. The Afghans plundered houses of the poor and residences of the high and the low. They engaged in massacre and pillage for two complete days. Those who were spared got ruined in this calamity. Shah halted in the capital for some days. He appointed Ya'qub 'Ali Khan with a regiment as subedar of the capital and for protection of the fort. At the advice of Najib - ud - dawlāh, he marched to Akberabad, to collect peshkash from zimindars and to destroy the Jats. He reached Junagar and uplifted the Jat thanas in Sabikadah etc. He negotiated about peshkash with Surajmal. In the meantime, Malhar Holkar arrived there with the Maratha army. There was no distance between the two armies. Dread and fright of the Shah's army had impressed the hearts of the Marathas due to fate of Jankoji's advance-guard. Malhar Rao marched and crossed the river Jamuna near the capital (Agra), his inborn nature for massacre, pillage and destruction was stirred and so he wrought havoc in the kingdom of Najib-ud-dawlāh whom he regarded as the prime mover for inviting the Shah. He extended his hand of depredations in that neighbourhood. He attacked Sikandara which was an important place, seized unlimited booty and had in view the desolation of that district when the Shah got intelligence of it. He marched at mid-night with the advice of Najib-ud-dawlāh, covered a distance of seventy kurohs in one full day and reached the capital. Having crossed the river Jamuna, he brought himself face to face with Malhar and engaged in a skirmish with him. He could not be a match for the Shah's army. He cancelled his intention immediately to proceed to that side and crossed the river Jamuna. The Shah halted for two days as his army was tired and fatigued on account of long marches. The river Jamuna suddenly rose in spate and so he could not cross it. However much he tried to get hold of boats and build a bridge over the river but to no purpose. In the meantime, Jankoji Sindhia, Wazir ul-Mamalik and Surajmal Jat reinforced Malhar Holkar. For several days, the Wazir-ul-Mamalik in consultation with Malhar and advice of the Jat negotiated through Najib-ud-dawlāh, for continuity of saltanat, his ministership and peace with the Dekhanis but his efforts proved futile. The Jat separated himself from them and went to his original centre of Bharatpur. At this juncture, Sadashiv Pandit alias Bhau, cousin of Balajirao in whose hand of authority and grip of power was the management of administrative machinery and conduct of financial and state policy, on getting intelligence of above events, marched from Poona with an intention of succour, aid, war and battle with the king with a large artillery, and a huge army consisting of his son Viswarao, Shamsheer Bahadur, brother of Balajirao, Damaji Garkwar and other Dekhani chiefs like



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ants and locusts which were beyond enumeration and calculation. Shuja'ud-dawlah arrived as summoned by the Shah and joined him. The Wazir-ul-Mamalik considered Sadashiv Bhau's arrival as felicity of time and help of fortune, he came and saw him. After making pledges and pacts on oath, they held councils of consultation. It was decided that as the river Jamuna was in spate and that there was no sudden possibility of water receding, it was impossible for the Shah to cross it. The capital should be occupied and fords and passages should be strongly blockaded. They seized boats from all places and posted experienced men at all places. They should then lead an expedition. As Ya'qub 'Ali Khan had no strong regiment to defend the city, necessarily, he strengthened the fort and garrisoned himself. Men of Wazir-ul-Mamalik and Surajmal Jat along with the Dekhanis prepared trenches on all sides above the round about houses of the amirs and engaged in discharge of cannons and guns. Ya'qub 'Ali Khan also defended himself according to capacity of his power. Shah Abdali also arrived from the other bank of Jamuna and encamped opposite to the fort and city-fortifications. The river was in great spate, boats were in possession of the Dekhanis, fords and crossing places were blocked. Even though they tried to seek remedy but to no purpose. Hence, he fixed cannons on bank of the river, and discharged cannons at the Maratha camp. Ya'qub 'Ali Khan who was heartened in hope of succour was disappointed. Provisions and war-materials got reduced. He decided to make peace and came out to take a strong pledge through the Wazir-ul-Mamalik and Surajmal. Surajmal's order got established inside the fort. Sadashiv Bhau, out of arrogance and vanity, had far-fetched ideas in his mind and thought of impossible things. He intended to see the fort and place of royal ascension. He did away with the bandobast of the Jat's men from the fort and appointed his own men there. He entered the fort with Viswasrao, Damaji Gackwad and other confidential men of his own. His Majesty Shah Jahan came out at his request and ascended the throne. He paid obeisance, placed two mohurs as a present and performed decorum. He then left. His Majesty went inside the palace. He then saw all the houses, bagh-i-hayatbakhsh (life-bestowing garden) and palace-guards. He opened some chambers of arsenal. He took the inland golden throne that was there as a sacred relic, entrusted bandobast of the fort to his guards and returned to the camp. The Wazir-ul-Mamalik and the Jat sent a message that his object was to see the fort and that was done. Protection of the royal fort was within his power and that he should remove his own men. In view of power, wealth and largeness of army which out of heavenly revolution, and decrees of Eternal God, he had acquired dominion over kingdoms of the Dekhan and Hindustan, the crow of vanity and arrogance had built a nest in palace of his brain. An absurd intention of some other kind had fermented in furnace of his mind.



He uttered some nonsense in reply and did not accept it

Verse

*Out of folly, there fell into his brain
Aur (desire) due to which he ultimately lost his head*

The ceiling of the Diwan i Khas which was ornamented with silver was torn up and silver worth nearly ten lacs of rupees was sent to the mint for coinage. It was spent up. The Marathas like hungry heathens found the city like a vacant house, entered the palaces of amirs and grandees and carried away whatever was found there. They dug out many houses on suspicion of buried treasure. They utilized wood and planks for fuel.

Verse

*When one is overtaken by misfortune
He does work not worth doing*

The Wazir ul Mamalik and Surajmal Jat who were under command of ten, twelve thousand horse writhed within themselves on account of his attitude. The royal army consisted only of the Wazir-ul Mamalik and he too had strength because of Surajmal Sadashiv harboured designs to do away with them and change the horizon. He appointed nearly fifteen thousand Dekhani horse to surround his camp like a sieve. Mithar Rao got scent of this design. As he could not prohibit him, he informed Surajmal about it. He thought of a path of escape, he informed Shuja ud-dawlah as he had former relations with him about the secret designs of the Dekhanis. He contrived from the other bank of the river to raise a hue and cry by discharging cannons and missiles and engaged the Dekhanis in defence. From both sides artillery began to roar like thunder, the smoke of gunpowder whirled over the river cloud like and began to pour down hails of fire. Surajmal, getting this opportunity, retired from this dreadful valley with the vazir and made Ballabhgadh as his place of refuge. Shuja ud-dawlah conciliated him with kindness and sent him a khilat and a letter of the Shah. The vazir joined him at Bharatgadh with his dependants. Sadashiv Bhau on getting intelligence of it, that his plan turned out contrary to decrees of fate, sent, after the wrong was done, a khilat and an elephant for Surajmal and wrote to him that it was not proper for him to leave them and join the Shah who was their enemy. Now it so happened that he should attend to blockade of paths and highways so that not a grain of foodstuff might reach the enemy's army. Surajmal stayed for some days at Vallabhgadh. He returned to his residence at the instructions of Shuja'ud-dawlah and desisted from aid and help to both the sides. At



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this time, a report was received that six thousand Afghans of the Ghakkar tribe as summoned by the Shah had reached Sirhind Khan Abdussamad Faujdar of Sirhind and Qutb Khan who were formerly posted at the Bridge of Karnal crossed the river Jamuna expeditiously at the ford of Konda and reached Panipat Patil Sukhdev, a companion of Sadashiv Bhau who with five, six thousand Dekhani horsemen was appointed to defend fords on that side, saw no strength in him to resist and so he wrote about the real situation to Sadashiv Bhau. He was at ease about the enemy's crossing from those fords where the water was much deeper. He left Naro Shanker with a regiment of three, four thousand soldiers in the fort. The high and the low had formerly retired themselves from this vortex to the capital where the saying "There was none of the dwellers in the house" came true. He seized from the royal arsenal dragon-bodied cannons, lead, gun-power and missiles in a large quantity and started with complete preparations to that side on 3rd Rabi 'I. His Majesty Shah 'Alam lived in Azimabad due to want of concord on the part of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik as stated in its proper place. After receipt of wild news about the detestable murder of Alamgir Badshah, he engaged in sorrow and mourning, he ascended on the hereditary throne for the first time for administration of affairs of the world and the people who were the rare creatures of God, put the royal umbrella over his head and hoisted the banner of saltanat. Nawab Zinat Mahel, revered mother of His Majesty lived in the capital with the coolness of eyes (son), sight of state and faith, Mirza Jawanbakht, the noble son of His Majesty in accordance with the exigency of time and demand of condition, sent Saifuddin Khan to Sadashiv Bhau as through heavenly decrees, as the throne was polluted for some time by the short-lived devil like the throne of Solomon due to saltanat of Hindustan having passed into hands of authority of the Marathas. It was a plan thought of for continuity of rulership of His Majesty. He agreed to pay a sum of money for the present and the future as well as for continuity of saltanat for His Majesty Shah 'Alam and nomination of Prince Jawanbakht as Deputy and Heir-apparent. He obtained orders for setting aside the claim of Shah Jahan, recitation of Khutbah and coinage in His Majesty's name on Naro Shanker. He seated the heir-apparent on the chair as written on Friday, last day of Safar-may God bring about its end with goodness and victory-of 1174, and fulfilled dues of royal etiquette. The throne and the canopy which were in his hands and control, were kept ready in sawari, he brought him to the Jame'Masjid with the Maratha army. The khutbah was recited in the name and auspicious titles of His Majesty Shah 'Alam, faces of ashrafis and rupees were illumined by his blessed name and issued as coins. Sadashiv appointed, from middle of the road, Malhar Holkar and Jankoji Sindhia with a large army as vanguard. He himself proceeded with artillery and camp

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around the army out of care and caution. He bound cannons with chains and prepared himself for war. On 23rd Rabi' I, valiant youths and noted warriors of both the armies galloped in a body and began to seek the vanguard. They began with war and massacre. Some from both the parties got slain and wounded. They then got separated. Shuja'ud-dawlah feared evil consequences and wicked end and so he began to move in the matter of peace for welfare of both. Malhar Holkar was made an intermediary for this. However much they talked about it, Sadashiv Bhau who in view of external preparations and materials of chiefship measured pure wine of vanity. Smoke of arrogance whirled in the palace of his mind due to a multitude of soldiers, and means of pomp and magnificence. He never imagined any one in this world of being and decay who could have courage of enmity and animosity with him. He was unaware of this that

Verse

*God who created height and depth
He created superior to a strong man*

His intoxication of arrogance doubled particularly after massacre and pillage of Kanaypur and he cratched his head full of commotion

Verse

*He got so puffed up with means of the world
That the sun became a particle before him*

He regarded peace as weakness of the other party, he did not give a suitable reply to proceed further in the matter out of mebration

Fragment

*Oh child of the world, you out of breast of greed and avarice
Such talk of wealth and fortune for two days
Do not get puffed up in life through your accomplishment
Remember the period of great Barmecides*

He despatched an army to that bank of Jimuna to block up the paths for receipt of food - stuff and grass as well as lead and gunpowder coming to the army of the Shah from the mahals of Najib - ud - dawlah. He sent an army to an entrance of the road leading to the capital in order that they should not allow a grain of food-stuff to reach the enemy Shah, from the camp at Sahalakah which was at a distance, when the whole army consisting of the horse and the foot and the artillery crossed, joined it and



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marched at a difference of two kurohs and pitched his tent on the bank of Jamuna. A ditch was dug and the artillery was pitched. When the Dekhanis closed paths and highways, the Muslim army felt dearth in price of food. Flour was sold at the rate of one ser and a half per rupee. At this juncture, a report was received that a banjar carried a caravan loaded with corn for the Marathas from the side of Bahadurgadh. Shah despatched an army who should reach entrance of the road and seize it. After a skirmish, some were killed while some were wounded from both the sides. But they dragged nearly twenty thousand oxen. Son of Najib ud dawlah also sent a large quantity of food stuff with a strong army from the district of Sahranpur. "Verily, there is ease with difficulty" became manifest. On 19th Rabi 'II, a hard battle was fought. Shah's army inflicted a defeat. On 25th, the Dekhanis appeared in a body to make amends and began to fight. It continued till on one paker of the night had passed. Besides the wounded, five thousand, three hundred and seventy four corpses of Hindus and Muslims were lifted. There was not a tent from which a moan for the dead and a cry for the wounded did not arise. For some days, a passion for battle field was removed from the Dekhanis. Arsenal of the king, and cannons, swivelguns and missiles more than proportion and calculation had fallen into the Maratha hands at Kanajpur. They had put chain barriers around the army. The Muslim army dared not assault them. The enemy were overawed by swords of the Muslims. Cannons and missiles were discharged but occasionally the battle was arraved by way of sentinels. Those who were fated to die were killed. At this juncture the Shah received information that Naro Shanker had recruited cavalry of two thousand horse under written instructions of Bhau. He had despatched a Maratha regiment under command of Jamnaji Pandit for bandobast and blockade of roads for receipt of corn from the other bank of Jamuna. They halted in seru Jai Khan at a distance of two kurohs from Ghaziuddin Nagar. It was said that Pandit mukasdar of Chakla Etawah and mahals of that district recruited ten thousand old and new horsemen and had come near Meerut with a design to stop foodstuff coming from Najib ud dawlah's territory. He therefore despatched Jahan Khan with five thousand strong sword wielding horsemen to punish and chastise them. He reached entrance of the road first on Jamnaji like a sudden calamity and irresistible heavenly decree and engaged in massacre and pillage of that regiment. Jamnaji extricated himself from that perilous situation with the greatest possible difficulty and reached himself to the capital. Jahan Khan with same rapidity and agility rushed at top speed on Govind Pandit who had encamped at an easy distance and began fighting. Through heavenly decrees, Govind fell dead along with others. His army was subjected to loot. Having chopped off Govind's head, he returned to the Shah's army safely and securely. As Govind was their best

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commander Najib ud dawlāh in retaliation for murder of Kanajpur's Sardars, wrapped his head in a gold threaded mantle and set it to Malhar Holkar. A report of the war was constantly conveyed to Peshwa Bajirao through swift couriers who out of care and caution, had shifted to Burhanpur from Poona and stayed there. He marched with a cavalry of nearly ten twelve thousand horse as encouraging support and crossed the river Nerbada at the ford of Handia and lived at Ujjain near the capital to listen to a cry for help. As the Dekhanis failed to block up the receipt of provisions from the side of Jamuna their sardars fell killed in most of the engagements. Their eyes were dazed in fear due to lightning of swords of the Muslims and so they had no ability to array the battle field. The other party was prevented from an assault on account of interruption of a ditch and a fiery screen of artillery. Shah, therefore, despatched a regiment to an entrance of the path to the capital from which provisions and treasures reached them. He closed the paths. There was suddenly a famine in the enemy's camp. Besides, fall of rain in winter which happened mostly in that region proved ruinous to the army. Innumerable animals died due to shortage of hay and grains. It became clear from those whose boat of life reached safely to the shore of safety from that bloody vortex that nearly sixty thousand horses besides other living creatures such as men and animals were counted. In short, the army of Shah reached Narāh at a distance of twelve kurohs from the capital. Naro Shanker closed gates of the capital and stationed five thousand horse and ten thousand foot at trenches of city fortifications. The two armies were engaged in war like waves of two seas dashing against one another for nearly four months. Both of them got tired due to prolongation of war. Shah moved from his halting place towards the capital that perhaps the Marathas might emerge from the refuge of the ditch and made a first attack in battle field so that the hidden thing might manifest itself. It so happened that foodstuff was obtained with difficulty even at the rate of one ser per rupee due to shortage of provisions, the high and the low among them got tired. On Wednesday night, 6th Jamadi II, Maratha chiefs and nobles assembled around Sadashiv Bhau and declared to him that the remaining animals refused to move due to want of fodder and the soldiers had curtailed their pace for not getting food as much as to live. It was easier and better to surrender life than to live in a state of starvation. They put their heads together for the whole night in holding counsel and consultation together. They all decided to march to the capital where there might be facility to get foodstuff and treasures and fight with the enemy with back at the city. They loaded their baggage at close of the night. As cannon pulling oxen had died in large numbers, they dragged oxen of green grocers of the campbazar that were left. Those who could, carried the cannons with them. The army was arrayed in order as vanguard,



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rear, left and right wings He marched when the dagger penetrating Turk wearing a golden crown attacked the night thief Shah, on getting intelligence of it, mounted the horse with preparation of fight The Dekhanis thought of a plan They placed the artillery in front for safe passage of bag and baggage and the camp bazar They began to fire cannons, swivel-guns and missiles while the sentinels started a war Thus they busied with themselves The Muslims got knowledge of their plan From one side Shuja'ud dawlah and Najb ud dawlah with their confederates and from the other side, Shah and Timur Shah with regiments of the Qizilbash and the Durrani Afghans spurred their horses of valour and steeds of prowess

Poem

*There arose from both the armies blowing of clarion and beating of drum
The earth turned iron and atmosphere ebony
Mountain quaked and slain trembled
Clamour penetrated through the ninth sky
From thunderous cries of trampets
Hands and feet suffered shivering fever
You might say that there blew wind of the resurrection day
Earth broke into pieces sky rent asunder*

The Muslims regarded the war as jihad (war in the cause of religion) in the path of God with firm determination and stable intention and considered being killed as ascension to elevated ranks of martyrdom assaulted the enemy with shouts of Allah Allah and engaged in hand to hand fight They created a tremble in the earth

Poem

*He came in fury like a roaring thunder
His uproar penetrated through the palace of Saturn
They clung with one another like warring lions
Flowed rivers of blood from bodies
A battle-cry rose from both the army
You might say, the sun and the moon mingled together
Clashing of swords arose from both the sides
The battle-field turned a river of blood
An array of such a war, the sun and the moon
Had never witnessed such a battle-field.*

In spite of the fact that the Marathas numbered three times more than the Muslims, as victory and triumph are given by God, the truth of the holy



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verse "How a small army defeated a large army by the order of God" manifested itself The Marathas also fought valiantly and made worthy efforts and Shah's army was about to be defeated when suddenly Shuja'ud-dawlah with Najib-ud-dawlah stormed their centre

Verse

*He threw himself in that battle - field
Like a lion who overthrows an onager in hunting*

He killed a number of best sardars and commanders In this engagement, Viswasrao, son of Balajirao who was on an elephant was hit by a cannon-ball and died. Bhau, having learnt about it, got down from an elephant in a perturbed state and went on horse-back to inform Jankoji Sindhia in battle-field about it This sad event became a cause of dispersion among the Marathas Order in the army was disturbed and that increased boldness in the enemy They attacked the enemy like a fierce lion and a furious tiger on a flock of sheep and broke array of their forces They shed blood of thousands There appeared a pile of corpses on every side Most of the men of campbazar, with provisions and pandits took refuge in a ditch through fear of life Soldiers turned from the battle-field Every one took his own way Each party sought path of escape It became clear to the world

Verse

*That in our victory is due to the star
Not due to a treasure and a large army*

The Muslim ghazis and noted warriors chased them everywhere and overthrew men and horses Many of them removed accoutrement and garments through peril of life and escaped from that dreadful valley. They left their horses, took out ear-rings from ears, gold rings from hands and necklaces from necks and set out for the plain of disappointment with a hand in front and a hand behind to cover secrets.

Verse

*He ran so fearful and frightful
That he broke his sacred thread for heaviness,*

It was known from reports of some authoritative persons that the battle-field was full of corpses round about to a distance of twelve kurohs which served as food to crows and vultures.

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Poem

*The plain was entirely full of the slain
The whole meadow was a pile of corpses
On account of so many dead men on mountain and in plain
The sky said, " Enough, enough It passed limit
When warriors were free from war
They started to loot provisions of the enemy
From the enemy who was befriended by luck
Carried head safe and left goods
Many horses fell into hands
Whose hands and feet were dyed with henna with blood
Furious elephants were fettered on every side
Like an intoxicated man caught by a police-officer*

Holy is God ! Nobody ever imagined in view of ascendancy, domination, and a multitude of the Dekhanis under the curse of whose polostick the state of the state of Hindustan rolled like a ball and the star of whose fortune was elevated to the degree of exaltation that they would get scattered like dust within one twinkling of an eye Yes, yes, Every rise has a fall Nay, nay, the plant of vanity and pride which is not worthy of any one except the Almighty, sprouted roots in their brainless heads and bore fruits

Poem

*Oh boy ! never practise arrogance
So that one day you may be overthrown by it
Pride made Satan miserable
Put him in a prison of curse*

In short, bold ghazis and cham-breaking lions freely engaged in massacre and pillage and captured horses and camels full of loads, cash and goods in herds and flocks They bound bundles of guns, swivel-guns like firewood They picked up coral ear rings, rings, jewelled neck-laces and gold from that battle-field Purses full of asharafis and rupees were recovered from belts of dead soldiers Nearly seven hundred elephants, twenty five thousand horses and oxen and camels of the same number laden with loads and burdens were seized by Shah, Shuja'ud dawlak and Najib-ud dawlak besides what the plunderers carried away with them It was collectively worth several crores of rupees in wealth and goods Nearly twenty thousand persons high and low, small and great were made captives It was a custom among the Dekhanis to carry their wives and children in travelling Their women ride horses Approximately twelve thousand women-high and low-were captured as prisoners



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of war. It was said that seven hundred women were palki sitters. Veracity of this statement is upon the narrator. The Brahmins were of opinion that it was on this land of Kurukshetra that several thousand years before this, the Pandavas and the Kauravas had waged war for eighteen days and millions of men lay dead on battle-field. The same event had been repeated during this time since then. The old sky might not have remembered it. In short, Shah thanked God and felt grateful to Him. Shuja'ud-dawlah who performed wonderful exploits was very much applauded and approbated. He then entered into his pavilion victorious and triumphant beating drums of rejoicings for success and joy. The dead body of Viswasrao which had fallen into hands along with the elephant, was ordered by Shuja'ud-dawlah to be cremated by permission of Shah. Shamsheer Bahadur, Balajirao's step-brother was wounded. He reached himself with difficulty to Bharatgad, residence of the Jat. He died there. Nothing was ascertained about the life or death of Sadashiv Bhau and Jankoji Sindhia. Their friends till the time of writing an account, that is, eight months after that event, floated, a baseless and absurd report that he was at such and such a place in the guise of a jogi (recluse). They gladdened their hearts with joy for show of a man. From among the fleeing persons of the battle-field, nearly three thousand horsemen got shied of their shadows for the whole night. Next day, they reached the capital. Local vagabonds plundered them. They seized horses and accoutrements from some of them. Naro Shanker who was inside the royal fort learnt about this event. He fled with his companions to the capital of Akberabad. On the way, he joined Malhar Holkar and Damaji Gaekwad who had come out with their regiments. As they were seized with fright of pursuit, they crossed the river Chambal and turned to Gwalior situated at a distance of forty furohs from Akberabad and halted there waiting for assemblage of the fled ones and receipt of news. Some lost their way of escape due to consternation and fear of life. They went to villages and towns-distant and nearby. Cultivators killed many of them. Many were stripped of their external garments, made them drink salt water on suspicion of swallowing asharafis and jewels. They caught and killed those from whom they found such things. Those who were left, lived on eating fruits, and leaves of forest trees. Some reached themselves to Gwalior falling and rising and living on begging. Many got scattered in many places and took the path to the Dekhan. Whoever they did not suffer in battle-field, they suffered double of it. There might be hardly any one who escaped with a horse and accoutrement. In short, captives in the hands of the Afghans were massacred on refusal to eat mutton. Many ate through fear of life and freed themselves. Like a matjoram, the Hindi unbelievers had a lock of hair on their heads. They removed it so that they might not be killed on suspicion of being a follower of another religion. At last, they were spared

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of death at the intercession of Shuja'ud dawliah who took them in his custody, paid one rupee to each one as expense of the road and sent him away. Women and girls were made maid-servants. The Marathas, without any doubt, were not involved, from the day of birth, in this sort of calamity and infamy. Their custom was the guerilla mode of war with clamour. They never engaged in a pitched battle with artillery and camp-bazar. When they turned from that custom, they got involved in disgrace and affliction. May no eye see such things! In short, Najib-ud-dawliah wrote letters of victory with his own seal to Madhavsing, Zamindar of Jainagar and Surajmal Jat about the event that they should not practise negligence in massacre and pillage. Ya'qub 'Ali Khan, who, under a royal order, had gone for defence of the capital as before, arrived and issued a proclamation of safety and security among the people. The victorious king marched to the capital after a halt of a few days with immense booty whose transport was possible with great difficulty. He covered a distance of forty kurohs within eight days and entered the Royal fort on the auspicious day of Thursday.

Verse

*Victory from the right success from the left
Sky a helper, the star and throne, a friend*

Shuja'ud dawliah, Najib ud dawliah commanders of Qizilbash soldiers and the Afghans gave presents and peshkash according to their condition. Two couriers were despatched from the royal court to His Majesty Shah 'Alam to march that side on a promise of one month with an affectionate letter about tidings of victory and triumph. When Balajirao Peshwa who was at Ujjain heard news from reporters of death about death of Viswasrao and others as well as plunder of the Dekhans and saw condition of those who had fled from the battle field with his own eyes the bright day turned into the darkest night before his world seeing eyes.

Verses

*He flowed from his eyes a river of blood
Surface of the earth became tulip coloured with blood
Patience departed from heart and consciousness from head
Wails and lamentations rose from his soul*

He learnt about arrival of Malharrao, Damayirao Gackwad, Naro Shanker, Nana and Hatka at Gwalior which was under control of the Marathas and that they had collected from all sides nearly ten thousand horse slowly around them. He despatched Sadashiv Ramchandra with five, six thousand horse to that side.



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to be a succour to those who had escaped from the battle-field. He writhed with himself every moment like a serpent through extreme pain and affliction. He heaved a burning sigh from his painful heart due to death of his son and loss of Bhau. He fell ill and got bedridden. He gradually lost his mental and reasoning faculties. His servants, in accordance with a letter of his brother Raghunath Rao who, out of care and caution, lived in the Dekhan, lifted him up and returned. The above events spread circumstantially in the Dekhan and became public. There was not a house from which lamentation did not arise. There was not a cottage from which cries and wails did not come out.

Verse

*Anguish burnt the heart of every one
The world became a place of mourning*

In short, Najib ud-dawlah requested His Majesty Shah that a victory about which stories were narrated took place due to divine help and enemy-punishing imperial luck. Now, it was in the interest of state and religion that he should in all haste and warmth hoist the victorious standard on the capital of Akberabad so that the Dekhanis who escaped the sword and were at Gwalior and those who occupied subahs and paraganahs might at once be expelled. The kingdom should be cleaned and purified of pollution and filth of nonentities as far as the river Narbada. Peshkash might be satisfactorily collected from Surajmal Jat and other zamindars. He replied, "A year and some time more has passed since I have come from my native place. I am determined to go to that side." After a great deal of conversation, details of which would be long, the request of Najib ud-dawlah was acceded to. Maharajah Nagarmal was always engaged in management of state affairs, financial matters, deputy-ministership, diwani of the crown lands and salaries. He had retired to the residence of Surajmal in the chaotic state of affairs with peshkars and record-keepers in company of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik Asaf Jah. Najib-ud-dawlah obtained a letter of concubation from Shah and sent it along with his own letters to him and called him. He was employed in service with favour of a grant of a khil'at, a horse and an elephant. Najib-ud-dawlah broached the subject of fixation of peshkash. It was decided that Shah Wali Khan Asharaf-ul-Wuzara should march to the capital (Akberabad) with an army along with Shuja'ud-dawlah and Najib-ud-dawlah and stay there. Shah would stay at the capital. On 1st Sha'ban, Asharaf ul-Wuzara erected a public audience tent adjacent to the old fort and entered it after getting permission for departure. Shuja'ud-dawlah and Najib-ud-dawlah marched to Akberabad from that side of the Jamuna and reached Surajmal. As most of the soldiers who accompanied Shah were servants for pillage, gathered together and requested that some



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of the soldiers of the army despatched to Aklerahad had an intention of stay in this country and collect peshkash and that they should be permitted to plunder with salary otherwise they would like to go back to their native place As salary getting servants were not in a large number, on hearing this matter, Shah summoned Shah Wali Khan who had not yet marched for counsel and consultation and remained closeted together with him for the whole day It was ultimately decided that Shah too should proceed to the native land He sent his tent out near the garden of Salamar Most of the Afghan Sardars and looters made haste on that very day and encamped at Panipat However much Najib ud dawlah, inspite of payment of a sum requested him to stay, he did not accede to his request At this time, Rajah Dilersangh, peshkar of Asaf Jah who had come in company of Maharajah Nagarmahal got an opportunity to request for the dignified mansab of ministership for his client through Shah Wali Khan by accepting to pay a sum of eighteen lacs of rupees in cash and jewels Shah accepted the proposal On 13th of the month, two ghadis of the day had risen, he entered the tent nearly at two paher after having recited Fauha at the shrines of some saints Shuja'ud dawlah obtained leave to depart and proceeded to his own subah by long marches Shah halted for two days in the garden of Salamar and reached at a distance of three kurohs from Panipat At this stage, he gave five elephants five horses and food stuff worth two lacs of rupees to Prince Mirza Jawanbakht who had followed him He gave a khul'at, a royal edict and a pen holder of ministership to Ya'qub 'Ali Khan who should convey to the Wazir ul-Mamalik Asaf Jah the letter of the amount of peshkash as stipulated He granted leave of departure to him and Rajah Dilersingh, wakil of Asaf Jah in company of the Prince They reached the capital Shah marched further In short Nawab Zinat Mahal the revered mother of His Majesty halted Ya'qub 'Ali Khan and Rajah Dilersingh and said, "Ministership of Asaf Jah who committed so many deeds improper is not acceptable to us If gold is the object, we shall send you the amount of peshkash " She discharged men of Rajah Dilersingh who were appointed at mahals of the capital under ministership of Asaf Jah She recruited nearly five thousand-horse and foot and posted them for defence and protection and at trenches At this juncture, a letter of Shah Wali Khan was received to the effect that Ya'qub 'Ali Khan should soon be sent to Asaf Jah Hence, he was sent in accordance of exigency of time on 27th Sha'ban Asaf Jah, on getting intelligence of his appointment as Vazir and departure of Shah came from Bharatgadh with Surajmal Jat He reached Mathura and began to assemble soldiers and waited for Qalamdan (pen holder) On getting a report of arrival of Ya'qub 'Ali Khan with gifts, he sent Surajmal and Maharajah Nagarmahal to a neighbouring place for reception He pitched a tent with a distance, technically called Farman-i Bari and sent a message to Gangadhar wakil and principal manager of



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affairs of the Maratha Malhar Rao Holkeri who had come to him as summoned to the effect that if his client was a supporter and helper, he would accept the gifts. He replied that they should be accepted. But the Dekhans had not till then regained consciousness and senses from the first blow who could really undertake an affair. They would be ready when they became steadfast. In short, Asaf Jah entered farmanbari and wore a *khil'at*. He took the royal edict and the pen-holder, performed royal etiquette, beat drums of rejoicings, and returned to his abode. He gave a robe, a necklace of corals, a turban strap, a jewelled turban-ornament, an elephant and a horse as presents to Ya'qub 'Ali Khan, alighted him in his camp, gave him a feast, conciliated him and made him his associate and friend by giving hopes of advancement. As the mind of Asaf Jah was not satisfied with His Majesty in regard to the affairs which took place, he thought of a change of saltanat with himself. He had made a pledge with the *Wazir-ul-Mamalik* in the neighbourhood of the capital in a war during the regime of Ahmed Shah Bahadur Badshah, a short account of which was given before in its proper place. Safdar Jung caught hold of an unknown youth, made him a misnomer of saltanat. Safdar Jung hastened to Oudh after the war was over. Surajmal Jat who was his coworker went to his place of residence. He brought that youth with him, called him Dinparwar, a grandson of Muhammed Kambrakhsh son of His Majesty Khuld Makan and guarded him. At this time, Nawab Zinat Mahal, Mirza Jawanbakht, the heir-apparent, Shuja'-ud-dawlah, Najib-ud-dawlah, all grandees and courtiers detested ministership of Asaf Jah. A new party made its appearance in the capital, most of the Bahali Syeds assembled together and dug trenches. Najib-ud-dawlah stationed himself at a distance of ten, fifteen kurohs. Different reports circulated from the camp of His Majesty Shah 'Alam who had gone to Bengal for the establishment of order in the eastern provinces. He was in difficulties with the *Nazim* of Bengal and the *Najib* of the subah of Azimabad alias Patna as well as the Englishmen who had become powerful in Bengal and created disturbances. Rajahs of that district had arrayed battle-fields and wars had taken place. Asaf Jah regarded these occurrences as auspicious. He so saw the image of desire in the mirror of his imagination with advice and consultation of Surajmal Jat that he should occupy the capital of Akberabad and instal Dinparwar as a king. Having ascended him on the throne, he should lead an army against the capital to see as to what came out from the curtain of futurity. With this intention, Surajmal despatched with an army his wife's brother Vallabhram. A fort, for conquest of which the hand of the person, imagination was short and a fast-flying bird of thought could not reach the peak of its pinnacle fell into his hands by chance due to negligence of its *qile'dar*. Surajmal sent his men to Najib-ud-dawlah for conciliation. He had



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stationed himself with an army in the vicinity of the capital. He wanted to interrupt his improper intention. He galloped the steed of war in the shoreless field of imagination when a report was received about His Majesty's arrival on the environs of Benaras on 15th Ziq'ad. He had ordered to build a bridge on the Ganges. Shuja 'ud dawlah had arrived with tents and red pavilions to be given as peshkash to His Majesty. He was at a distance of fifty kurohs while the Royal Camp was on this side of the river Ganges. He learnt about arrival of bringers of good news to the capital. It became a cause of cancellation of his absurd idea. He became anxious to seek a remedy for his future. He made a means of the fort's conquest which excuse was worse than an offence. He submitted a petition to the Prince Heir apparent that the Qiledar, in view of worldly trash desired to surrender the fort to the Marathas. He protected it. Another Qiledar should be appointed by His Majesty and it would be submitted to him. Many a time he began to send at mid night lead, gun-powder, swivel-guns, missiles and small cannons from the fort to his residence in carts. The writing of this history is confined to events of this subah and particularly this region. But the province was subservient to heir of the crown and throne of the capital, it required an account of it. Whatever happened in this year full of chaotic conditions from behind the curtain of futurity, has been written shortly and concisely. Now the author describes the events which took place in the subah in rest of the year. It was stated before under events of 1173 as to how Barahsinor passed from occupation of Sardar Muhammed Khan son of Sher Khan Babi to the Dekhanis due to disloyalty of Sultan and Jahan, the two slaves. At this time, Apa Ganesh was the Nazim. He appointed a Pandit as Faujdar for its defence and protection. As the surroundings of this place were inhabited by Kolis who were a thorn on the path of travellers and passers by, the income of the paraganah was not sufficient for expenses of guards. The Naib Faujdar, a hired servant lived there with a small body of men. Local Kolis and zamindars did not deem permanent stay of the Dekhanis proper in view of future and their own domination. Some of them went to Sardar Muhammed Khan who had gone from Lunawada to Jawanmard Khan at Pattan and Radhanpur to his uncle and induced and persuaded him to liberate Barahsinor. They brought him with themselves. He colluded with local residents who too were hurt in heart due to power and authority of the Marathas. They girt up their loins for war to expel the Marathas. In a small engagement, some persons from both the sides got slain and wounded. The Dekhanis sought protection and came out. Sardar Muhammed Khan again established himself in power with aid and assistance of the Kolis. As there was no regiment in the city which could be sent for succour, Keshavrao Naib Nazim reported the matter to Apa Ganesh who was engaged in connection of peshkash on behalf of the Peshwa in



Saurath. At this time, a report was received that Mumin Khan, port-officer of Khanbhayat received a royal order for management of administrative machinery of the subah and that he intended to go to the city. Substance of it is : When the royal forces were despatched to Akberabad under command of Shah Wali Khan, Shuja'ud-dawlah and Najib-ud-dawlah as mentioned, a royal order with the seal of Shuja'ud-dawlah written on 9th Rajab for expulsion and destruction of the Dekhanis from the subah of Ahmedabad was issued to Mumin Khan. He had begun to assemble soldiers when he learnt about massacre and destruction of the Marathas and march of armies conjecturing that they would soon reach Malwa and employed nearly one thousand horse and four, five thousand foot consisting of Arabs, Rohilas and Hindis in service. Orders were also issued to Jawanmard Khan, Neknam Khan Faujdar of Broach to aid, help and side with him. He wanted to receive a suitable reply, collection of soldiers and preparation of materials. Mahammed La'l Rohila and Salim jamadar had arrived from Surat port as summoned. He sent them with a cavalry and an infantry to the paraganah of Dhandliuka who plundered some of the villages. The loot consisting of animate and inanimate wealth was distributed as salary to soldiers. Jawanmard Khan wrote a reply in accordance with exigency of time that he would reach Ahmedabad when he reached there. Neknam Khan engaged in recruitment of soldiers and alighted his son Mu'izziz Khan out. A report of these preparations diffused in all directions. There arose a great disturbance in order of the Maratha government in every qasbah and paraganah. Rebels raised their heads in revolt in every nook and corner. Residents of the city from whom bitterness of the first blow had not disappeared from their palates were seized with panic and consternation. Keshavrao, Naib of the Nizamit continuously and incessantly sent reports of situation with fast couriers supplementing them with an additional event of Barahsinor. As there was a share of Neknam Khan in the paraganah of Jamusar the local mukadar evaded its payment. He despatched Mu'izziz Khan with an army that he had collected. Mumin Khan too was partial to him as he breathed of concord with him. He went with an army to Dhawan, near Jamusar by way of succour in case of need. Case of that place was settled. Mu'izziz Khan joined Mumin Khan. A council of consultation for conquest of the city was about to be held when a report of return of Apaji Ganesh at top speed and his approach was received. He, therefore, returned to Khanbhayat. Apaji Ganesh also encamped at a distance of seven, eight kurohs and sent a Pandit to inquire the cause for preparation of war. Mumin Khan relying on guess and conjecture that the Shahu army till then must have reached Akberabad and that in a day or two it would reach Malwa, the Maratha's position would become shaky, replied that if Bhagwan came outside the port with a small number of

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soldiers, he would tell him the truth face to face. He came with the permission of Apaji Ganesh. Mumin Khan also came out and met him. He showed the orders as they were and said, "As friendship and amity existed between us. If he happened to hasten to the Dekhan before arrival of the Shahi army he should surrender the city. It is very proper. He can go with life and wealth protected and guarded. In case of arrival of the royal army, fords and passages would be closed. There will not be any choice with us." As water and food were still left for them and their time had not yet come, Apaji Ganesh turned his head from this proposal and made preparations for war. He encamped near Petlad and ordered his army to array for the battle and plunder villages of Chorasi of Khanbhayat. In the meantime it became clear from letters of the capital on 10th Ramazan that Ahmed Shah Abdali left for Lahore on way to his beloved native place. Shuja'ud dawlakh marched to his subah. The Dekhanis who were in dilemma about their future enjoyed peace of mind and advanced to a distance of four kurohs from the port. Mumin Khan, inspite of return of the Shahi army, did not allow himself to be perturbed and sent the army to oppose and array the battle field. Several engagements took place between them. A thorn of suspicion came out from the heart of Apaji Ganesh about the Shahi army. He left the whole army under the command of Vitthalrao and Bhagwan to make arrangement for expenses and summoning Jawanmard Khan Babi for help with a design to liberate the port completely and returned to the city alone with a small number of men. He sent Raghu Shanker to Jawanmard Khan that he should ascertain and fix expenses for his army and write to him about them. He despatched horse and foot of the city to reinforce Vitthalrao and Bhagwan. He tarried a while to receive a reply from Jawanmard Khan. No agreement was reached even after mutual correspondence. Raghu Shanker returned without achievement of his object. Sardar Muhammed Khan occupied Barahsinor in a way detailed above. He ordered to lead an army in march against him. He thought of a plan to unite with him for averting ill repute and inramy. Sarasram had ties of friendship and amity with Sher Khan father of Sardar Muhammed Khan extending to his ancestors. He led an inactive life in the city for the last many days. He was made an intermediary. A letter was written and sealed on security of jamadars so that he should be conciliated and brought for a meeting and fix the Maratha share as before. It was at this time that a report of arrival of Damajirao Gaekwad with a body of men from Gwahor for advice and consultation of Malhar Rao Holkar was received. Both of them were on terms of amity. He reached Baroda on 1st Shawwal for management of disturbed state of affairs and amendment of means of pomp and glory. The Dekhanis received additional strength. Persons flocked to him from paraganahs and qasbas of his share. Horsemen and footmen arrived from Songadh in batches with
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nabhs, bargurs of private horses and elephants from different places His brother Khanderao and his son Sayaji followed one after the other and met him Within a short time, a large army was collected with external means Mumin Khan, on hearing about Damajirao's arrival, as he knew about the innermost idea of his mind from the beginning of domination and power of Peshwa Balajirao in this subah was extremely averse to him He practised hypocrisy with helplessness as he could not come out of his obligations and grieved, on a supposition that he might accept his outward regards and help the army of Apa Ganesh and change his worthy intention He sent his confidential man with a letter and some presents sounding his temper and seeking his advice in an affair that faced him He was not pleased and in agreement with it in accordance with exigency of time and suitability of the matter Vitthalrao and Bhagwan had skirmishes with the army of Mumin Khan It so happened that one day, it blazed forth into a war The Arab and Rohila foot who had advanced, came under power of the Dekhanis Several were slain and wounded Others escaped from the battle field They returned after pillaging the village of Tarapore Damajirao in order to avert infamy sent his son Govindrao with an army who joined Vitthalrao They again invaded Tarapore Some of the Sindhi footmen who guarded houses hay and food stuff were despatched from Kharabhyat to repel them The Dekhanis pressed forward and set fire to it They freed them by giving security of life They encamped at that very spot, dug out doors and walls of houses and cleared grass and food grains In the meantime, a messenger of Mumin Khan came from Baroda and delivered the reply of Damaji It became a cause of sadness for him He negotiated for peace and aversion of quarrel Muizziz Khan son of Ncknam Khan met Bhagwan It was settled that the Marathi mukasdar should be allowed to assume charge and that Mumin Khan should pay the remaining amount of money of the previous year Vitthalrao and Bhagwan came back to Petlad Muizziz Khan went to Broach The carpet of war was rolled up Mumin Khan was disappointed of help from the royal army and despaired of heartiness and aid of Damaji He discharged soldiers whom he had assembled He arranged to pay monthly salary by extorting biwarah, house counting and imposing fines He thus freed himself from obligation On 8th Ziq'ad, Apraji Ganesh went to Baroda to see Damaji He stayed there for a few days He then returned to Kheda Sarisram who had brought Sardar Muhammed Khan in that place, met him It was settled that he should go to the city and take the mukasdar with him for a share of the half He himself entered the city on 22nd Govindrao son of Damajirao started for Baroda Vitthalrao and Bhagwan marched from their stay at Petlad, reached Mahmudabad, a distance of twelve kurohs from the city and then led an expedition on the night of 26th of Ziq'ad unawares against Alina in the paraganah of Thakra with an intention

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to capture 'Ida, a qasbat who had become ruler of that paraganah and besieged it. 'Ida learnt about the event and his idea. He sent a batch of qasbats to block up his path and obstruct him. He, out of experience, negotiated the matter of revenue with a humble request and agreed to pay him fifteen thousand rupees. He entrusted his son as a hostage. When he demanded more, he could not come out of obligation. He resorted to artful tricks of a zamindar and wrangled with him with humility and supplication. Having thus engaged him in negotiations, he summoned hols of round about places for help. They accepted his invitation for help and rused their heads from holes like reptiles of the earth and set out on the road till the sun set and reached Ida's village. 'Ida turned the page and engaged in war. Many persons got slain and wounded from both the parties. The day came to a close. Bhagwan retreated through fear of a night assault by the rebels and went to Mahuda at a distance of four kurohs. He halted for the night and came to the city. It so happened that at the close of the same day, Sardar Muhammed Khan reached Rajpur under an agreement. Next day a meeting was arranged when at mid night on knowledge of a true or false report that Apaji Ganesh had something else in mind in regard to him he suspected of a dangerous perfidy left at that very time of the night for Barahmor. Harbaji Ram who was engaged in assessment and collection of peshikash of the Gaekwad's share in Saurath returned to Dholka when he was free. After a few days, he went to Baroda to see Damaj Gaekwad. Trimbak Mukund naib of Damajirao had gone to Baroda from the city. He returned on 29th. It was in this year that the writer of eternal desire had not written an inscription of permanency on the page of forehead of any one of men and animals and the tailor of eternity had not stitched a garment of perpetuity for the body of any living creature and the palace of life of which existing being who placed his feet in the plain of manifestation was not destroyed by the Destroyer of tastes. Eternal permanency and continual perpetuity is the peculiar quality of the Personality of God the Wrathful the Powerful who had been always and will be. 'There is death for every one. The face of your Lord full of glory and favour lasts

Verse

*He who came to the world will be a mass of annihilation
That one eternal and lasting will be God*

Every master of the soul has to taste the unpalatable syrup of death, to tread the path of non existence, to cut the thread of life with scissors of death and to tie up the knot of existence for the kingdom of non existence. When the watch of the life of Balajirao Peshwa was full to the brim, he got bed ridden after his return from the subah of Maiwa to Poona. From day to day, his



physical and spiritual disease increased and doubled. He was beyond treatment and cure. On 19th Ziq'ad, the stout tree of life fell down with the strong blast of autumnal wind. He carried nothing of state and wealth with him except remorse.

Verse

*What a pleasant garden is a garden of life
If it were safe against wind of autumn.*

On the second of Zilhajj, an announcer of this sad event reached Ahmedabad. It spread and diffused in the whole subah. It created great disorder. The koli rebels raised heads in mischief. They took to brigandage and pillage of villages. They started beating and carrying off cattle. On the last day of the same month, they made a hole in the wall of the city fort between the gate of Sarangpur and Kalupur to an extent of entrance and exit of a horse and carried away whatever of removable and irremovable property which fell in hands from nearby houses. They were engaged outside during day and inside the city at night in robbing, and mining houses. It was in this year that Rajah Lakhpat, zamindar of Kutch died. He was succeeded by his son Goharsingh.



CHAPTER 329

CAUSE OF WRITING THESE PAGES IN THE FIRST VOLUME

It was not my desire from the outset of writing and inditing of these pages that the pleasant-paced prebald of pen of musky inscription should halt for some time from gallop in the field of writing of future events. But the will of God is preponderant in accordance with the substance replete with truth "I knew my Lord with cancellation of determination". Due to heavenly decrees, the empire got disintegrated. A short account of it is given. Unknown, mischief-maker Surajmal Jat is alive for continuation of Vizarat of Asaf Jah. For a certain affair, arrival of the auspicious cavalcade of king of the victorious standard entered in the mind of the writer in the midst of this chaotic condition. Hence, the writing of previous event was due to magnificence and enthronement of His Majesty. These portions, inspite of lack of worth, in view of masters of sight, lords of wisdom, writers of lofty imagination and composers of elegant nature who have raised pedestal of composition to an elevated vault, are void of metaphors and subtlety of expressions. They are like a child who are on the elementary stage of learning. What ability have I an ignorant man that I should consider myself as their base disciple. The first volume is complete. God the Respectable willing. If the borrowed life continues, and there is peace of mind from magical performances of time which is perfidious, mean-favouring and impermanent, I will write the second volume from the beginning of auspicious year of blessed ascension and familiar fortune. As some of the matters of the supplement are connected with this volume, it is attached to it. May it not remain hidden that as promised and deemed essential and necessary upon myself that I refrained from partiality and animosity of relatives and strangers in writing these accounts. Whatever was real and true is included as stated in the beginning of these pages. A request is made to justice seeing supervisors and truth-selecting seers that as "The truth is bitter" has been said. If, in case, they know a statement which may have become a cause of bitterness or unpleasantness, they should obliterate it with the pure water of forgiveness from seadrinking mind.

Poem

*Heart gets illuminated with the light of forgiveness
Heart becomes a rose garden from its breeze
The Nourisher loves forgiveness
Whatever God loves, you love*

With the grace of Allah, 10th Safar, "God completed it with goodness and success, of the year one thousand, one hundred, and seventy-five Hijri, thousands and thousands of benedictions on its master, this volume was completed



APPENDIX 1.

GUJARAT UNDER THE MUSLIMS

Sultan	Governor
1. 'Alauddin Khilji	1. Ulugh Khan
2. Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah	1. Kamaluddin (martyred)
	2. Malik Dinar
	3. Husam-ud-din
	4. Malik Wajih-ud-din Quraishi
3. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq Shah	Taj-ud-din Ja'far
4. Sultan Muhammed Tughlaq Shah	1. Malik Muqbil Khan Jahan
	2. Nizam-ul-Mulk
5. Sultan Feroz Shah	1. Zafar Khan
	2. Shams-ud-din Damghani
	3. Farhat-ul-Mulk Rasti Khan
	4. Malik Mufarreh Sultani
6. Sultan Muhammed Shah	Zafar Khan Wajih-ul-Mulk.

Independent Sultans of Gujarat.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Sultan Muzaffer | 2. Sultan Ahmed | 3. Sultan Muhammed |
| 4. Sultan Qutbuddin | 5. Sultan Dawood | 6. Sultan Mahmud I |
| 7. Sultan Muzaffer II | 8. Sultan Sikander | 9. Sultan Bahadur |
| 10. Sultan Mahmud II | 11. Sultan Ahmed II | 12. Sultan Muzaffer III. |



NAZIMS UNDER THE MUGHALS

Emperor	Nazim	Najib Nazim	Diwan
1 Akbar	1. Khan-i-Azam		Wajih-ul-Mulk
	Mirza 'Aziz		Gujarat
	Kokaltash		
	2 Mirza Khan	Wazir Khan	Biyak Das
	Biram Khan		
	3 Shuhab-ud-din		Biyak Das
	Ahmad Khan		
	4 I'timad Khan		Khawajah Abul
	Gujarati		Qasim
	5 Mirza Khan		"
	Biram Khan		
	Khan - i - Khanan		
	6 Isma'il Quli Khan		"
	7. Mirza 'Aziz		Syed Bayazid
	Kokaltash		
	8 Sultan Murad	Suraj Singh	"
	9 Khan i-Azam	Shams-ud-din	"
	Mirza		
	Aziz Kokaltash	Husain Shadman	
2 Jahangir	1 Qalij Khan		"
	2 Syed Murtaza		"
	Khan Bukhari		
	3 Mirza 'Aziz	Jahangir Quli	Ghiyas-ud-din
	Kokaltash	Khan	
	4 Abdullah Khan		"
	Firoz Jang		
	5 Muqarrab Khan		Muhammed Safi
	6 Prince Khurram	Rustam Khan	"
	7 Sultan Dawar		"
	Bakhsh		
	8 Abdullah Khan	Wafadar	"
	9 Khan Jahan	Saif Khan	" alias
			Saif Khan
3 Shah Jahan	1 Sher Khan Tur		Khawajah Hayat
	(Nahir Khan)		Khawajah Jahan
	2 Islam Khan		Aqa Afzal titled
			Fazil Khan



Emperor	Nazim	Naib Nazim	Diwan
	3. Baqir Khan Najm-i-Sani		Ra'ayat Khan
	4. Sipahdar Khan		"
	5. Saif Khan		"
	6. A'zam Khan		Ra'ayat Khan and Mir Sabir
	7. Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan		Mir Sabir and Mu'izz-ul-Mulk
	8. Muhammed Awrangzeb		Mu'izz-ul-Mulk
	9. Shayastah Khan		Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and Hafiz Nasir
	10. Muhammed Dara Shikoh	Ghanat Khan	Hafiz Muhammed Nasir and Mir Yahya
	11. Shayastah Khan		Mir Yahya
	12. Muhammed Murad Bakhsh		Rahmat Khan
4. Awrangzeb	1. Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi		"
	2. Maharaja Jaswant Singh		Rahmat Khan and Mukarramat Khan
	3. Mahabat Khan		Mukarramat Khan and Haji Shafi' Khan
	4. Bahadur Khan alias Khan Jahan Kukah		Haji Shafi' Khan and Khwajah Muham- med Hashim
	5. Maharaja Jaswant Singh		Khwajah Muham- med Hashim and Shaikh Nizam-uddin
	6. 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Muhammed Amin Khan		Shaikh Nizamuddin and Muhammed Sharif and 'Abd-ul- Latif
	7. Mukhtar Khan		Muhammed Latif and Muhammed Tahir titled Amanat Khan and Purnat Khan



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Emperor

	Nazim	Naib Nazim	Diwan
	8 Kartalab Khan titled Shuya' at Khan		Muhammed Tahir titled Amanat Khan and I'timad Khan and Muhammed Muhsin and Khwajah
	9 Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah	1 Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan 2 Muhammed Beg Khan	Abd-ul-Hamid Khan Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan. Abdul-Hamid Khan
	10 Prince Bedar Bakht temporary till arrival of Ibrahim Khan		
5. Qutbuddin Muhammed Mu'azzam Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah	1 Ibrahim Khan	Muhammed Beg Khan	,,
	2 Ghazi ud-din Khan Bahadur Yiroz Jang		Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan and Shari'at Khan
6 Jahandar Shah	1 Asaf-ud-dawlah Asad Khan	Muhammed Beg Khan	Shari'at Khan as naib of Mutasharre Khan
	2 „	Sar Buland Khan Syed 'Aqil Khan	,, ,,
7 Muhammed Farrukh Siyar	1 Shahamat Khan 2 Dawood Khan- Panni 3 Maharaja Ajit Singh	1. Abdul Hamid Khan 2 Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan Bajeraaj Bhandari	,, ,, Muhtarum Khan and Haidar Quli Khan
8. Muhammed Rafi' ud- Darjat	4 Samsam-ud- dawlah Khan-i- Dawran Maharajah Ajit Singh	1. Abdul Hamid Khan 2 Haidar Quli Khan Haidar Quli Khan	Meher 'Ali Khan and Nahir Khan



Emperor	Nazim	Naib Nazim	Diwan
9. Muhammed Rafi' ud-dawlah Shah Jahan II	„	Meher 'Ali Khan	Ruhullah Khan as naib of Nahir Khan
10 Muhammed Shah	1 „	1 „	„
		2 Anop Singh Bhandari	„
	2 Mu'izz-ud-dawlah Haidar Quli Khan Bahadur	1 Shuja 'at Khan	Ja'far Quli Khan
	3 Jumlat-ul-Mulk, Nizam-ul-Mulk	2 Hamid Khan Bahadur	Fidawi Khan and Mumin Khan
	4 Mubariz ul-Mulk Sar Buland Khan	Shuja 'at Khan	„
	5 Maharajah Abhey Singh		'Abdul Ghanı Khan and Talib 'Ali Khan
	6 Mumin Khan titled Najm-ud-dawlah		Talib 'Ali Khan as naib of 'Abdul Husain Khan and Muhammed Asad-ul-lah
	7. Fida-ud-din Khan and Muftakhir Khan		
	8 Jawanmard Khan		
	9 Fakhar-ud-dawlah Fakhar-ud-din Khan Bahadur Shuja 'at Khan	Jawanmard Khan	1 Abdul Husain Khan and Qaim Quli Khan
			2 Ali Muhammed Khan
11. Ahmad Shah	„ (Subedar) „	„	„
	Bakhat Singh „	„	„
	Marathas become rulers		
12. Muhammed Alamgir II	Seizure of power by Mumin Khan in Ahmedabad and expulsion of the Marathas Sadashiv Ramchandra occupies Ahmedabad		



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APPENDIX 2.

SOURCES OF THE BOOK.

1. Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi
2. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi by Halva-i-Shirazi
3. Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi
4. Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi
5. Tazkirat-ul-Muluk
6. Mirat-i-Sikandari
7. Akbarnama
8. Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri
9. Shahjahannama
10. Alamgirnama
11. Official records
12. Account as eye - witness

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APPENDIX 3

HIJRI AND APPROXIMATELY CORRESPONDING CHRISTIAN YEARS.

H.	C.	H.	C.	H.	C.	H.	C.
701	1302	736	1336	771	1369-70	806	1403
702	1303	737	1337	772	1370-71	807	1404-05
703	1304	738	1337	773	1371	808	1405-06
704	1304-05	739	1338	774	1372	809	1407-08
705	1305-06	740	1339	775	1372-73	810	1408-09
706	1306	741	1340	776	1373-74	811	1409
707	1307	742	1341	777	1374-75	812	1409-10
708	1308	743	1342	778	1376	813	1410
709	1309	744	1343	779	1377	814	1411
710	1310	745	1344	780	1378	815	1412
711	1311-12	746	1345	781	1379	816	1413
712	1312-13	747	1346	782	1380	817	1414-15
713	1313-14	748	1346-47	783	1381	818	1415-16
714	1314-15	749	1347-48	784	1381-82	819	1416-17
715	1315	750	1348-49	785	1382-63	820	1417-18
716	1316	751	1350	786	1384	821	1418
717	1317	752	1351	787	1385	822	1419-20
718	1318	753	1352	788	1386	823	1420
719	1319	754	1353	789	1386-87	824	1421
720	1320	755	1353-54	790	1388	825	1422
721	1321	756	1355	791	1388-89	826	1423
722	1321-22	757	1356	792	1389-90	827	1424
723	1322	758	1357	793	1390	828	1424-25
724	1323	759	1358	794	1391	829	1426
725	1324-5	760	1358-59	795	1392	830	1427
726	1326	761	1359-60	796	1393	831	1428
727	1327	762	1361	797	1394	832	1429
728	1327-28	763	1362	798	1395	833	1430
729	1328	764	1363	799	1396	834	1430-31
730	1329	765	1364	800	1397	835	1432
731	1330	766	1364-65	801	1398	836	1433
732	1331	767	1365	802	1399	837	1433-34
733	1331-32	768	1366-67	803	1400	838	1434-35
734	1332-33	769	1367-68	804	1401	839	1435-36
735	1334-35	770	1368-69	805	1402	840	1437



H.	C.	H.	C.	H.	C.	H.	C.
841	1438	881	1476	921	1515	960	1552
842	1439	882	1477	922	1516	961	1553
843	1440	883	1478	923	1517	962	1554
844	1040-41	884	1479	924	1518	963	1555
845	1441	885	1480	925	1519	964	1556
846	1442	886	1481	926	1519	965	1557
847	1443-44	887	1481-82	927	1520	966	1558
848	1445	888	1483	928	1521	967	1559
849	1446	889	1484	929	1522	968	1560
850	1446-47	890	1485	930	1523	969	1561
851	1448	891	1486	931	1524	970	1562
852	1449	892	1487	932	1525	971	1563
853	1449-50	893	1488	933	1526	972	1564
854	1450-51	894	1489	934	1527	973	1565
855	1452	895	1490	935	1528	974	1566
856	1452-53	896	1491	936	1529	975	1567
857	1453-54	897	1491-92	937	1530	976	1568
858	1454	898	1492-93	938	1531	977	1569
859	1455	899	1494	939	1532	978	1570
860	1456	900	1494-95	940	1533	979	1571
861	1457	901	1495	941	1534	980	1572
862	1457-58	902	1496	942 ...	1535	981	1573
863	1458-59	903	1497	943	1536	982	1574
864	1459	904	1498	944	1537	983	1575
865	1460	905	1499	945	1538	984	1575-76
866	1461	906	1500	946	1539	985	1576-77
867	1462	907	1501	947	1540	986	1578
868	1463	908	1502	948	1541	987	1579
869	1464-65	909	1503	949	1542	988	1580
870	1466-67	910	1504	950	1543	989	1581
871	1467-68	911	1505	951	1544	990	1582
872	1468-69	912	1506	952	1545	991	1583
873	1469	913	1507	953	1546	992	1584
874	1469-70	914	1508	954	1547	993	1585
875	1470	915	1509	955	1548	994	1586
876	1471	916	1510	956	1549	995	1587
877	1472	917	1511	957	1550	996	1588
878	1473	918	1512	958	1551	997	1589
897	1474	919	1513	959	1551	998	1590
820	1475	920	1514			999	1591



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